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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, January, 1900.

OLD FRENCH GRAMMAR.

USE OF *le, la, les* BEFORE *me, te, nous, vous, lui, leur* IN OLD FRENCH.

I.

EXAMPLES OF OCCURRENCES IN TEXTS EXAMINED.

AFTER a full list of examples has been given a résumé will follow, indicating the number of times a given phenomenon is found in each author examined.

A. Before the verb.

1. *le, la, les* standing immediately before *me, te, nous, vous*:

Po ço l'vos di (A, p. 139. For explanation of capitals A, B, C, etc., compare col. 2).

Se Franceis le me dient, donc l' otreierai bien (B, l. 23).

Oui tolu le nos ont maüfé (D, l. 1131).

Dunc la me ceint li gentilz reis, li magnés (C, l. 2321),

Jeo nel te puis guereduner (E, XX, 9).

Je le vos conterai (F, 22, 25).

Le ceur le me dist (G, l. 163).

Jel vos di sans doter (H, l. 271).

Mes Sarrazin le te retodront tot (I, l. 433).

Je le vos dirai (J, I, 6, 9).

Véoir la m'estuet (K, l. 632).

Nel vus puis sanz lermes dire (L, p. 25).

Le te rendray (N, l. 105).

Je le te dirai (O, l. 343).

Jel vos creant (P, l. 1147).

Je le te veil donner (Q, l. 200).

Ainsi le nous distrent (S, p. 18).

Le vous monstreray (T, p. 7).

Et le m' aporta la journée (V, XLIII, 14).

Le m'a dit et je le croy (W, p. 2).

Amy, je le vous vueil bien dire (X, l. 142).

Je le vous veulx prouver par escripture (Y, p. 151).

Nous le vous amenons depouillé des ses armes (AA, p. 158).

2. *me, te, nous, vous* standing immediately before *lè, la, les*:

Sire, dist Guenes, me l' cuvient à souffrir (C, l. 456).¹

Me les rendrés (H, l. 2813).

Sire, bien vos le os et dire et fiancier (J, I, 58, 47)²

Il te le cuvient desservir (O, l. 1022).

Je ne sçay qui me le deffant (U, p. 164).³

Et elle me l' octroye (W, p. 4).⁴

Je ne te le daignerois dire (Y, p. 6).

Dieu sçait de quel bon judgement ils vous le partissent (Z, I, 19, 90).

Et nul autre que toi ne me la peut apprendre (AA, p. 19).

Dès qu' un beau visage me le demande (BB, p. 87).

Je vous la révèle (Cf. Phèdre, l. 318).

Il me les avait racontés (DD, p. 14).

3. *Le, la, les* standing immediately before *lui* and *leur*:

Ainz preiet Deu qued il le lor pardoinst (A, p. 152).⁵

Je la luy donne (V, XVIII, 4).

Je le luy donne (W, p. 105).⁶

Ilz ont bon temps, Dieu le leur sauve (X, l. 490).

Et les luy mettez en la bouche (Y, p. 515).

Celuy qui les luy monstreroit (Z, I, 3, 22).⁷

Nul n' a su le lui ravir (DD, p. 7).

B. After the verb.

1. *le, la, les* standing immediately before *moi, nous, lui, leur* in imperative constructions:⁸

Donnez la moy (V, LXXIV, 22).

Feites le nos savoir, biaux sire (D, l. 603).

Vendons-le-leur (Whitney's *Practical French Grammar*. New York, 1887, p. 105).

II.

RÉSUMÉ.

The following table gives a résumé of the occurrences noted above. The capital letters

¹ Cf. l. 3593.

² Cf. I, 58.4; III, 53.15. ³ Cf. p. 73. ⁴ Cf. pp. 4, 77.

⁵ Cf. pp. 144, 152. ⁶ Cf. p. 141.

⁷ Cf. I, 24, 188; I, 25, 229.

⁸ Only one example of each of the pronominal combinations found with imperatives will be cited here, since in both Old and Modern French the direct object is always placed before the indirect in such combinations.

represent the authors and the numerals placed to the right represent the number of times a given construction occurs in the author mentioned. If no numeral is expressed, the construction occurs only once in the text indicated.

A. *Before the verb.*

1. *le, la, les* standing immediately before *me, te, nous, vous*: A rule,⁹ B rule, C17, D rule, E rule, F rule, G rule, H21, I rule, J32, K rule, L rule, M rule, N rule, O6, P rule, Q rule, S rule, T rule, V rule, W12, X rule, Y11, AA.

2. *me, te, nous, vous* standing immediately before *le, la, les*: C4, H, J2, O, W3, Y17, Z rule, AA11, BB rule, CC rule, DD rule.

3. *le, la, les* standing immediately before *lui, leur*: A2, V, W2, X, Y, Z5, DD2.

B. *After the verb.*

1. *le, la, les* always stand before *moi, nous, lui, leur* in imperative constructions.

III.

HISTORICAL TREATMENT.

1. The monographs and grammars that I have consulted merely mention the construction in question without attempting any explanation.¹⁰

IV.

ORIGIN OF THE USE OF THE DIRECT¹¹ BEFORE THE INDIRECT OBJECT IN PROCLITIC POSITIONS *il le me dira; il le te dira; il le lui dira.*¹²

These constructions are survivals of the

⁹ "Rule" indicates that the construction given is found without variants in the author mentioned.

¹⁰ Cf. Diez, *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1882, Vol. III, p. 473; Suchier, *Le Français et le Provençal*, Paris, 1891, p. 195; Haase, *Syntaxe Française du XVII. Siècle* (traduite par M. Obert), Paris, 1898, p. 436; Étienne, *Essai de Grammaire de l' Ancien Français* (IX-XIV. Siècle), Paris, 1895, p. 345; MM. G. Paris et E. Langlois, *Chrestomathie du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1897, LXXXVII, 257; Bernhard Völcker, *Die Wortstellung in den Aeltesten Französischen Sprachdenkmälern*, Altenburg, 1882, p. 37; Jules Le Coultre, *De l' Ordre des Mots dans Chrestien de Troyes*, Dresde, 1875, p. 43; L. Clédât, *Grammaire Élémentaire de la Vieille Langue Française*, Paris, 1885, 684; Darmesteter et Hatzfeld, *Le Seizième Siècle en France*, Paris, 1889, § 331.

¹¹ Cf. C, l. 1716:

Quant jo l' vus dis, cumpainz, vus ne le deignastes.

¹² For brevity, *le me* will be used when referring to any proclitic combination of a first and third personal form. Likewise *le te* and *le lui* will be used to include all combinations of the second with a third person, and of a third person with a third respectively.

Latin. When in Latin a pronoun of the third person and one of the first or second person were placed immediately before the verb by which they were governed two constructions were possible.¹³ Sometimes the indirect¹⁴ object was placed before the direct, and sometimes the direct¹⁵ object was put first. Of these two constructions Old French adopted the latter¹⁶ almost to the exclusion of the former,¹⁷ while in Old Italian¹⁸ and Old Spanish¹⁹ it was the rule to place the indirect object before the direct.²⁰ The personal order of the pronouns in both cases has a Latin basis, but one naturally asks why the Italian and Spanish selected one construction and the French another. This difference in arrangement may have been due to the different basis that each took as a point of departure in determining the position of the pronouns in question. In Old French this basis seems to have been *case relation*, which resulted in the use of the direct²¹ before the indirect object, while in Spanish²² and Italian²³ the basis of arrangement was *personal priority*, or a desire that the pronouns of the first and second persons shall precede the third. Favoring the supposition that Old French did prefer

¹³ Cf. Terence, *Eunuchus*, l. 1053:

Mihi illum laudas?

Compare also Terence, *Andria*, l. 675:

Ego, Pamphile, *hoc tibi prout servitio debeo.*

¹⁴ Cf. Terence, *Eunuchus*, l. 897:

Tibi illum reddat aut tu eam tanges omnium?

¹⁵ Cf. Terence, *Eunuchus*, l. 749:

Hanc tibi do donó, etc.

¹⁶ Cf. C, l. 2321:

Dunc *la me ceint li gentilz reis, li magnés.*

¹⁷ For exception to the rule that the direct should precede the indirect object compare C, l. 456.

Sire, diat, Guenes, *me l' cuvient à souffrir.*

¹⁸ Cf. Blanc, *Italienische Grammatik*, Halle, 1844, p. 252.

¹⁹ Cf. Adolf Keller, *Altspanisches Lesbuch*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 144.

²⁰ In Old Italian the direct object was also occasionally put before the indirect. Compare Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, 5, 4; *Io ti ti prometto*; 6, 4: *se tu non la mi dai*; 7, 9; *ella il mi comanderà.*

²¹ Cf. T, 22, 25: *Je le vos conterai*; 24, 47: *Sire, Je le vous dirai.*

²² Cf. *Poema del Cid*, in Keller, l. 259.

yo assi vos lo mando.

²³ Cf. Giovanni Fiorentino, *Il Pecorone*, Milano, 1804, Vol. I, p. 9: *io te lo dirò*; Vol. I, p. 15: *io ve lo dirò.*

the direct object before the indirect, and that the arrangement of the pronouns under consideration was not based on *personal priority* (a desire that certain persons should precede others), is the fact that when two third personal forms are brought together the direct object still comes first.²⁴ In these cases both forms are of the same person, and one cannot see why *le lui* should be used instead of *lui le*, unless it be for the purpose of placing the direct object first.

V.

WHY THE OLD-FRENCH CONSTRUCTIONS *il le me* *s* *dira*; *il le te* *dira* BECAME *il me le* *dira* AND *il te le* *dira*, WHILE *il le lui* *dira*; *dis-le moi*; *dis-le lui* REMAINED IN MODERN FRENCH.

With reference to the history of the combinations above indicated, Darmesteter and Hatzfeld remark:²⁵

"Pourquoi de ces deux tournures *il le lui* *dira* et *il le me* *dira* (ou *il le te* *dira*), la première s'est-elle maintenue jusqu'à ce jour, tandis que les deux autres ont été modifiées par l'usage? Pourquoi l'impératif les a-t-il toutes gardées: *dis-le moi*; *dis-le lui*?"

1. Taking up in the order given the questions of the grammarians just quoted, it may be said in reply to the first that the Old-French expressions *il me le* *dira* and *il te le* *dira* became *il le me* *dira* and *il le te* *dira* in Modern French through a desire to place the pronouns of the first and second person before the third. That *il le me* *dira* could not have become *il me le* *dira* because the French preferred the indirect object before the direct, is shown by the fact that *il le lui* *dira* did not become *il lui le* *dira*.²⁷ Then, since in all cases where two oblique pronouns of different persons are placed immediately before the verb the first and second personal forms always precede those of the third, one is justified in supposing

²⁴ Cf. *il le lui* *dira*; *il le leur* *dira*; *il la lui* *dira*; *il la leur* *dira*; *il les lui* *dira*; *il les leur* *dira*.

²⁵ Cf. Note 12.

²⁶ Cf. § 331.

²⁷ Compare also: *il la lui* *donnera*; *il les lui* *donnera*; *il le leur* *donnera*; *il la leur* *donnera*; *il les leur* *donnera*.

that *personal priority*²⁸ is the basis on which these pronouns are arranged in Modern French.

2. Old-French *il le lui* *dira* equals Modern-French *il le lui* *dira*.

In answer to the second question included in the quotation already cited from Darmesteter and Hatzfeld,²⁹ it may be stated that *il le lui* *dira* did not become *il lui le* *dira* because *le* and *lui* are both of the third person, and hence the personal order would not have been changed by putting *lui* before *le*. Constructions with two third personal forms as just indicated offer no exception to the Modern-French law of *personal priority* already mentioned, since the order of the persons is the same in the combination *le lui* as it would have been in *lui le*.

3. Old-French *dis le mei* (*moi*); *dis le lui* equal Modern-French *dis-le-moi*; *dis-le-lui*.

As a rule, the pronouns in question followed the imperative in Old-French³⁰ just as in Modern-French.³¹ After adverbs and conjunctions, however, these pronouns often preceded the imperative.³² Directly traceable to the Old-French construction in which the pronouns stood before the verb in imperative phrases introduced by adverbs is the Modern-French usage of placing the pronouns before a negative imperative.³³ In like manner, the use of the pronoun before the second verb in cases where an imperative affirmative is followed by another, connected with it by *et*³⁴ or *ou*³⁵ is a survival of the Old-French construction where the pronouns were placed before the imperative in phrases introduced by conjunctions.

With the imperative just as in the case of

²⁸ Cf. *il me le* *donne*; *il te le* *donne*; *il me la* *donne*; *il te la* *donne*; *il me les* *donne*; *il te les* *donne*; *il nous le* *donne*; *il vous le* *donne*; *il nous la* *donne*; *il vous la* *donne*; *il nous les* *donne*; *il vous les* *donne*.

²⁹ Cf. above.

³⁰ Cf. V, lxxiv, 22: *Donnez la moy*.

³¹ Cf. Whitney, p. 105: *Vendons-le-leur*.

³² Cf. A. Haase, p. 436: "En ancien français le pronom précédait l'impératif dans les propositions amenées par un ad-
verbe ou une conjonction."

³³ Cf. *Ne me le* *donnez pas*. Here the pronouns *me le* stand before the imperative because the phrase is introduced by the adverb *ne*.

³⁴ Cf. *Console-toi et m'écoute* (or *écoute-moi*).

³⁵ Cf. *Montrez-les-moi ou me les peignez*.

constructions with two oblique personal pronouns immediately before³⁶ the verb, Old-French usually placed the direct object before the indirect.³⁷ In reply to the question of Darmesteter and Hatzfeld as to why *dis-le-moi* and *dis-le-lui* did not become *dis-me-le* and *dis-lui-le* just as *il le me donne* became *il me le donne* I have the following suggestions to make.

It will be observed that of the twelve constructions³⁸ in which the combinations under consideration may occur with imperatives, six³⁹ of them are constructions in which both pronouns are of the third person, and hence just as in the case of the same phrases before the verb there was no necessity of changing the position of the pronouns for the reason that the personal order is the same in *dis-le-lui* as it would have been in *dis-lui-le*. Then, the six combinations⁴⁰ in which both pronouns are of the third person may have caused the direct object to be kept before the indirect in the six combinations where the two pronouns are of different persons. In the second place, the second pronoun in combinations like *dis-le-lui* is tonic⁴¹ according to the general law in French that the last fully pronounced syllable of a word or stress-group bears the accent. Proving conclusively that the second form in the combinations just mentioned is really accented are constructions like *donnez-m'en* and *rends-l'y* in which *moi* and *toi* when placed before *en* and *y* become *me* and *te*.

A further proof of the statement that the last form in expressions like *dis-le-moi* and *dis-le-lui* is tonic is that the pronouns in such combinations are not attached to the verb for the

reason that no word can bear more than one tonic accent. If the second pronoun in these cases were not accented, both forms would be joined to the verb in French just as they are in Spanish⁴² and Italian,⁴³ where such pronouns are always unaccented, as is shown by the fact that the imperative⁴⁴ and the pronouns standing immediately after it are written as one word.⁴⁵

Now, if we admit that the last pronoun in *dis-le-moi* and *dis-le-lui* is tonic, it is reasonable to suppose that these constructions did not become *dis-me-le* and *dis-lui-le* because *le*, *la* and *les* are atonic forms and can never stand in tonic position. As an objection to this statement, it may be said that for unaccented *le*, *la*, *les* the corresponding tonic forms *lui*, *elle*, *eux*, *elles* could have been substituted. In reply to this objection, I would state that such a substitution could not have been made for several reasons.

In the first place, *lui*, *elle*, *eux*, *elles* are generally used in referring to persons⁴⁶ rather than things, while *le*, *la*, *les* refer to things as often as to persons. Hence, in order to substitute the former for the latter it would be necessary to change the syntactical sphere of tonic pronouns of the third person.

In the second place, if *lui*, *elle*, *eux*, *elles* were substituted for *le*, *la*, *les* in imperative phrases like *dites-le-moi*, this would be the only construction in French in which these disjunctive forms would be used as the simple direct object of a verb.⁴⁷

In the third place, if *lui* were used in conjunctive position as direct object it would be

36 Cf. *il le vous dira*.

37 Cf. C. I. 498: *Livrez le moi, j'en ferai la justise*.

38 The six combinations of the first and third persons are: *donnez-le moi*; *donnez-la moi*; *donnez-les moi*; *donnez-le nous*; *donnez-la nous*; *donnez-les nous*. The six combinations of two third personal forms are: *donnez-le lui*; *donnez-la lui*; *donnez-les lui*; *donnez-le leur*; *donnez-la leur*; *donnez-les leur*.

39 Cf. note 38.

40 Cf. note 38.

41 Cf. Jules Le Coultre, p. 45:

"La règle moderne du pronom avec l'impératif est de le placer après le verbe (avec la forme accentuée pour la première et la seconde personne et avec la forme atone pour la troisième), dans les phrases affirmatives; et avant le verbe (toujours avec la forme atone) dans les phrases négatives."

42 Cf. E. W. Manning, *Practical Spanish Grammar*, New York, 1891, p. 34: *Si v. tiene cartas para mí mándemelas v. á mi casa*.

43 Cf. C. H. Grandgent, *Italian Grammar*, Boston, 1891, p. 40: *mandátecelo*.

44 In Italian and Spanish these pronouns are also attached to the infinitive and present participle. In Italian they are also joined to the past participle when used without an auxiliary.

45 Cf. the Spanish *mandemelas* and the Italian *mandátecelo*.

46 Cf. Whitney, p. 246, § 83.

47 Tonic *lui*, *elle*, *eux*, *elles* are used as the direct object of a verb only for emphasis, or when two or more objects follow the same verb. Compare: *je vous écoute toi et lui et elle*.

confused with the same form used regularly as indirect object.⁴⁸

Now, if it be granted that the second pronoun in *dis-le-moi* is tonic and that *lui, elle, eux, elles* were not substituted for *le, la, les* in such constructions for the reasons already given, it is reasonable to suppose that *donnez-le-nous* did not become *donnez-nous-le* because *le, la, les* are unaccented and cannot stand in accented position.

The desire to place the pronouns of the first and second person before the third personal forms in French may have been caused by the Spanish⁴⁹ and Italian,⁵⁰ where the third person regularly followed the forms of the first and second person.

It will be noted also that the change of *il le me (le te) dira* to *il me le (le te) dira* is in perfect harmony with the law of euphony. The phrase *il me le dira* is easier to pronounce because it avoids the union of two *l*'s. Showing that the French does not like two *l*'s in succession is the fact that the indefinite *on*, which usually takes the article after *et, ou, où, que, si* requires that the article be omitted, if the next word begins with *l*. For instance, one says *si l'on voit* and *si on le voit*, but never *si l'on le voit*,⁵¹ because of the difficulty of pronouncing the two *l*'s together.

A further proof of the fact that French does not like to place together two monosyllables beginning with *l* is the frequent suppression of *le, la, les* before *lui, leur*,⁵² until the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁵³

⁴⁸ If *donnez-le-moi* had become *donnez-me-lui, lui* used as the direct object might have been confused with *lui* in *donnez-le-lui*, where it is the indirect object.

⁴⁹ Cf. *él me lo da*.

⁵⁰ Cf. *me lo dice*.

⁵¹ Cf. Whitney, p. 127:

"Instead of *on* simply, *l'on* (with the article prefixed) is often used after a vowel sound, especially after *et, ou, où, que, si*: thus, *si l'on voit*, 'if one sees'; but not if the next word begins with *l*."

⁵² Cf. Étienne, § 306:

"*Ellipse du pronom le et surtout du neutre le devant un pronom personnel au datif*.—Dans une phrase comme celle-ci: *il tient le papier, mais je n'ai pu le lui enlever*, il est facile de suppléer *le* et, par suite, de le supprimer; le sens n'en souffrira guère. Cette suppression devant *li, lui, lor* est presque constante dans l'ancien français; elle est éminemment populaire et aujourd'hui encore l'on entend quotidiennement les gens peu lettrés dire: *je li ai donné pour je le lui ai donné*. Ainsi: *tient une chartre, mais ne li puis tolir* (Alex. 71c.)."

⁵³ The Spanish avoids pronouncing two *l*'s in succession by substituting *se* for *le* where *le* would stand before *lo, la, etc.*

The date of the change of constructions like *il le me dira* to *il me le dira* is usually placed anywhere from the fifteenth⁵⁴ to the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ By comparing the résumé (col. 2) it will be seen that sporadic examples of this construction are found as early as the eleventh century,⁵⁶ but the placing of *me, le, nous, vous* before *le, la, les* did not become the rule until the beginning of the fifteenth century.

VI.

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Compare Manning, § 90: Of two conjunctive pronouns (neither being reflexive) of the third person, the indirect takes the form *se* where otherwise such combinations as *le, la, etc.*, would occur: as, *quiero darselo*.

The Italian avoids the union of two *l*'s in such combinations by giving the first *l* a mouillée sound (cf. *glielo* for *li lo*).

⁵⁴ Cf. Haase, § 154.

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THE BÖSE GEIST IN THE CATHE- DRAL SCENE, FAUST I.

The Cathedral Scene in Goethe's Faust has been the occasion of much speculation on the part of commentators, not only with respect to its position in the drama, but also with respect to the identity of the "Evil Spirit" there represented as speaking to Gretchen. Some critics have discussed at length the difficulties of the first question, assigning now this, now that place to the scene, and have passed over the second question without attempting to identify the spirit, while others have given various explanations of it, such as simply 'evil spirit,' 'Gretchen's own guilty conscience,' 'a horrible fiend,' 'the Devil,' and even 'Mephistopheles' himself. How an *evil* spirit could express the thoughts there ascribed to that character is a matter that has puzzled many. For the purpose of reviewing the different interpretations of the spirit, I shall quote the opinions of a few of the commentators, and thus lead up to the most recent of the writers who claim that the *Böse Geist* represents Mephistopheles. As the first editions of the commentaries are not in all cases accessible, I cannot conveniently arrange the extracts in chronological order. There will, however, be no misapprehension, if I give in each case the date, with the number, of the edition from which I make quotations.

The majority of Faust scholars, beginning with the veteran Düntzer, have seen in the *Böse Geist* merely the personification of Gretchen's guilty conscience. Düntzer declared:

1 Goethes Faust, Erster und zweiter Teil. Zum erstenmal vollständig erläutert. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig, 1859, p. 339.

Das böse Gewissen tritt hier als böser Geist auf. . .

and three pages farther on occur the words :

. . . die Einflüsterungen desselben (sc. des bösen Geistes), die nichts anderes sind, als ihre eigene Gewissensangst. . .

Similarly Carrière:²

"Orgelklang und Gesang eines Traueramts, wol für die Ihrigen selbst, werden ihr zur anklagenden, richtenden Geisterstimme des bösen Gewissens."

Schröer³ agrees substantially with this view :

"Was der *böse Geist* spricht, vergegenwärtigt uns die Gedanken und Gefühle, die bei den Tönen der Orgel in Gretchen auftauchen und sie beängstigen."

And he remarks again⁴ in connection with the second speech of the *Geist*:

"Es ist meisterhaft das Innere der Unglücklichen dargestellt, indem die Worte des bösen Geistes die Uebersetzung einzelner Sätze der lateinischen Hymne geben ; wir erkennen daraus : Gretchen errät den furchtbaren Inhalt des Gesanges."

Coupland⁵ expresses himself as follows :

"What wonder, then, that at the high service of the Cathedral Mass for the souls of the departed, Margaret's thoughts shape themselves into terrible images, and that behind her chair seems stationed a horrible fiend, who pierces the very core of her heart, supplying torment fit for the souls of the damned."

And again he says⁶

"*The tormenting fiend in her own breast emphasizes the doom.*"

Professor Thomas⁷ is equally conservative :

"The *Böser Geist* is a personification of Gretchen's tormenting conscience."

Lewes⁸ refers thus to the cathedral scene :

"Der schmerzlichste Augenblick ihres Lebens rückt heran, sie schleppt sich in den Dom, aber

findet hier keinen Trost, die furchtbarsten Qualen brechen über sie herein."

Weitbrecht⁹ remarks :

"War es im Zwinger nur die Not des geängstigten Herzens, so spricht im Dom auch das erwachte Schuldbewusstsein."

Sabatier¹⁰ translates *Böser Geist* by "l'esprit mauvais," using the definite article, while Bayard Taylor¹¹ and Miss Swanwick¹² render it simply by "evil spirit."

Von Loeper¹³ wrote in the introduction to his edition :

"Der 'böse Geist' ist dieses nur uneigentlich, insofern er die Gewissens-*Unruhe*, die Stimme von Gretchens eignem *schlechten* Gewissen darstellt, also eigentlich ein *guter* Geist. Eine entgegenstehende Auffassung, wonach der 'böse Geist' Gretchens Verblendung sein soll, welche sie von einem blossen *Fehl* zu einer wirklichen Missethat, der spätem Tödtung ihres Kindes, hinführe,—was an sich richtig ist,—beruht doch auf zu künstlicher Auslegung. (Marggraff in den *Bl. f. lit. Unterh.* 1859, Nr. 49, u. 1860, Nr. 12)."

But in the introduction to the second *Bearbeitung*¹⁴ we find that von Loeper has changed his mind and now writes :

"Der 'böse Geist' ist nicht nur die Gewissens-*unruhe*, die Stimme von Gretchens eignem *schlechten* Gewissen, dann wäre es ein *guter* Geist, sondern der Teufel, der jenes schlechte Gewissen von dem Fehl zu dem Verbrechen treibt, von welchem wir im Stücke bald erfahren."

And he adds in a foot-note:

"Meine frühere entgegengesetzte Auffassung habe ich als nicht haltbar erkannt ; ich folge Marggraff (*Bl. f. lit. Unterh.*, 1859, Nr. 49, u. 1860, Nr. 12), Köstlin, S. 64, u. A. m., während z. B. Dingelstedt unter dem bösen Geist nur Gretchens erwachtes Gewissen, die Stimme ihres ahnungsvollen Innern versteht."

Under the text of the cathedral scene, on p. 163, he has this further note :

⁹ *Diesseits von Weimar*. Stuttgart, 1895, p. 304.

¹⁰ Sabatier, *Le Faust de Goethe traduit en français*. Paris, 1893, p. 150.

¹¹ In his *Translation of Faust*. Boston, (1870) 1889, p. 175.

¹² In her *Translation of Faust*. London, 1892, p. 134.

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⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 250 f.

⁵ *The Spirit of Goethe's Faust*. London, 1885, p. 152.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 153. The Italics are mine.

⁷ *Goethe's Faust*. Boston, 1892, p. 325.

⁸ *Goethes Frauengestalten*. Stuttgart, 1894, p. 391.

"Diesen bösen Geist schildert ein Zeitgenosse des historischen Faust: Non est ille divinus et salutaris timor: nec a Deo proveniens, sed furor et nocentis conscientiae vermis: qui rodit quotidie atque urit malam mentem (Reuchlin II, p. 5)."

It appears, then, that von Loeper is now of the opinion that the *Geist* is not "merely the unrest," that is, not the mere unrest of Gretchen's conscience, but something quite different, namely, the Devil, who makes use of that conscience for his own ends; and he attempts to defend his position by saying that if the spirit were identical with Gretchen's conscience it would be a *good* spirit; so in order to account for the *bad* element, he infers that it must be the Devil. It is not quite clear whether he means by "der Teufel" the Devil or Mephistopheles. I consider his argument unsound. May not *böser* be interpreted by calling the conscience 'evil, cruel, tormenting', because it brings home to Gretchen more vividly her guilt? Such an explanation is certainly borne out by the words *Gedanken . . . wider mich* (in lines 3795 and 3797), that is, 'attacking me, besetting me, tormenting me'. I shall refer to this passage again. These very words show wherein von Loeper makes a mistake: the spirit is *böse* subjectively, that is, from Gretchen's point of view, with which the poet himself and the great majority, if not all, of his readers are in sympathy; and von Loeper is further mistaken in assuming that a good spirit, an emissary of the Deity, would find nothing better to do than to drive a poor sinner who is already penitent, to desperation and thereby to still more grievous sin. But while the use of the adjective *böse* is sufficiently justified by the considerations presented above, we need not assume that it was first suggested by them. It was simply demanded by the German locution *das böse Gewissen* (very rarely *das schlechte* or *schuldige Gewissen*); in personifying *das böse Gewissen* as a spirit, the spirit

¹⁵ On this point cf. Woldemar Freiherr von Biedermann's chapter on the *Domszene* in his *Goethe-Forschungen III, Anderweite Folge*, Leipzig, 1899, more particularly p. 36. This chapter is an article reprinted from the *Wissensch. Beilage der Leipziger Zeitung*, 1893, No. 33, and was originally suggested by a contribution by Paul Harms in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 1892, No. 231, in which the author came to the radical conclusion that the whole Cathedral Scene might be dispensed with on the stage.

became of necessity *ein böser Geist*. Düntzer must have been conscious of that parallelism¹⁵ when he wrote the words quoted above:

"Das böse Gewissen tritt hier als böser Geist auf."

Boyesen¹⁶ seems inclined to confusion with regard to the identity of the spirit; his words are:

"Whether the evil spirit, who stands behind her, mingling his relentless voice with that of the anthem, be Mephistopheles or some minor emissary of Satan is of little consequence. It is the voice of her own conscience which sounds audibly in her ears, filling her with dread, bewildering her thoughts, and distracting her poor, half-crazed brain."

Biedermann¹⁷ points out that, if the *Geist* is intended to mean Gretchen's conscience, the difficulty of representation can not be overlooked, and this difficulty is shown by the manifold ways in which the representation has been attempted. Since neither popular belief nor art has given a visible form to Conscience, there is altogether lacking any means of making the spectators readily understand the nature and character of the *Geist* on the stage. He says further:¹⁸

"Kurz, es ist geradezu undenkbar (*sic!*), wie Goethe auf den Gedanken gekommen sein sollte, Gretchen's Gewissen durch den Bösen Geist darzustellen. Ganz anders liegt jedoch die Sache, wenn Goethe etwas Derartiges vorfand, wenn er den bösen Geist als Erreger des Gewissens einer Quelle entnahm, die sich sonst für seinen 'Faust' ergiebig erwies. Und da brauchen wir denn nicht lange zu suchen: diese Quelle ist die Bibel. Nachdem im 1. Buch Samuel's berichtet ist, dass König Saul sich an Gott veründigt habe (15, 20-26; 16, 1), heisst es im 16. Capitel, Vers 14: 'Ein Böser Geist vom Herrn machte ihn sehr unruhig.' Hierauf Vers 15: 'Da sprachen die Knechte Saul's zu ihm: Siehe ein Böser Geist von Gott machet dich sehr unruhig.'"

We now come to a recent writer, Professor Friedrich Paulsen, of Berlin, who, in an article on Mephistopheles in the August number (1899) of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, simply takes it for granted that the *Geist* is Mephistopheles.

¹⁶ *Goethe and Schiller, their Lives and Works, including a Commentary on Goethe's Faust*. New York (1879), 7th ed., 1894, p. 223.

¹⁷ *Goethe-Forschungen III*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 35.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

After speaking of Gretchen's effort to cast off sin and purify herself, he continues :¹⁹

"Und Mephistopheles selbst hilft ihr dazu. Er ist, so schlaue er ist, zugleich doch der dumme Teufel; als böser Geist, in der Scene im Dom, steigert er durch seine Einflüsterungen ihre Gewissensangst, statt vielmehr ihr beruhigend zuzureden, es sei nicht schlimm, das wäre schon Anderen so gegangen, sie habe ja nichts Schlimmes gethan, Alles, was sie dazu getrieben, sei ja so gut und lieb gewesen. So hätte es ihm gelingen mögen, sie zu beschwichtigen, ihr Gewissen abzustumpfen, und sie allmählich auf den Weg zu bringen, den ihr sterbender Bruder sie schon wandeln sieht, den Weg zu wirklicher Gemeinheit. Die Ursache seines Fehlschlagens liegt aber in seinem eigensten Wesen, es ist die Lust, sich an dem Schaden zu letzen, sich an dem Verderben seines Opfers zu weiden; er kann sich nicht bezwingen, er muss bei ihrem Jammer dabei stehen und ihr mit höhnischem Grinsen vorhalten, was sie gethan hat. Aber eben damit treibt er sie nur tiefer in die Busse hinein und verliert damit die Seele, über die er freilich nie etwas vermocht hat, wie er es vorahnd nach der ersten Begegnung ausspricht."

It is just possible that Professor Paulsen has been unconsciously led to the belief that the *Geist* is Mephistopheles by that earlier passage (lines 2521-2626) in which Mephistopheles states that he had been present when Gretchen was at confession; the last sentence in the quotation above shows, at any rate, that Paulsen had that passage in mind, and from it he may have inferred that it would be an easy matter for Mephistopheles to be near Gretchen during mass in the Cathedral Scene.

But there is no evidence at all in the Cathedral Scene itself to justify us in supposing that Goethe intended the *Geist* for Mephistopheles. In the first place, the thoughts expressed by the *Geist* are not such as would be expected of a devil. They are, perhaps, Mephistophelian in their tormenting character, but on the whole there is too much tender feeling in them to suggest Mephistopheles; witness, for example, the first seven lines of the scene, 3776-3782:

"Wie anders, Gretchen, war dir's,
Als du noch voll Unschuld
Hier zum Altar trat'st,
Aus dem vergriffnen Büchelchen
Gebete lalltest,
Halb Kinderspiele,
Halb Gott im Herzen!"

¹⁹ Pp. 206-207. The Italics are mine.

When, too, did Mephistopheles ever speak of the glorified and the pure, except in terms of doubt, contempt, scorn, or cynicism? But read lines 3828-3831:

"Ihr Antlitz wenden
Verklärte von dir ab,
Die Hände dir zu reichen,
Schauert's den Reinen,
Weh!"

Furthermore, Goethe invariably, in both parts of the poem, calls Mephistopheles by his name; Professor Paulsen fails to explain why he thinks that the poet in this particular scene departed from that practice by using the designation *Böser Geist*. All these facts tend to show that the *Geist* does not stand for Mephistopheles. That it does represent Gretchen's guilty conscience follows conclusively, if further evidence is necessary, from lines 3794-3797:²⁰

"Weh! Weh!
Wär' ich der Gedanken los,
Die mir herüber und hinüber gehen
Wider mich!"

Nothing could be plainer than these words. It is not to be supposed for a moment that Goethe meant a devil incarnate, with a human voice, to be mistaken by Gretchen for her own thoughts; that is inconceivable. Even the stage-direction²¹ at the opening of the scene, "Böser Geist hinter Gretchen," in no way proves the presence of a devil incarnate. Gretchen's thoughts could not be presented in any other way than by a personification—except indeed in a monologue, which would have been not only a clumsy contrivance and undramatic, but quite out of place in church during high mass. Besides, the personification²² of this inner spirit voice is precisely what we should expect of Goethe's *gegenständlicher Denkweise*; Biedermann's remarkable assertion to the contrary, in the passage quoted above, is simply incomprehensible. Gretchen does not even imagine the presence of a *spirit*; she realizes only her *Gedanken*,²³ and the *spirit*

²⁰ The significance of this passage was pointed out to me by Professor Schilling, and I am glad to acknowledge my indebtedness to him.

²¹ Cf. Biedermann, *l. c.*, p. 34.

²² Cf. Scherer in *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Vol. vi, 1885, p. 241.

²³ Scherer, *l. c.*, p. 240.

is a poetical device of Goethe's to present her thoughts.

The internal evidence furnished by the scene itself compels us to adhere to the view that the *böse Geist* is simply 'a personification of Gretchen's tormenting conscience.'

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THE SOURCES OF L'AVARE.

ALTHOUGH we cannot state with certainty the particular cause or causes that induced Molière to choose the subject of avarice, there are a number of circumstances by which, it seems, his attention was naturally directed towards such a theme. The first of these is that avarice was much discussed in those times, as we may infer from a number of passages found in writers like La Bruyère, Boileau, Tallemant des Réaux, La Fontaine and others.

Some of these contain merely general moral reflections on the vice in question, others however describe real occurrences with which Molière was undoubtedly acquainted. Moreover, if we are to judge of the character of the elder Poquelin in the light of recent research, it is more than likely that our poet reproduced a number of his father's traits in the character of Harpagon.

Among the stories current then we may mention that of a certain Charles Maslon, seigneur de Bersy, and his son. The former was a miser and practised usury, and the latter borrowed money at a high rate of interest—each without the knowledge of the other. One day the two met under circumstances very much the same as Harpagon and Cléante in *L'Avare* ii, 2. The father exclaimed: "Ah! débauché, c'est toi?" to which the son replied: "Ah! vieil usurier, c'est vous?"¹

Perhaps the most notorious misers known at that time were the lieutenant-criminal Tardieu and his wife. Tallemant des Réaux² speaks of them as follows:

¹ Boisrobert's *Belle Plaideuse* is said to be based on this occurrence.

² Cf. Tallemant des Réaux, *Les Historiettes* (ed. Monmerqué et Paris), t. iii, p. 137.

"Ils n'ont pour tous valets qu'un cocher: le carrosse est si méchant et les chevaux aussi, qu'ils ne peuvent aller."

Molière, it seems, made use of these and other real or fictitious events—but whether they, or his reading of plays in which avarice formed the subject, gave him his first inspiration cannot be determined.

In the following will be found the principal sources of Molière's comedy. On account of its striking resemblance to *L'Avare* we shall begin with an analysis of the *Aulularia* by Plautus.

Aulularia.

Euclio, a poor man, has accidentally discovered a pot of gold which his grandfather had hidden in the house before his death. He is now anxiously watching lest any one should find out where he has concealed the treasure. His suspicion is aroused by the fact that everybody salutes him more civilly than before, and when Megadorus, a rich gentleman, asks his daughter in marriage, he thinks that he is aiming at his gold. When, however, the suitor for Phædra's hand shows his willingness to marry her without a dowry, Euclio gives his consent. While the preparations for the wedding are going on, Euclio goes to the market in order to buy a wedding-present for his daughter. On his return he finds in his house a number of cooks whom Megadorus has sent in order to prepare the marriage feast. He scolds, beats and drives them out because he suspects that they are after his money. He then conceals his pot in the Temple of Faith. Strobilus, a slave of Lyconides, overhears Euclio's conversation concerning the hiding-place of the gold, and he resolves to steal it. The miser, however, discovers the would-be thief just in time to prevent him from carrying out his project. He then takes his pot to an unfrequented grove. The slave overhears him again, and he now succeeds in stealing the gold after watching Euclio from a tree as the latter is burying his treasure. As soon as Euclio discovers the loss of his money, he laments most bitterly. Lyconides, a nephew of Mega-

³ Cf. *Zeitschrift für neufranz. Sprache u. Litteratur*, vol. viii, p. 51 ff. Also Molière, in the *Grands écrivains*, series, t. vii, p. 14 ff.

dorus and also in love with Phædra, to whom he has done violence, thinking that the miser is lamenting over his daughter, confesses to him his crime. This gives rise to a comical misunderstanding since Euclio is under the impression that Lyconides is confessing the theft of the pot. Lyconides asks for Phædra's hand, and announces at the same time to the miser that Megadorus has given up his claim to her hand in his favor. When Strobilus informs his master that he has stolen Euclio's treasure, Lyconides orders him to give it up at once, so that he may restore it to its rightful owner. The slave is willing to do so on condition that Lyconides will set him free. Here ends Plautus' comedy. There exists a supplement written by Codrus Urceus, an Italian grammarian, according to which Lyconides becomes the son-in-law of Euclio and his heir—for the miser has suddenly become so liberal as to give him all his gold in addition to his daughter.

In general outline the *Aulularia* and *L'Avare* resemble each other very closely—in each there is a miser (Euclio and Harpagon), a daughter (Phædra and Élise), and her two lovers (Megadorus and Lyconides—Anselme and Valère). The part of Strobilus becomes that of La Flèche in Molière's comedy. Again, in both plays we find a number of servants who are made to suffer from harsh treatment, and who freely give vent to their feelings. Molière produced some fine comic effects by means of these servants. But although the principal characters of the *Aulularia* reappear in *L'Avare*, their particular treatment differs greatly in the two comedies.

The characters newly created by Molière are Cléante, Mariane, Frosine, Maître Simon, and the Commissaire.

The most general difference between the two misers is that one has been a poor man until he suddenly finds a pot of gold; whereas the other, Harpagon, has always kept up a comparatively big establishment comprising a large house and garden, a carriage, horses and a number of servants. Euclio continues the same mode of living as before he found the treasure, and there is nothing in his surroundings to show that he is in good circumstances.

⁴ Staphyla also reappears to some extent in Cléante's valet.

Harpagon, on the other hand, exhibits his avarice in the midst of comparative elegance.

This difference becomes all the more interesting, since Harpagon's downright niggardliness and sordid avarice form a marked contrast to the 'milieu' in which he moves. The result is that he becomes extremely odious, and, at the same time, comic. There are other differences between the two misers, the principal one being that Harpagon is in love, while Euclio is not. To make a miser—and an old miser at that—fall in love, adds much to the comic effect not only of this character but also of the entire comedy. Moreover, Harpagon is in love with the same girl as his son. From this difference in the general plan of the two plays arises the necessity of creating most of the additional personages found in *L'Avare*.

If we now consider the purpose of the Latin comedy, we shall find that it is not so much to depict the avarice of Euclio as it is to describe the fate of a pot of gold. Hence the comedy becomes one of situations, whereas *L'Avare* is a comedy of character. Euclio's chief concern is to find a hiding-place for his pot. The effects of his avarice can hardly be said to manifest themselves anywhere very strongly. No one suffers seriously in consequence of it. In *L'Avare*, however, Molière's principal purpose was to show the evil effects of the miser's stinginess upon his children, his sweetheart, his servants, Anselme, Frosine and even his horses—in short on every one that comes in contact with him. In *L'Avare* all the characters are made to set forth the principal one, thus differing again from the *Aulularia*, in which the characters have a more independent existence. Finally Plautus had in mind an ulterior aim which was partly religious and partly political. The Lares neglected by Euclio have taken vengeance upon him by keeping him poor for a long time. As for the political purpose, Plautus aimed at bringing the rich and poor into closer union by intermarriage between those classes. He holds up before his audience the example of Megadorus.

Of the characters retained in *L'Avare* from the *Aulularia* it is to be said that what Megadorus has lost in Anselme, Lyconides has gained in Valère. Megadorus seems a man

of flesh and blood compared with Anselme. Closely connected with this fact is the unnatural dénouement of *L'Avare*. As for Lyconides he seems a weakling by the side of Valère, the former acts like a coward who has no will of his own, but is driven about by the force of circumstances; Valère, on the other hand, will risk everything in order to win the hand of Élise his beloved. It is to the credit of the French author to have purified the relations between the young people. A general comparison between the two comedies shows that *L'Avare* is a much more artistic and living production than the *Aulularia*. While the broad outlines of both are the same, the particular age and society in which they were written make them differ widely. But more than this, the superior talent of Molière changed and amplified the comedy of Plautus in so skilful a manner that the *Aulularia* seems a mere sketch when compared with *L'Avare*. There is a charm and finish in the work of Molière that reveals at once the greater genius and a period of higher social refinement.

LARIVEY'S *Les Esprits*.

Among the French sources of *L'Avare* mention is usually made first of *Les Esprits*, a comedy by Larivey (1579). This comedy is founded on several plays, among them the *Aulularia*. Séverin, an inveterate miser, has a son and a daughter, Urbain and Laurence, who live with him; Fortuné, another son has been adopted by the miser's brother Hilaire. Urbain is secretly in love with Féliciane, and Laurence loves a young man named Désiré. The miser, who is opposed to the plans of his children, is greatly troubled by a treasure that he carries about with him in a purse. Fearing lest some one may get possession of his money, the miser buries his purse. Désiré watches him, steals the purse and puts it back after having filled it with pebbles. The lover of Laurence, through the intercession of Séverin's brother, Hilaire, restores the money to the miser on condition that he will consent to the marriages of his children Urbain and Laurence.

From a close comparison between *Les Esprits* and *L'Avare* it appears that Molière made considerable use of the former comedy. Séverin makes himself ridiculous by his avarice

and brings upon himself the hatred of his children through his hardheartedness. These traits reappear, but more strongly in *L'Avare*. The special obligation of Molière to Larivey is the recognition scene towards the end of *L'Avare* (v, 5). In *Les Esprits* the father of Féliciane, a rich merchant, reappears after a long absence, and by this timely return the marriage of his daughter is greatly facilitated. Molière is also indebted to Larivey for the relation in which Cléante and Mariane stand to each other (compare that of Urbain and Féliciane in *Les Esprits*). In Molière's comedy, however, this relation has become purified. Finally, in the order of arrangement of scenes, Molière follows *Les Esprits* more closely than the *Aulularia*.

La Belle Plaideuse.

Another comedy, *La Belle Plaideuse*, by Boisrobert (1654) furnished Molière with a suggestion for the scene between Harpagon and Cléante, where the latter discovers that his father is a usurer (ii, 2) (cf. *La Belle Plaideuse*, i, 8). In the same play our author found a sketch of the memorandum-scene which he so admirably developed in *L'Avare* (ii, 1). All that interests us here in *La Belle Plaideuse* may be summed up as follows: Ergaste, the miser's son, is in love with Corinne, who is in need of money in order to carry on a lawsuit for the purpose of recovering an inheritance. The lover tries to borrow the money for her and succeeds in finding what he wants, but he will have to pay a high rate of interest. When, finally, lender and borrower meet, they prove to be father and son. This unfortunate outcome of Ergaste's plan induces him to try other means. He finds a second usurer who is ready to favor him with the loan, provided he will pay eight and one-third per cent interest and is willing, moreover, to accept a lot of old rubbish for the larger part of the money.

The valet reports from the usurer:

Il veut bien vous fournir les quinze mille francs;

.....

Encor qu'au denier douze il prête cette somme

Sur bonne caution, il n'a que mille écus (3000 francs)

Qu'il donne argent comptant.

La Belle Plaideuse ends with the news that Corinne has won her lawsuit, and this induces

the miser Amidor to give his consent to the double marriage. There are other resemblances between *La Belle Plaideuse* and *L'Avare*, all of which point to the fact that Molière made ample use of the former play. Thus, for instance, we find in *La Belle Plaideuse* a double love-intrigue; that is, in addition to the one mentioned, there is that between Ergaste's sister and Corinne's brother. It is this second love-affair that seems to have suggested to Molière many points for the relation existing between Élise and Valère.

As for the misers in *La Belle Plaideuse* and *L'Avare*, we find that in both plays they are wealthy, and occupy a certain social position, which is not so with Euclio in the *Aulularia*. Finally, attention may be called to the fact that Filipin, the valet, and La Flèche resemble each other in a number of essential traits.

La Mère Coquette.

Molière is also indebted to Quinault's *La Mère Coquette*, written in 1665. The comedy contains a double rivalry: Ismène, whose husband is supposed to be dead, tries to win the affection of Acante, the lover of Isabelle, her daughter. Acante, on the other hand, has a rival in his father Crémante, an old miser, who, treats his son in a niggardly fashion and is determined to marry the latter's sweetheart. Finally Ismène's former husband returns after a long absence, and the play ends with Acante's happy marriage with Isabelle.

There are other French comedies showing certain close resemblances with *L'Avare*, as *La Veuve* by Larivey, *L'Héritier ridicule* by Scarron, *Les Barbons amoureux* by Chevalier and *La Dame d'intrigue* by Chappuzeau. In reference to these plays, however, it may be said that we do not know to what extent he was indebted to them or, indeed, whether he was indebted to them at all.

I Suppositi.

The principal Italian source used by Molière is the comedy entitled *I Suppositi* by Ariosto (1509). From the following brief analysis the resemblance between this play and *L'Avare* will be readily seen. A wealthy young Sicilian, by the name of Erostrato has come to Ferrara

in order to study law. One day while walking on the street he sees a young lady, Polinesta, and falls in love with her. In order to be always near his sweetheart, Erostrato determines to enter the service of her father, Damonio, an old miser, and to accomplish this he assumes the name of his own servant Dulippo. He is aided in his project by Polinesta's nurse.⁶ Now it happens that a wealthy old miser Cleandro seeks the same young lady in marriage and finds a favorable hearing with Damonio. The love between Erostrato and Polinesta is finally discovered, and the lover is thrown into prison. The latter, like Valère in *L'Avare*, has won his master's favor to the detriment of a servant, Nevola, who now greatly rejoices at the idea of being avenged. Erostrato's father, Filogono, arrives from Sicily just in time not only to free his son from imprisonment, but also to bring about his marriage with Polinesta after Cleandro has renounced his claim to her hand. Besides the points of resemblance that appear from this analysis we find in *I Suppositi* (i, 2) a parasite, Pasifilo who flatters Cleandro regarding his looks and age very much as Frosine does Harpagon in *L'Avare* (ii, sc. 5).

The claims⁷ which have been advanced in favor of a number of other Italian comedies as being additional sources from which Molière drew, may be disregarded since in some cases such comedies were based, like *L'Avare*, upon the *Aulularia*; as, for instance, *La Sporta* by Gelli; in others it has been found that the imitation is on the side of the Italians rather than on that of Molière. This is true of plays like *L'Amante tradito*, *Il Dottor bacchettone*, *Le Case svaligliate* and *La Cameriera nobile*, comedies which belonged to the style called 'comedia dell'arte' in which the actors had to improvise to a large extent, and whose dates it has been impossible to ascertain. It is difficult to say whether Molière was acquainted with the works of Lucian and Martial, but if he was the former's dialogue, *The Cock or the Dream*, and the latter's *Epigram* ix, 9 may have suggested to him some ideas for *L'Avare*.

For further possible sources⁸ cf. Körting's

⁶ For a similar situation cf. *L'Avare* i, 1 (end).

⁷ Cf. Riccoboni, *Observations sur la comédie et sur le génie de Molière* (Paris, 1736).

⁸ A few minor details not mentioned here will be found in the notes to the author's forthcoming edition of *L'Avare*.

⁵ Cf. *Opere Minori* di Lodovico Ariosto, tomo ii, Firenze, 1857.

Geschichte des französischen Romans im xvii. Jahrhundert ii, p. 70; *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* i, pp. 38-48.

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THE SEMASIOLOGY OF *understand*,
verstehen, ἐπιδραμαί.

IN the December number of the MOD. LANG. NOTES Prof. George Hempl takes exception to my explanation of *understand*, etc. It may be that my language was "more or less obscure," and that consequently Prof. Hempl was unable to "separate out or distinguish" my real meaning. Allow me, therefore, to make a desperate effort to express myself less elusively in order that my meaning may be more easily 'caught.'

My statement in the May number, 1899, was:

"In words expressing separation the meaning 'understand' may develop in two ways: 1. 'separate,' 'distinguish'; 2. 'separate,' 'take away,' 'take in,' 'perceive.' To the first class belong Lat. *cerno*, *distinguo*; to the second *intelligo*, *percipio*."

Prof. Hempl says:

"This classification seems to me not quite satisfactory. I propose instead: 1. 'separate,' 'unterscheiden,' 'distinguish,' or 'gather,' 'intelligo,' 'understand.' 2. 'grasp,' 'begreifen,' 'perceive.' 3. 'take in,' 'devour,' 'swallow (gullibly).'"

My classification was not intended to be complete. In it I confined myself to "words expressing separation," dividing them into two classes. These two classes Prof. Hempl combines in his class 1. 'separate,' 'unterscheiden,' 'distinguish' [my class 1.], or 'gather,' 'intelligo,' 'understand' [my class 2.]. What I mean by 'separate,' 'take away,' 'take in,' Prof. Hempl expresses by 'gather,' 'intelligo.' My choice of words may have been infelicitous. My intention, however, was to call attention to what seems to me a plainly marked distinction between 1. 'separate,' 'distinguish' and 2. 'separate,' 'take away,' 'take to oneself,' 'take into the mind,' 'perceive.'

That, as I take it—notice that 'take' here means 'understand' and belongs to my second class of such words—is what Prof. Hempl implies by his class 1. For though he puts un-

der one head the two ideas 'distinguish' and 'gather' (that is, 'infer,' 'take into the mind'), he separates them by 'or' and must have kept them distinct in his mind. For Prof. Hempl has a keenly logical mind, and no logical mind could do otherwise.

Prof. Hempl's class 2. 'grasp,' 'begreifen,' 'perceive' [why not 'comprehend' rather than 'perceive'?], I did not discuss at all. For such terms do not imply separation but the taking of a subject into the mind in its entirety, and hence the thorough mastery of an idea or a subject. I had said, however, in the first paragraph of my article:

"A term denoting insight, perception, understanding, may primarily mean one of several things, the most common of which are: 'sharpness,' 'keenness,' 'acuteness' [for example, *penetrate*]; 'grasping,' 'comprehension'; 'separating,' 'distinguishing.'"

Prof. Hempl's class 3. 'take in,' 'devour,' 'swallow (gullibly)' was still farther from my mind. For these terms imply neither separation nor understanding. The turn given to 'take in' here is entirely different from its use in my classification.

Several other classes might be added to these, as: 'follow,' implying rapidity of thought or speech in the person heard; 'trace,' implying an indistinct or hidden meaning; 'unravel,' implying intricacy or ambiguity; 'fathom,' implying depth of thought; 'construe,' implying a comparison of related parts; 'turn the attention,' 'give heed to,' '*animadverto*,' etc.

After quoting another passage from my article, in which I referred *verstehen* and *understand* to my class 2, Prof. Hempl says:

"In this I do not agree with Prof. Wood. German *verstehen* and English *understand* are cases of class 1, not of class 2, and so is Greek ἐπιδραμαί."

And yet Prof. Hempl in his class 1.—'gather,' 'intelligo,' 'understand,' explains *understand* as I did.

Continuing Prof. Hempl says:—

"OE. *understandan* was originally simply 'to stand between,' and so 'to keep apart,' 'to separate,' and it, like Lat. *distinguo*, German *unterscheiden*, etc., got the figurative meaning 'distinguish,' 'make out,' 'understand,' 'know how (to)' (and in German, *unterstehen* passed on to 'undertake (to),' 'presume (to)'). But the

same is true of German *verstehen*, OE. *forstandan*. These originally meant 'to stand in front of,' 'to keep off (from some one else),' 'to separate,' and hence 'to distinguish,' 'to make out,' 'to understand.' Just so, Greek *ἐπίσταναι* originally means, as still shown in *ἐπίσταναι ἐφίσταναι*, 'to stand in front of,' 'to oppose,' 'to check,' 'to keep off.' Hence the meaning 'to separate' and metaphorically 'to distinguish,' 'to understand,' 'to know how,' as shown in *ἐπίσταναι*.

Let us once more examine *understand*, *verstehen*, *ἐπίσταναι*. For OE. *understandan* Prof. Hempl assumes certain meanings. Now an assumption is all right provided we have nothing better. But since any given signification may develop in innumerable ways, we can never be sure of a conclusion drawn from an assumption. I agree with Prof. Hempl—or rather he agrees with me—in seeing in E. *understand* the primary meaning 'separate.' But this separation is not an 'auseinandernehmen,' but a 'zusichnehmen,' 'vernehmen.' Compare especially the following significations of MHG. *understân*: 'etwas bewahren,' 'über sich nehmen,' 'unternehmen,' 'erreichen,' 'ansich reissen,' 'entreissen' with OE. *understandan* 'take for granted,' 'assume,' 'annehmen,' 'perceive,' 'understand.' Germ. *verstehen* carries out the idea contained in MHG. *understân*, *-stên*, and did not pass through the meaning 'understand.' Compare Lat. *ad-sūmo*, *ad-rogo* 'take to oneself,' 'assume,' 'arrogate.'

OHG. *firstantan*, MHG. *verstân* *-stên* 'intercept,' 'notice,' 'perceive,' 'understand,' OE. *forstandan* 'intercept,' 'understand' show the same development of meaning as OE. *understandan*. Compare OE. *under-niman* 'take upon oneself,' 'undertake,' 'take in,' 'understand,' OHG. *fir-neman* 'take away, take to oneself,' 'perceive.' (For other examples see my article in the May issue, vol. xiv, 1899, of MOD. LANG. NOTES.)

In Gk. *ἐπίσταναι* Prof. Hempl assumes the development 'stand in front of,' 'oppose,' 'check,' 'keep off,' 'separate,' 'distinguish,' 'understand.' Here also we shall find it safer to confine ourselves strictly to the authentic usage of *ἐφίσταναι* and *ἐπίσταναι*. The former word is actually used in the sense of 'stand in front of,' 'oppose,' 'check,' but never, so far as I can find, in the sense of 'keep off,' 'separate.'

That would be expressed by *ἀφίσταναι* or *δι-ίσταναι*. In explaining *ἐπίσταναι*, therefore, we cannot start from the primary meaning 'separate.' To begin with, *ἐπίσταναι* is not directly connected with *ἐφίσταναι*, as Prof. Hempl seems to imply in giving the Ionic form *ἐπίσταναι*. *Ἐπίσταναι* is a compound of *ἐπί* and the unreduplicated *-σταναι* (cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* ii, 889), whereas *ἐφίσταναι* is a compound of the reduplicated *ίσταναι*. The two verbs are of course alike in composition, but they are different in formation. We may, therefore, refer to *ἐφίσταναι* in explaining *ἐπίσταναι*. In the literal sense *ἐφίσταναι* means, according to Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*, 'set on,' 'set over,' 'place upon,' 'set by or near to,' and in the middle voice and the intransitive tenses, 'stand on, over, near, by,' etc. These are the regular and most frequently occurring meanings. The word is used figuratively in *ἐφίσταναι τὴν γνώμην*, *—τὴν διάνοιαν* 'apply one's thoughts to, attend,' and so frequently used absolutely *ἐφίσταναι* 'attend,' *ἐπιστήσθαι τινα ἐπὶ τι* 'call one's attention to a thing.' From these uses come *ἐπιστάδων* 'attentively, earnestly,' *ἐπιστάδία* 'oversight, command,' 'attention, care,' *ἐπιστάτης* 'overseer, superintendent,' *ἐπίσταναι* 'fix one's mind upon, believe, be confident of, know, understand,' etc. In the face of such evidence there need be no doubt as to the primary meaning of *ἐπίσταναι*.

The development of the meaning 'turn one's attention to, give heed to' to 'perceive, understand' is a common one. Compare Lat. *anim-adverto* 'pay attention to, attend to, regard, observe, perceive, understand;' (*animus*) *at-tendo* 'give heed to, consider;' MHG. *war nemen* 'wahrnehmen;' Skt. *cēṭati* 'observe, consider, be intent upon, understand, know;' ON. *gaunr* 'attention,' Goth. *gaumjan* 'attend to, observe, perceive, see;' Goth. *sōkjan* 'seek, strive for,' Lat. *sāgio* 'perceive quickly;' and so many others.

Now it is possible that OE. *forstandan*, OHG. *firstantan*, *firstân* 'verstehen' may have meant primarily 'stand before,' and hence 'watch, observe, perceive, understand.' So Schade, *Wb.*, explains them. This interpretation I considered when writing my first article on these words. But it seemed on the whole more probable that Germ. *verstehen*, *vernehmen*, OE. *under-*

standan, *underniman*, *undergietan* all belonged to one class and were explained by OHG. *fir-neman* 'wegnehmen, in besitz nehmen, vernehmen, wahrnehmen;' and that *verstehen*, *understand* are both based on the transitive use of the root *stā-*, *stē-*, which is found by the side of the intransitive use from IE. time down to the present.

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GERMAN FOLKLORE.

Neue Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Volksrätsels, von ROBERT PETSCH. [Palästra: Untersuchungen und Texte aus der deutschen und englischen Philologie. Herausgegeben von ALOIS BRANDL und ERICH SCHMIDT. IV]. Berlin, 1899. 8vo, pp. 152.

MORE than a century after Herder's statement¹ that the riddle summed up the innermost workings of a nation's mind, more than half a century after Wackernagel's well-known characterization,² the folk-riddle is coming into its own, as not the least worthy branch of the science of folklore. The monotony of these years of waiting has been often broken by the appearance of books and magazine articles which dealt in whole or in part with riddles;³ scientific description and investigation of them, however (along the line laid down by Richard Heinzel),⁴ the collection of variants by the comparative method, a consideration of the riddle's relation to the other branches of popular *Kleinpoesie*, treatment of it according to its inner and outer form,—such were utterly lacking. The reason for this is not far to seek: no collection of the larger sort was at hand, and it

was not until the year 1897 that Wossidlo's book furnished partial foundation for such consistent and searching investigation.

This book contains two thousand one hundred and forty-one riddles, collected for the most part from the lips of the people. Such astonishing abundance of material furnishes convincing proof of the vigorous imagination, the keen observation of nature, the sound philosophy, and the indestructible humor of the people.⁵ Wossidlo's collection is the basis of Dr. Petsch's study.⁶ As there is no correspondingly large South-German collection, Renk's *Volksrätsel aus Tirol* (*Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, v, 1895, pp. 147-160) is used. Other collections are frequently cited for comparison.⁷

Petsch would divide all riddles into two classes: 1) Real riddles; that is, those whose purpose is to paraphrase an object by clothing the description of it in a veiled poetic dress, intended to stimulate thought, or even—it may be—to confuse it: which object may be guessed from the statement of its appearance, its origin, its activity, etc.; 2) Unreal riddles; that is, those which defy guessing, but in which the questioner generally has the intention to give the solution himself: these take advantage of the listener, try to tease him, and are, therefore, just because the solution is impossible to the uninitiated, not real, but rather unreal riddles. This division of Petsch's is exact, trustworthy and important, because investigation has been hitherto content to class all riddles as 1) Rimed Riddles, 2) Prose Jesting-Questions (*Scherzfragen*).

⁵ Cf. Hauffen's review in *Euphoriön*, v, p. 735.

⁶ A companion book to Wossidlo's in importance and interest is Pitre's *Indovinelli, dubbi, scioglilingua del popolo siciliano* (=Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane, xx), 1897.

⁷ But rarely is the title of these cited works given anywhere in full: one is compelled to guess which book is meant. For example, 'Chambers' is Chambers, *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, Edinburgh and London, new edition, 1870; 'Gregor' is Gregor, *Notes on the Folklore of the North-East of Scotland*, (Folk-Lore Society, Publ., vii) London, 1881; etc. Frequent misspellings of proper names cause confusion: I note as wrong: Wonste (p. 56), Frieschbier (17), Doornkaat-Krolman (54), Petor (89), Giananandrea (52), Schmeller (112), Rachholz (73), Rochholtz (61), and others. To quote Dr. Petsch's own words (*Herrig's Archiv*, cii, p. 403): "Such discrepancies should surely be removed, else what is the editor there for?"

¹ In *Vom Geiste der ebräischen Poesie*.

² *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, iii, 1843, p. 25 f.

³ For bibliography, cf. Wossidlo, *Mecklenburgische Volksüberlieferungen. I. Rätsel*. Wismar, 1897, pp. 259-271.

⁴ Which method in another place (*Herrig's Archiv*, cli, 1899, p. 400) Petsch characterizes as sober, cautious scientific investigation, contrasting it with

"the wahlhall-drunk, myth-scenting, phantastical ravings of the last, dwarflike followers of Jacob Grimm, of whom Moritz Haupt prophesied, that there would soon be no crowing cock and no stinking goat, in which they would not discover a Germanic god."

Mr Gummere rightly refers to Jacob Grimm as "the thrice-battered" (*Old Engl. Ballads*, xlix).

According to Petsch's distinction, then, the unreal riddles fall into four subdivisions: a) Wisdom-Tests; b) Criminals' Riddles (*Verbrecher-, Halslösungsrätsel*); c) Jest-ing-Questions; d) Enigmatic Tales (*Rätselmärchen*),—these last-named placed with the unreal riddles chiefly on account of the prose form in which they are cast. These four he treats first, in order to clear the path for the real riddles. Except for the manner of their division, there is little new or original in the discussion, which is, however, generally pertinent and often interesting. One *ex-cathedra* statement would seem better omitted; namely (p. 14), that the Englishman is more conversant with holy scripture than is the German, because he hears a passage from it read every Sunday, and that therefore (!) the Englishman loves to deal with biblical riddles such as the one of Lot's grandchildren:

Two brothers dear,
Two sisters' sons are we,
Our father's our grandfather,
And whose sons are we?

This riddle, Petsch says, is conspicuously rare in Germany. Is it, I ask, conspicuously frequent in England? Its source is doubtless in the Talmud (*Midras Mishlae*) where the Queen of Sheba propounds it:⁸ *Fœmina dicit filio suo: pater tuus erat pater meus, avus tuus erat maritus meus; tu es filius meus et ego sum soror tua.*

The second part of Dr. Petsch's study is devoted to the real riddles. It opens with a discussion of the relation between *Volkslied* and *Kunstlied*, which, as Prof. E. H. Meyer suggests,⁹ younger *Volkslied*-students might well take to heart; but Petsch goes on to discuss the *Volksrätsel* and the *Kunsträtsel* with less success. Is it necessary to burden the budding philology of the riddle with these misunderstood terms? Wossidlo avoided the breach by putting in a group by themselves (13th group) the popular riddles (*Volkstümliche Rätsel*) which, though written in the popular tone, are of recent, conscious, imitative origin; but Petsch meets us boldly on the quicksands where others fear to tread, upholding the

⁸ Cf. Friedreich, *Geschichte des Räthsels*. Dresden, 1860, p. 98 f.

⁹ *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 12. Aug. 1899, col. 1249.

specious *distinguendum inter et inter, Volks- and Kunst-*.

Berger called attention some years ago to the confusion invariably caused by the employment of catch-words, showing how fetichism followed.¹⁰ He said:

"It is the acknowledged fatality of so-called catch-words, that they obscure and even gradually come to falsify the conception of the nature of the phenomenon which they characterize; possessing, besides, a tenacity of life which is wont to outlive a surprising length of time the historical moment whence they are sprung and in which they once found their justification. Two catch-words of this kind which have current authority in the sphere of letters, and have created sad confusion on account of the merely formal contrast in which they have been handed down are: *Volksdichtung* and *Kunstdichtung*."

It is impossible, of course, for the modern literary critic to rid himself of a terminology which has so long dominated tradition, and the arbitrary and meaningless classification of all German lyric poetry into *volksmässig* and *kunstmässig* must remain in force until the millennium, and even (probably) after that. It is one thing, however, to bear with philosophy the mistakes of an honored and honorable past: it is quite another thing to view with equanimity of spirit this attempt to stamp upon the study of a recent branch of folk-poetry investigation an outworn and hollow title. *Volkslied* and *Kunstlied* must be accepted, *Volksrätsel* and *Kunsträtsel* need not be. Where is the end? *Volksmärchen* and *Kunstmärchen*, *Volks-sage* and *Kunstsage*, *Volksmythen* and *Kunstmythen*, *Volks-sitte* and *Kunstsitte*, *Volksbrauch* and *Kunstbrauch*, *Volksbuch* and *Kunstabuch*, *Volks-sprüchwort* and *Kunstsprüchwort*—we have heard of the *Volks-sprache*, too: now for the *Kunstsprache*.

Dr. Petsch divides the *Rätsel* into *Volks-rätsel* and *Kunsträtsel* and establishes the distinction—how? Not through a study of the sources of the *Rätsel* (p. 46), or by a comparison of the spirit which animates it, but (p. 47) through a comparison of the difference in style between the folk-riddle and its art-counterpart. As an example of the former he chooses a short Mecklenburg riddle (with its Scotch var-

¹⁰ Arnold E. Berger (Bonn), *Volksdichtung und Kunstdichtung*, Nord und Süd, Jahrgang xvii, p. 76 ff. January, 1894.

iant), as an example of the latter a riddle of Schiller's. The first two are conveniently found to be brusk, monosyllabic, dialectic, contenting themselves with a sentence of description: Schiller on the contrary is found to be diffuse, polysyllabic, literary, spending himself in similes.

In like manner Wackernell¹¹ contrasts the Hessian folksong *Die Kindesmörderin*¹² with Schiller's song of like title, with exactly the same results as above: the one is found to be artless, immediate in effect, relying upon a score of broken words; the other offers the reader "the entire graduated scale of a psychological study."¹³

Vigorous protest may be entered against the unfairness of such a method. If all *Volks poesie* were as condensed as the two examples quoted, and all *Kunst poesie* were as diffuse as these two songs of Schiller's—well and good. Such is, however, not the case. Sometimes the *Volkslied* is garrulous, while the *Kunstlied* is monosyllabic. And why (except as a matter of undue zeal) choose in each case as the representative of the *Kunst dichtung* just Schiller, a poet who was as acknowledgedly, consciously free from the *deutschvolkstümliche* striving of his time as was Grillparzer?¹⁴ Suppose one were to choose as examples the *Volkslied*, *Röslein auf der Haide*, and Goethe's *Kunstlied* of like title. Such choice would lead (it has led¹⁵) to no clear result. It would be manifestly unfair.

The undeniable value of Petsch's book lies in its ingenious and helpful characterization of the *Volksrätsel*, its skilful analysis of the

component parts. The normal riddle falls into five elements:

- 1) Introductory frame-work (*Einführendes Rahmenelement*).
- 2) Denominating core (*Benennendes Kernelement*).
- 3) Descriptive core (*Beschreibendes Kernelement*).
- 4) Intercepting core (*Hemmendes Kernelement*).
- 5) Concluding frame-work (*Abschliessendes Rahmenelement*).

Technical and vague as such nomenclature appears at first blush, an example serves to make the division clear:

- 1) In meines Vaters Garten
- 2) Seh ich sieben Kameraden,
- 3) Kein ein,¹⁶ kein Bein,
- 4) Kann niemand erreichen.
- 5) Wer dieses kann raten,
Dem will ich geben einen Dukaten.

It would lead us too far to follow Petsch into the details of his further work, which deals with the minuter points of his classification. Each point in his subdivisions is illustrated by one or more riddles, chosen generally from the German, but not infrequently from the English (Scotch), French, or Italian. Never completing, but always fresh and suggestive, the chapters on the technique of the riddle will furnish a welcome starting-point for future investigation, which will come to the front more rapidly now that a beginning has been made. Valuable are the two appendices, the first of which brings a reprint of the *Rocken-Büchlein*, the second offering hints as to the editing of people's riddles.

Carelessness in spelling is visible throughout the book. Mistakes such as Hätzlein (Hätzlerin), gelegent- (gelegentlich), and p. 9; step (steps), 22; spell (tell), 37; coup (cup), 37; castlewa' (castle wa'), 39; I'me (I'm), 39; with' (wi'), 48; Widerpruche (Widerspruche), 49; allisterierend (allitterierend), 52; ridde (riddle), 52; hiierzu (hierzu), 55; a (at), 57; trough (through), 17, 112; fehst (feast), 57; einc (eine), 59; the' (there), 60, 109; no omitted after *ye'll*, 62, 127; yon (you), 64; bach (back), 80; up (at), 81, 113; and omitted after *dike*, 88; Poiton (Poitou), 92; Mank (Mark), 93; preusisch

¹⁶ "That is, *Eichen Bein*, on account of the inner rime with *ein*, developed from *Buchen*. The verse may have been originally: *Kein Buchen, kein Eichen, kann niemand erreichen*" (Petsch).

¹¹ *Das deutsche Volkslied*, 1890, p. 18.

¹² Büchel, *Volkslieder aus Oberhessen*, 1885, No. 54.

¹³ Suppose, for the sake of analogy, the investigator in English ballrday should choose to compare the "popular ballad" *Sweet William's Ghost* with Pope's "artificial ballad" *Rape of the Lock*!

¹⁴ Cf. *Your. Germ. Philol.* ii, p. 307, note 4.

¹⁵ Despite the exertions of von Biedermann, *Zu Goethes Gedichten*, 1870, p. 9 f.; Suphan, *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, 1876, v, p. 84 f.; Baier, *Das Heidenröslein*, 1877, ii, p. 124 f.; Dunger, *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, 1881, x, p. 193 f.; Redlich, *Herders Werke*, 1885, xxv, p. 680 f.; von Biedermann, *Goethe-Forschungen*, N. F. 1886, p. 331 f.; Minor, *Chronik des Goethe-Vereins*, v, 10-11.; Moleschott, *ibid.*, p. 36 f.; Hildebrand, *Zs. f. d. d. Unterricht*, iv, 1890, p. 147 f.; Dunger, *ibid.*, p. 338 f.; Erich Schmidt, in the *Berliner Gesellsch. f. d. Lit.*, 1894, June 24th; Joseph, *Das Heidenröslein*, Berlin, 1897 (cf. M. Koch, *Litter. Centralbl.* 1898, No. 40), etc.

(preussisch), 104; threot (thread), 117; zweu (zwen), 123; personifihiert (personifiziert), 124; to (too), 127; wite (white), 135; etc., are too frequent to be excusable. Double spellings such as Hervarar, (3): Herwarar (91): Wälsch- (127): Welsch- (108), etc., might have been avoided by more careful proof-reading. *U* is often used for *n*; three times on p. 118 alone. It is but fair to acknowledge, however, that misspellings are very apt to occur when the quotations are in as many languages and dialects as are Dr. Petsch's.

Of the positive value of the book as a whole there can be no doubt. It is broad in view and instructive.

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OLD FRENCH LITERATURE.

Li Livres du Gouvernement des Rois, a Thirteenth Century French Version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise *De Regimine Principum*, now first published from the Kerr MS., together with Introduction and Notes and full-page Facsimile, by SAMUEL PAUL MOLENAER, A. M., Ph. D., Instructor in the University of Pennsylvania; sometime Fellow of Columbia University. New York: published for the Columbia University Press by The Macmillan Company, 1899. 8vo, pp. xlii and 461.

THE *Livre du Gouvernement des Rois et des Princes* (for so the work carefully styles itself) is a prose version of the Latin prose tractate *De Regimine Principum* by Egidio Colonna, who died in the office of Archbishop of Bourges, in 1316. This well-known Latin work was compiled by Egidio (who was known in France as Frère Giles de Rome) for the instruction of the dauphin, who afterwards was known as Philippe le Bel. Soon after his accession in 1286, this prince commissioned a certain Henri de Gauchi, a canon of St. Martin's at Liège, to make a version of the work in the vernacular.

Of Henri de Gauchi's work there exist perhaps a score of manuscripts; one of these, to which attention has already been called in this journal,¹ is preserved in a private library in New York City. Dr. Molenaer's work con-

sists in a diplomatic reprint (one page to one column) of this manuscript, with introductory matter, numerous emendations to the text (use being made of the Latin original), together with notes and appendices. The text itself amounts to upwards of sixteen thousand lines, occupying four hundred and twenty-one pages. It will be seen that the preparation of this bulky and handsomely printed volume has involved no mean amount of labor and care.

The work is dedicated to the editor's instructors, Profs. Cohn and Todd, and we can but heartily welcome this evidence of a fruitful growth in the study of Romanic philology in the United States. Dr. Molenaer has set himself a high standard, and his work will undoubtedly, as he hopes, prove of interest and value to many besides students of the beginnings of pedagogy and political science. While the following remarks bear exclusively on the linguistic side of the work, I have not forgotten that perhaps the chief interest aroused by this publication will be among workers in other fields.

Considering the length of the text printed, one is reluctant to find fault with the editor for not adducing any of the other French manuscripts for comparison, helpful as this would have been in many an obscure passage. The editor states (p. xxviii) that

"our text has one feature in common with several of the manuscripts described in M. Lajard's article;² namely, the omission of Chap. 23, Book iii, Part ii."

When a hint of this kind is given, it is unfortunate if it cannot be followed up carefully. Not only, in this case, would the value of the text have been enhanced by the removal of obscurities, but a comparison with these more nearly related manuscripts might also have settled the question of the dialect of the original French version—a question to whose solution the editor can bring only surmises and probabilities. On this point, he supposes that Henri de Gauchi wrote "in a Picard dialect, most probably the Artesian," and he suggests, though he does not make, a comparison of the text with those of the *Vie de St. Alexis* (only Manuscript S could be meant), the *Aucassin et Nicolette* (this, by the way, should not be called

¹ Cf. MOD. LANG. NOTES, Vol. xii (1897), cols. 399-400; S. P. Molenaer, *A Manuscript of the Gouvernement des Rois*.

² *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Vol. xxx, p. 421.

a "poem") and the *Dit dou Vrai Aniel*, especially the last, as being contemporaneous.

This question of the dialect seems to me to merit a somewhat closer examination, even though, in the single manuscript before us, the material may be very scanty. I may say at once that what evidence the manuscript contains seems to me to show that the original dialect was not Artesian, nor even Picard, but rather belonged to the Eastern group, and was, most probably, the Wallonian. The fact that Henri de Gauchi was a member of the chapter of St. Martin's at Liège furnishes an indication that should not have been ignored, and a far more fitting, because more promising, comparison might have been made between what seem to be the older linguistic features of the Kerr manuscript and the language of the six *chartes* coming from this very collegiate chapter of St. Martin's, and published in *Romania*, Vol. xvii, by M. Wilmotte. These range in date from 1272 to 1286, coming thus within a few years of the date of Henri de Gauchi's commission (soon after 1286).

The editor, however, does not let his view go entirely unsupported. In the chapter on the linguistic features of the text, he lists a dozen "specifically Picard features." Among these I can find only one (Latin CA=*ca* not *cha*) which, if proved, would confine the text to Picard territory; the remainder are either common to the whole North and East, or, as in the case of *cen=ce* (pronoun) and the syncopation of *l* (*acun, defat*) point strongly toward Eastern territory. The position of Liège on the border of the *ca*-territory renders the presence of a few forms like *cascuns, castiaus, caitif, cauz, CALCEM* (*capitre* is learned, hence to be excluded) a matter of little surprise: the same orthography is found occasionally in the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory, and in documents in the dialect of Liège.³ Nor is it certain that *gambes* represents a different pronunciation from *tambes*.⁴

The Kerr manuscript shows evidences of a general rejuvenation of the language (*aus* for *as*, *lui* for *li*, *garde* for *gart*, etc.); in the fourteenth century copy or copies, the dialectic

coloring imparted by Henri de Gauchi must have been already mostly removed, for few pronounced traits of any sort remain to serve as sure guides. Of these, however, the most constant are as follows (the editor, I should state, also noted nos. 1-5, 8, 14, 16, 17, but without text references):

1. Parasitic *i*: *aveir* AVARUM 16.37 (I refer by page and line); *penseies* 20.15; *espeie* 323.8, 375.16; *meir* (?) 410.30 (MS. *mur*); *pluis* 26.7, etc.; *suis* 32.35; *juistes* 48.40, etc.; while *ei* is wider spread, *ui* is confined to the East.⁵ *soit* (*sol*) 329.4 is probably only an error.

2. *-are>-ier* in *alier*, etc.; *siet* SAPIT 72.31; *hiet* 96.25; *trief* 110.25; *aviers* 130.9; *piere* PATREM 164.3; *siel, tiel, quiel*, etc., etc. In all except the last two examples, the presence of *ie* for *e* is explained by the reduction of *ie* (arising under Bartsch's Law) to *e*, beginning in French of the Centre in the fourteenth century, and the consequent confusion of the two orthographies. *ie* is even introduced in *departient* 154.32; *sormontient* 92.4; *mentient* 127.35; where *tient* (*tenir*) is perhaps responsible. As for *tiel*, it is common, for example, in Joinville (Champagne dialect).

3. *ie>i*. *-ie* for *-iêe* -ATA; *sicle* 18.26, etc.; *eslive* 213.30; *assegir* 405.32. The reduction is well known in Wallonian⁶ and in Lorraine.⁷

4. *ie* in *terre, gierra* 278.16 is not specifically Picard.⁸ *aniaus* 411.24; *ruissiauz* 414.4, are found also in Eastern monuments.⁹

5. For *ø* tonic, there is nothing conclusive: *boens, passim; vult, vuelt, velt; joennes* and *jennes; avegle*. Interesting are *juient*, JOCANT 60.30, and *juiz*, JOCOS 41.37. *eu* for *ui* is well-known; the inverse is rare.¹⁰

6. Pretonic *o>e*: *quemun* 3.22; *henneur* 3.26, etc.; *quenoist* 319.4. Known in the East¹¹ and elsewhere.

⁵ Cf. Suchier in Grüber's *Grundriss*, § 38.

⁶ Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 8.

⁷ Apfelstedt, *Lothringische Psalter, Einl.*, § 11. See also Logie, *Transactions M. L. Assoc.*, vol. vii, p. 110.

⁸ See *Auc. u. Nic.*, § 22; *Vie de St. Alexis*, p. 269; Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 11.

⁹ See Apfelstedt, *l. c.*, § 26.

¹⁰ See Apfelstedt, *l. c.*, § 72, where *lui* for *leu* is quoted from a text in the dialect of Metz.

¹¹ See Apfelstedt, *l. c.*, § 50; Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 23.

³ See Behrens, *Unorganische Lautvertretung*, p. 38.

⁴ See Suchier, *Auc. u. Nic.* 3, § 12; Wilmotte, in *Romania*, Vol. xvii, § 28.

7. *ei>oi* after labial: *moine* (*mener*) 21.36, 408.20; *poine* 346.37. So in the East.¹²
oe for *oi* in *voer* (*voir*) 31.7, 31.16, 55.18; *rasoer* 375.19; and perhaps *oie* in *purvoier* 261.14, seem to correspond to the *valoer*, *savoer*, *avoer* and *avoier* of the Liège chartes.¹³ The latter also have *saen*, *faet=sain*, *fait*, with which compare *mesaese* 130.19.¹⁴

8. The distinction between *-z* (= *ts*) and *-s* is wholly lost: examples on every page. So in Wallonian, from the middle of the thirteenth century.¹⁵

9. Final *-t* disappears: *devan* 113.2, etc.; *enten* 322.38; *secré* 331.14. So in Wallonian.¹⁶

10. Syncopation of *l* in *acun(e)* very often, corresponding to the *achon* (*ch=k*) of the Liège chartes. In Picard, *l* is vocalized.¹⁷ Less certain are *defat* 9.23; *nus* 10.31; *vuel* 98.32.

11. As in the East, *lr*, *nr* remain in *chauroit* 199.18; *covenroit* 275.37.¹⁸ No assimilation in *donront* 19.10; *menroit* 317.39.¹⁹

12. *on* for *un* in *chascon(ne)* frequently, as often in the Liège chartes.²⁰ Not confined to the East.

13. *nn*, *mm*, as in *chasconne* 30.24; *ordeinne* 47.28; *Romme* 326.12, appear constantly in Wallonian.²¹

14. *-aule* -ABILEM in *houoraules* is also good Wallonian.²²

15. *w* to suppress hiatus: *lower* 19.23, 25.24; *jower* 91.18, 91.27. So in the Eastern documents.²³

16. In the morphology, we note the pronoun *lie* for *elle*: 23.29, 167.24 (at 148.4 *lie* stands for *lui*). This rare form, with which may be compared *mie=mi* 404.21, appears, also as feminine, in one of the chartes²⁴ from Andenne, near Namur.

17. We come to the demonstrative *cen* (*a cen que*, *por cen que*, etc.), whose regular employment is a marked peculiarity of the Kerr manuscript. *n* and *u* are so constantly confused in the writing of this manuscript, that at

¹² See Apfelstedt, *l. c.*, § 33. ¹³ Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 13.

¹⁴ Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 5. ¹⁵ Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 35.

¹⁶ Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 33.

¹⁷ Apfelstedt, *l. c.*, § 80; Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 36.

¹⁸ Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 42. ¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 21; cf. note, p. 558.

²¹ Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 43; Apfelstedt, *l. c.*, § 95.

²² Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 32.

²³ Wilmotte, *l. c.*, § 31; Apfelstedt, *l. c.*, § 78.

²⁴ *Romania*, vol. xix, p. 94, ll. 5, 25.

first I was inclined to see in the nearly constant *cen* a misapprehension for *ceu*, the latter well-known in Lorraine and Wallonian. The writing *cē* 381.35 is not conclusive, being due to a later hand; *ce* occurs sporadically (cf. the facsimile). The history of *cel* and *ço* presents much difficulty,²⁵ but, for this text, I see no objection to placing *cen* by the side of *ken=ke*, *quen=que*, *chen=che* (*re*), *chon=cho*, as found in the Liège chartes studied by Wilmotte.²⁶

To resume, while there appears to be no trace of several traits which we might look for in a Wallonian text (*astoit=estoit*; *wardeir=guarder*; -ĒLLUM>-*eal*, etc.), yet it is also true that we have met with no marked peculiarity which excludes the region of Liège; on the other hand, the testimony in favor of Artois is, plainly, very weak. However, as has been intimated above, a comparison with the other French manuscripts can alone decide the question with certainty.

The transcription of the text seems to have been made with fidelity. Page 3, l. 11, the facsimile has *ce* (not *cen*). Page 3, foot-note, we are told, "in words marked * the final letter is written on an erasure." Later, however, the asterisk evidently refers the reader to the Notes. It would have been more prudent not to uniformly replace *u* by *v*, as to do so involves a decision of some very doubtful questions. Thus *jover* 214.1, *lover* 257.13, can hardly be justified, while *ensinez* 3.16, *eschiuer* 11.12, *ueeues* 17.19, should not have been condemned without basis. The use of the diæresis is not always consistent.

A partial reading of the text has suggested the following observations:—

5.1; 200.7. The mysterious *semitis*, *semites* is probably *seruices*=‘duties’; the confusion is easily possible.—9.41 read *esmueve(nl)*.—10.10 better a *qu[o]i*, cf. 18.32.—14.5 read *qu’i[l]*.—18.15 read *meëme[me]nt*, as elsewhere.—31.10 read *empeëschies* (not *-iēs*).—40.14 *tens a venir*, as 42.9.—41.33 *a[s] vaines choses*.—45.13 *sem.* participle needed.—47.31 read *soustien[en]t*.—48.2. The editor *defaille*, the manuscript *devoie=desveier*, ‘*dérouter*,’ ‘*s’égarer*.’—62.30 *apaié* is very doubtful; be-

²⁵ See, especially, G. Paris, in *Romania*, vol. xxiii, pp. 173-174.

²⁶ Cf. *l. c.*, § 41; for *ceu*, cf. *Romania*, vol. xix, p. 80.

sides, the fem. is necessary.—86.37 *mēine-ment*.—97.17 *volent* is, perhaps, connected with the rare adj. *vuele*;²⁷ or is it from *ouel* ÆQUALEM (19.6, 23.22, 421.31, etc.)?—111.7 rather *entent*, as 100.24.—111.9 read *celi* for *li*.—113.22 ff. keep to the manuscript and read: *celes sont douces [qui sont douces] a ceus qui sont heitiez et out le goust bien disposé*, etc.—129.16, 133.6, etc., *oient* is altogether wrong; elsewhere the editor has correctly *oient* (131.24).—132.25 if the restoration of -s is undertaken at all, *remez* must be *remes* (*remeses*, l. 34).—151.16 keep to the manuscript: *commant* is correct for Pres. Sbj. 3; so *parlous* 232.10, and *gart* 188.37.—173.21 no need to change *font* to *fet*; cf. 174.1.—202.24 no need for change.—216.34 *crest* in manuscript is good; *nest* is quite unsatisfactory.—250.21 *feures* FÄBROS seems to me unobjectionable.—272.32 *demosterous* need not be changed.—277.20 better *quid(er)oit*.—323.9 is incomprehensible to me.—325.27 *quen* in manuscript seems to stand for *qu'en*=*qu'il*. Cf. *eus* for *ils* 19.13.—326.20 *l'use* for *lime* in manuscript is unnecessary; insert [*le*].—338.12 *pleideier* is found by the side of *pleidier*.—378.18 *l'ame de son cors*=*de soi-même* and need not be changed.²⁸—404.32 *estou[i]ent*. The insertion of *i* only increases the confusion. For -*ient*, see § 2 above. Read *estuet*, or *estoet* (impersonal verb). So 303.24.—410.2 read *leveiz* as 409.31.—410.4 *fouir* *FÖDIRE is very good; the editor himself lets it stand at 413.13.—411.10 *feut* in manuscript is excellent; *foit*, which is substituted, could be only perfect, hence *foit*, as in the *Cambridge Psalter*, vii, 15.—417.32 *out* should be *out*=UNDE.

Notes, p. 432, l. 3, *ardaument*: it is a question whether -*amment* ought not to be read in all these forms.—434, l. 10, *felle* of the manuscript is no doubt *feble*=DEBILEM in the Latin.—434, l. 32 read *li hons ne se meut en son corage*.—436, l. 32, *aage* was fem. in the sixteenth century, so here. Cf. 169.15.—437, l. 25 *oënt*: such a reference seems to me useless.—437, last ll. I doubt if Schwan is so easily corrected. For *foir*=FUGIRE, cf. Behrens, *Unorganische Lautvertretung*, p. 34, and cf. 350.40.—443, l. 6, *asaülés*.—443, l. 14, *maiguent* seems to be *mainent* (*mancir*); but the glossarist mistook it for

meinent—*moient* (*mener*).—448, l. 35, *requeurent* in manuscript seems to be an error for *re-content*, spelt *cequentent*. Cf. above, § 6.—450, l. 14, *chascuns* for *Caton*, at first sight, points to CA>ca (not cha) in the original text; but *ch=k* is a not uncommon orthography in the Liège chartes, as *achon*=*alcun*.

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BEOWULF.

Notes on Beowulf. By THOMAS ARNOLD, M. A. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. 140.

The Tale of Beowulf sometime King of the Folk of the Weder Geats. Translated by WILLIAM MORRIS and A. J. WYATT. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. x, 191.

Tales of the Heroic Ages: Siegfried, the Hero of the North, and Beowulf, the Hero of the Anglo-Saxons. By ZENAÏDE A. RAGOZIN. Illustrated by GEORGE T. TOBIN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898. 8vo, pp. xxii, 332.

ARNOLD'S *Notes* will prove a valuable help to English and American students of the epic of *Beowulf*. While similar books¹ have appeared from time to time in Germany for almost the past twenty-five years, England and America have published nothing of equal importance on *Beowulf* philology. True, there is little new light offered on any of the obscurities of the various *Beowulf* questions. In fact the author disclaims at the outset any serious attempt at original views.

"The object of the present 'Notes'," he says (p. 2), "is to do what I think has not yet been done: namely, to place before the English reader the present position of Continental and British opinion on the leading *Beowulf* questions. To propose or enforce any views of my own, except to a very limited extent, and then chiefly in connection with the authorship, has not been attempted."

The larger part of Arnold's book is devoted to the examination and elucidation of the theories and opinions of Müllenhoff and Sarrazin. Moreover

¹ Cf. Müllenhoff's *Beowulf*, and Sarrazin's *Beowulf Studien*, two of the most important.

²⁷ Bartsch and Horning; s. v., *Lothr. Ps.*, note to § 72.

²⁸ Cf. Tobler, *Verm. Beit.*, vol. i, § 6.

"the language of the poem, the nature of the story and of the episodes contained in it, the allusions to historical events, dynasties, tribes, and individuals, the date, the authorship, the possible transformations,"

are all briefly discussed. There are, very properly, few attempts at the interpretation of doubtful words or disputed passages. And while the author agrees with Sarrazin in his general theory of a Scandinavian home and original for the English *Beowulf*, he frequently takes issue with the German critic in the matter of details, and does not hesitate to repudiate the latter's somewhat *aus der Luft gegriffene* theory of the Cynewulfian authorship of *Beowulf*, as well as of *Andreas* and *Guðlac*.

The Frontispiece to the book is a map. "The Geography of *Beowulf*," showing the, in many cases supposed, location of the places and tribes mentioned in the poem.

The Contents are conveniently arranged into nine divisions or chapters, with an "Index" appended. As the Table of Contents contains a brief outline of the subject-matter, a repetition of it here will give a sufficient idea of the scope of the book and of the character of the discussion:

- I. Object of 'Notes'—Language of the poem West-Saxon—Compared with that of Chronicle *Ā*—Scandinavian element—Diction compared with the Homeric.
- II. Analysis of *Beowulf*—The question of interpolations—Müllenhoff's view—Episodes—1. Fin and Hnæf—2. Wars between the Swedes and the Geatas—3. Ingeld and Freawaru.
- III. *Beowulf* a Dano-Geatic legend—Allusions in it to Denmark—Anglen—To the Geatas or Goths—Heorot and Leire—Queen Wealhþeow—Sigemund and Here-mod—Offa and Anglen—The Geatas.
- IV. Allusions to other peoples and tribes—The Headðobards—The Brondings—The Gepidæ, etc.
- V. Allusions connecting *Beowulf* with the Nibelungen Lay.
- VI. The Geography of *Beowulf*.
- VII. Scandinavian sources—Starkad—Use by the poet of his materials.
- VIII. Date of composition—Authorship of the

English poem—Müllenhoff's 'atheteses'—How far reasonable—Different theories considered—Parallel passages in *Beowulf* and the Cynewulfine poems compared—Parallel passages in the *Andreas* and *Beowulf*—in *Guðlac* and *Beowulf*—Priority and originality of *Beowulf*—Authorship of the Epos unknown.

IX. Mythological theories.

On the similarity of diction between *Beowulf* and the Homeric poems, and the importance of this similarity in placing the date of the composition of the poem, Arnold remarks (pp. 10-12):

"In a poem of known late date, such as *Byrhtnoth*, written about the end of the tenth century, the definite article is employed much more frequently. Again, the boasting of the Homeric heroes is curiously paralleled in *Beowulf*, especially in the passages where he sets Hunferð right as to the swimming match which he had with Breca. . . . There is also a Homeric colour about the descriptions of arms, houses, clothes, etc., in *Beowulf*, proceeding not, of course, from direct imitation, but from parity of social circumstances and ruling ideas. That naïve and fresh delight with which in the Homeric poems mention is made of everything made or used by man, as if the sense of the human initiative were a recent and delicious perception, and the mind were only beginning to become conscious, and to take pride in the consciousness, of the inventive skill of the race, is largely found also in *Beowulf*, and that to a degree not equalled by any other Anglo-Saxon poem. . . . The student of *Beowulf* will, the closer becomes his acquaintance with the poem, be more and more firmly convinced that it represents a very early stage of Anglo-Saxon culture."

While he agrees with Sarrazin² in laying the scene of the story "in the Danish islands, Gotland or Gautland, the southern province of Sweden, and the seas between them" (p. 13), Arnold does not seem to believe in the latter's views of the identity of Heorot "with Lethra and its temple of worship."

"If," he says (p. 41), "Heorot be identified with Leire, then the same place which, in *Beowulf*, the most ancient authority, is represented as the creation of a Danish king, and in every sense Danish, must be regarded also as the capital of the Headðobards, whom both Müllenhoff and Sarrazin believe to have been a Germanic people. Heorot, therefore, cannot be identified with Leire."

² *Beow. Stud.* p. 4 et seq.

³ *Anglia* xix, 368 et seq.

It is further suggested (p. 42) that Leire could not have existed in the time of Hroðgar, otherwise it would have been mentioned along with Heorot in *Beowulf* or in *Widsið*, the most ancient sources we possess. In another place (p. 82) Arnold says,

"the view of Sarrazin and Danish scholars that the site of Hroðgar's mansion must be placed in close proximity to that of Leire, near the head of the Røskilde Fiord in Zealand, is now generally accepted."

He also rejects *in toto* (p. 83 *et seq.*), the opposite theory of Bugge⁴ that Gautland is identical with Jutland, and that, therefore, the Geatas and Jutes are one and the same people.

From meagre references in the poem itself, the author concludes (p. 111)

"*Beowulf*, as we know it, was composed within the period 568-752. From this interval the first hundred years may be deducted, partly to allow for the lapse of time since the hero's burial, partly because Anglo-Saxon culture, before the arrival of Christianity, and without some previous literary practice, could not have been equal to such a task. . . . This deduction made, the upper limit of time within which *Beowulf* was probably composed, becomes 670, and the lower limit 750."

As to the interpolation theories of Müllenhoff and others,

"the lines 1725-1769—," he says (p. 113), "a moral discourse put into the mouth of Hroðgar in continuation of his remarks comparing *Beowulf* with Heremod, are generally allowed to be an interpolation. Comparing 107-114 and 1262-1267, passages both of which refer to Cain, and speak of him as the progenitor of monsters, there seems much reason to think that one of them must be interpolated. The dull and unnecessary passage 3039-3076 is more likely to have been the addition of a stupid copyist than the work of the original writer. Many other passages we should be inclined to sacrifice to Müllenhoff's strictures, if only the least fragment of additional evidence were forthcoming; as it is, it appears preferable to accept the text on the whole nearly as it has come down to us."

The author still holds partially (cf. pp. 114-115) to the theory advanced in the Introduction to his edition of *Beowulf* (1876),

"that both the choice of subject and the grade of Culture which are met with in *Beowulf*, might be connected with the missionary efforts of the English Church of those days to extend Christianity in Friesland and farther east. . . . It does not appear improbable that it was in

⁴ Cf. *Beitr.* xii.

the interest of the spread of Christianity that the composer of *Beowulf*, perhaps a missionary, perhaps a layman attached to the mission, was attracted to the Scandinavian lands; that he resided there long enough to become thoroughly steeped in the folklore and local traditions; that he found the grand figure of *Beowulf* the Geat predominant in them; and that, weaving into an organic whole those which he found suitable to his purpose, he composed an Epic which, on his return home, must soon have become known to all the lovers of English song."

Such a theory naturally brings him to a consideration of Sarrazin's attempt to identify "this hypothetical poet" with "the celebrated Cynewulf." On this point Arnold is "unable to share his (Sarrazin's) opinion;" and after quoting several of the parallel passages between *Beowulf* and *Crist*, *Beowulf* and *Juliana*, *Beowulf* and *Elene* which are pointed out by Sarrazin,⁵ he says (p. 119): "In all but one of these passages the priority of the *Beowulf* poet, and the indebtedness of Cynewulf, appear to me indisputable." Again, he says (p. 120):

"Although the evidence of the parallel passages which have been examined appears to tell strongly, on the whole, for the originality and priority of the *Beowulf* writer as compared with Cynewulf, yet, if the style of the latter poet, estimated by means of the work certainly his, bore a manifest resemblance to that of the Epos, the theory of the identity of Cynewulf and the last interpolator of *Beowulf* might not be without its attractiveness. But no such resemblance exists."

Arnold further expresses the opinion (p. 123) "that the writer of *Andreas* was not Cynewulf, but that, like Cynewulf, he was a firm admirer of *Beowulf*, and borrowed from it many phrases and locutions;"

and he thinks *Guðlac* "was probably written by a Croyland monk, and not later than about 740." There is

"no reason for assigning it to Cynewulf. . . . The tone is grave and pious, but not at all excitable, the morbid and introspective tendency of Cynewulf is wholly absent. That the author was well acquainted with the *Beowulf*, and composed his poem later, may be considered certain."⁷

Comparatively little space (four pages) is devoted to the numerous "Mythological⁸ theo-

⁵ *Beow.* Stud. 123 *et seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.* 110 *et seq.* cf. *Engl. Stud.* xxiii, 227 *et seq.*

⁷ Cf. pp. 123-127.

⁸ Cf. Siever's on *Mythus u. Sage in Beowulf u. Saxo*, in *Berichte der königl.-Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften* (1895) p. 175 ff.

ries" which have been associated by German and Scandinavian scholars with the *Beowulf* epos. This and the general tenor of the author's remarks would seem to indicate that he attaches very little importance to the attempts of recent German and Scandinavian critics to build up various Norse mythological theories from the vague hints in the poem itself.⁹ He emphasizes the fact (pp. 141-2)

"that the great ruling myths which governed the Northern mind at the time when the Scandinavian saga¹⁰ was composed, are, if not passed over in silence, yet very faintly shown in *Beowulf*. There is no mention of Woden, Frey, Thor, Balder, Frigga, Loki, or any other of the popular divinities. The great 'doppel-mythus,' as Sarrazin calls it, in which Balder and Frey, Siegfried and Gunther, Tristan and Mark, seem to belong to the same chapter of old nature-worship, finds nothing in *Beowulf* to correspond to it."

The new edition of Morris's translation of *Beowulf* is merely a reprint of the Kelmscott Press edition of 1895. Although the first edition was published four years ago, the expensiveness of the book and the small number issued, made it from the beginning all but inaccessible to students and admirers of *Beowulf*. In fact, if *Beowulf* students in this country did not happen to read the excellent review of the book in the *Athenæum* for August 10, 1895, its existence was probably for the most part unknown. This new edition will, therefore, be especially welcome to every one who is interested in this remarkable poem, and who is not so fortunate as to possess a copy of the original edition.

William Morris has, it seems to me, combined in his version of *Beowulf* two essential features of every really great translation in verse. He has successfully (for the first time in the case of *Beowulf*) imitated the metrical form, and reproduced as far as it is possible, the spirit of the Old English original. The rugged vigour, the healthy imagination, and the general epic tone of the original are all found in Morris's translation. Until I had read Morris's version I was a strong advocate of the

irregular, four accent lines,¹¹ with Cæsura, and without any effort at the preservation of the alliteration, as the best modern verse-form for Old English poetry. And unless the translator be a sympathetic, "inspired" poet, such as William Morris was, he cannot use the alliterative line with effect, while he may be able to make the irregular line of four accents more interesting to one who is reading for the thought of the poem. Such a reader will also get more of the spirit and atmosphere of the original from the smoothly flowing irregular line of four accents, because the alliterative line of itself, if not infused with the breath of inspiration, is too apt to attract the attention of the general reader to its outward form: the strongly accentuated alliterative syllables, which when *continuously* used, are totally foreign to the genius of modern English poetry. The fact that all modern English poets occasionally employ alliteration in order to produce some extraordinary artistic effect, does not indicate a tendency toward alliteration in modern poetry.

A literal reproduction of both the verse-form and the matter of the original may fail to transmit the spirit. Prof. Fulton¹² truly says

"a translation which does not seek to reproduce the manner as well as the matter of its original cannot, of course, give anything like a true and adequate idea of that original."

And the stress that has been placed upon the literal reproduction of matter and form at the cost of that of manner or spirit is the chief defect of most of the modern versions of *Beowulf*. But the ideal metrical translation must have a sympathetic, comprehensive, inspired translator, who by the magic touch of genius is enabled to subordinate the matter and form of the original to, and infuse them with, the spirit of true poetic feeling.

Morris's translation will hardly attract the general reader, and it was evidently not intended to serve as a college text-book, because the author uses too many obsolete and archaic words. Now and then one comes upon

¹¹ Employed by Prof. Jas. M. Garnett in his meritorious translation of *Beowulf*.

¹² *Publications Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xiii, p. 289. For extended discussions of the "Translation of *Beowulf*." Cf. among others. Gummere, *Amer. Jour. of Philol.* vii, p. 46 *et seq.*; Garnett, *Publications Mod. Lang. Assoc.* vi, p. 95 *et seq.*; Stopford Brooke, *Early English Lit.*

⁹ Cf. especially Sarrazin, *Beow. Stud.* p. 47 *et seq.* Niedner, *Die Dioskuren im Beowulf*, Zfd. A. 42, 229 f.

¹⁰ Arnold sees no reason for holding with Sarrazin (*Beow. Stud.*, 92 f., *Engl. Stud.* xxiii, 250) that Starkad was the author of the original Norse *Beowulf* epos (cf. p. 102 f.).

clauses and lines that are about as difficult to interpret as the original, for which even the brief vocabulary of "some words not commonly used now" does not always give sufficient help. On the whole, however, the translation of Morris gives the beauties of the original, and spirits the reader away to the romantic days of Hroðgar in Heorot and Hygelac in Geatland as no other modern version, now in existence, will do. The critic in the *Athenæum*¹³ says:

"We can well imagine that this translation of 'Beowulf' into rhymeless alliterative lines will seem uncouth to the general reader whose ear is familiar only with the quantitative scansion of classic movements and the accentual prosody of modern rhyme and Blank verse. But if the business of the translator of an ancient poem is to pour the old wine into the new bottles with as little loss as possible of the original aroma, Mr. Morris's efforts have been crowned with entire success. . . . So powerful is the vision at work in this glorious poem, that it seems the product not of a poetical artificer, but of Nature herself. . . . The last crowning excellence in all poetry is that it shall seem to be inspired, and one of the greatest aids to this is that the struggle between matter and form shall be so little apparent that the movement seems the inevitable outcome of him who tells the tale or sings the song."

Ragozin's *Beowulf, the Hero of the Anglo-Saxons*, is contained in the last one hundred and odd pages of the book. The story is in no sense a literal translation of the original, although the narrative is frequently interspersed with passages translated into simple, easy prose. These "Tales of the Heroic Ages" are avowedly written for the entertainment and instruction of the young, between the ages of ten and fifteen, but the *Beowulf* might be read with great interest and profit by "grown up" people; or even by students and critics of the Old English epic. The main outline and facts of the poem are given in such easy-flowing, vivacious prose, that the reader experiences in its perusal all the pleasure of a novel or fairy tale.

The interest of the story is very much increased by four splendid illustrations from the adventures of the hero, Beowulf; namely, The Death of Beowulf (Frontispiece); The Landing of Beowulf; Queen Wealhtheow Pledges Beowulf; Beowulf and the Old Wife of the Mere.

WM. H. HULME.

Western Reserve University.

¹³ August 10, 1895.

FRENCH GRAMMAR.

Grammaire historique de la langue française.

Par KR. NYROP, Professeur à l'Université de Copenhague. Tome premier. Copenhague: det Nordiske Forlag. Leipzig: Harrassowitz. Paris: A. Picard & Fils. 1899. 8vo, pp. xi, 488.

WE are at last to have a measurably complete French historical grammar written, not by a Frenchman it is true, but at least in French. If we must again postpone the realization of our hopes for Mr. Gaston Paris' *Grammaire de l'ancien Français*, which is to solve for us so many questions reserved from time to time in *Romania* for a more convenient season, we take great satisfaction in having before us the work of one of that large band of scholars who have received from him their inspiration for Romance studies.

Prof. Nyrop's grammar is a striking evidence of the constantly increasing importance which the scientific study of the Romance languages is attaining. It will be when completed by far the most compendious historical grammar of a single Romance language, this first volume containing four hundred and eighty-eight pages as against two hundred and seventy-one in the Schwan-Behrens grammar, although the latter treats phonology and morphology, while the former does not include the morphology. A comparison of Part II., 'Phonétique,' in Nyrop's work with Part I., 'Lautlehre,' of the Schwan-Behrens, which is a fairer test, shows two hundred and ninety-four and one hundred and twelve pages respectively.

The contemporary form of the language is chosen as the standpoint for considering the alteration of Latin into French. The plan may well be defended, since Modern French is for us the most important stage, and, in large measure, the cause of our interest in those which preceded; yet it may be questioned whether Old French is not the true vantage position, from which, as middle ground, we can best look back to the Latin and forward to the Modern French. No such hesitation, however, need be felt in commending the author's use, wherever practicable, of the Classic form of Latin words when citing etyma. It is true that prominence should be given to the fact that such form is frequently not the basis of the French word, and, it may here be remarked, Prof. Nyrop might to decided advantage have laid more stress on the difference between

phonetic modifications which took place in the general Folk-Latin stock and those peculiar to Gallic territory; but, nevertheless, the Classic Latin furnishes the form more familiar to the student, and if the main laws which worked in the popular speech be emphasized, he quickly learns to make for himself the most of the alterations in the correctness of which we have confidence; while the attempt to clothe every word in a Folk-Latin dress is bound to result in erroneous, and liable to result in ridiculous, forms.

Part I. of the volume, 'Histoire générale de la Langue française' treats in separate chapters the origins, the general history, and the external characteristics of the language in the Old, the Middle, the Classic, and the Modern period, and, in conclusion, the orthography. The material, wisely chosen and well arranged, is presented clearly and attractively, and forms an admirable introduction to the study of French historical grammar.

Part II., 'Phonétique,' evidences no less distinctly the author's orderly bent of mind. He has distributed his material into chapters in a form convenient for both study and reference. The chapter devoted to each vowel treats only the 'unconditioned' development of that vowel in free and in checked tonic and subtonic position. Then separate chapters are devoted to the disturbing influence of palatal consonants, labial consonants, *l*, and *r*, after which atonic vowels are grouped together. Syncope and its opposite, dieresis, hiatus, and apophony, or vowel alterations due to accent-shifting, are treated in the closing chapter on vowels. The main division of the subject of consonants is based on their mode of formation and not on their position with regard to surrounding sounds, so that the plan of arrangement employed for the vowels is reversed. The concluding chapters of the work are concerned with general phenomena disturbing the working of phonetic laws, as dittology and hapology (better known to most of us as assimilation and dissimilation), popular etymology, etc.

The bibliography of 46 pages is quite detailed, but needs to be supplemented in some cases by the use of that of Schwan-Behrens, over which, however, it takes decided precedence in convenience of arrangement. Some

of the books and articles cited might, in view of the author's 'but surtout pédagogique,' have been omitted as not calculated to add to the student's stock of accurate information. It is to be regretted that Prof. Nyrop did not adopt one of the standard systems of abbreviation for the titles of journals and collections, either that of the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* or that of the *Kritischer Jahresbericht*, but here, and elsewhere, the book shows a tendency rather away from than toward German influences. The closing pages of the grammar contain an analytic index, and a word-index apparently complete.

There is evidence of a careful and extensive use of the valuable *Dictionnaire général* of Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas as the chief authority in etymologies and word-forms. In fact the whole trend of the work shows the influence of the French school, the author's opinions on grammatical questions coinciding largely with those of Mr. Paris. The nature of a handbook such as that before us precludes exhaustive discussion of original views, yet there are points which are presented in a way to furnish interesting food for reflection. The absence of certain of the details of date and process of development may be justified by Prof. Nyrop's 'ordinarily excluding all doubtful opinions,' yet this test can hardly have been applied to some that are admitted. A valuable feature of the volume from the pedagogical standpoint is the fulness with which examples of learned forms are cited under each subdivision. On the other hand, a number of details given in the phonology belong more properly to morphology, and unnecessary repetition would have been avoided by reserving them for the second volume. Phonetic terminology is so complicated and conflicting that the first care should be to do nothing to add to the confusion. Why then call all syllables before the accent 'protonic' instead of, with Darmesteter and Meyer-Lübke, limiting the term to the syllable immediately preceding it? Again, does it help the already sadly befogged nomenclature of palatals to use the name 'prepalatal' for a palatal before *e*, *i*; medio-palatal for a palatal before *a*; post-palatal before *o*, *u*? Taken as a whole, however, the book is a model of clearness, showing in this one of the most salient

advantages of the influence of the *esprit français*. We have the implied promise that the succeeding volumes will treat morphology, syntax, and semantics.¹ We thank the author for the portion of the grammar which has already appeared, and shall await with eagerness the remaining parts.

A few comments on individual points are appended.

§ 20. The author makes the surprising assertion that in Old French there occur no learned adjectives or verbs. How would he explain such words as *enluminet* (*Roland*, l. 535), *violé* (*id.*, 704), *penser* (*id.*, 1472), *criminel* (*id.*, 2456), *principal* (*id.*, 3432), etc.? If his statement is intended to refer only to the examples he has cited, it is, to say the least, misleading.

§ III. "Si *b* devient *v* dans HIBERNUM > *hiver*, on trouvera que le même changement a eu lieu dans tous les mots où *b* se trouve dans la même situation, c. à. d. précédé et suivi d'une voyelle."

The last phrase in its present wording is incorrect. An intervocalic labial is not in the same situation when followed by a back vowel as when followed by a front vowel: cf. *TABONEM > *laon*, DEBUTUM > *deu* with DEBERE > *devoir*.

§ 113.3. *Pouvoir* < *poir* is incorrectly cited as an example of the development of a new sound. It is an analogous formation; cf. *Z. R. P. XI*, pp. 538-539.

§ § 127-128, 148-149. Folk-Latin lengthening of free tonic vowels is not asserted, and by implication is rejected (cf. § 128, first sentence). Even if the author, as here indicated, follows Boehmer, a theory so generally accepted and of such basal importance as ten Brink's should at least be mentioned. As Prof. Nyrop does not draw this quantitative distinction; he naturally holds (§ 171) that *e* < free *a* was distinguished from *e* < checked *e* or < checked *e* not by its length but by its quality. He does, however, questioningly suggest (§ 181) a difference in quantity between Old-French *o* < checked *o* and *o* < free *o*.

§ 149. To state that a vowel which is followed by a single consonant, as in *NOS*, *TRES*, is in an open syllable serves, it is true,

¹ Cf. § 515, rem., § 519, rem.

as a practical rule, but misleads and confuses the student. It should be explained that a vowel in this position would be free or checked according to the nature of the initial sound of the word which follows, but that the cases where it was free prevailed over the others. This is a section in which the author is forced to choose between conflicting theories and his choice is to consider that *cr* and mute-*l* constituted checked position. He avoids the further problem that is offered by *poêle*, *PENSILE*, by omitting the word altogether.

§ 164. It is surprising to see it suggested in explanation of the diphthongization of the vowel in *vieil*, *siècle* that the date of the fall of the *u* in *VETULUM*, *SÆCULUM*, was later than the diphthongization of *e*. From the days of Schuchardt's *Vokalismus* on, no one has questioned the antiquity of the absence of the *u* in the combinations *cûl*, *tûl*. Farther on in the same section *MELIUS* and *VENIAM* are given as examples of words having a checked tonic vowel (cf. also § 207). While it is customary to consider *ly* and *ny* as checking combinations, yet to do so raises serious problems, both because of the history of preceding *e* and *o* and because of the early passage of *ly*, *ny* to *mouillé l*, *n*. Prof. Matzke's view² accords better with the principles of syllable division.

§ 183. The suggestion that the passage of free *o* to *ö*, instead of being similar to that of *e* to *oi*, resembles that of *u* to *ü* is interesting, and at least worthy of further investigation.

§ 214, *cas isolés*. *Moindre* is erroneously treated as having a checked tonic vowel.

§ 231. The sub-heads are incorrectly numbered.

§ § 209-232. The chapter on nasals is well arranged and very clear. The author follows Mr. Paris' theory, accepting the preservation of all nasal consonants in Old-French pronunciation (§ 332) and rejecting the nasalization of any vowels except *a* and *e*. The only qualification he makes is in § 213. (cf. also § 218), where he says: "La nasalization (of *i* in *in*), si elle a existé, a été très peu sensible": but cf. § 225: *Tout o devant une nasale était fermé et oral*, and § 227: "Au moyen âge *bruns* et *uns* assonaient avec *plus*, *fut*, *vertut*. . . : donc, *u*

² *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Association*, vol. xiii, pp. 27-31.

était plutôt oral.' The arguments of Herzog for the pre-literary disappearance of nasal consonants when in the same syllable as the preceding vowel, and therefore for the nasalization of all vowels in Old-French, have brought new and important support to the theory of Prof. Suchier, which should by all means be mentioned.

§ 250. To consider mute *e* in final syllables a supporting vowel in all cases in which it does not represent Latin *a* is not satisfactory, as Prof. Meyer-Lübke⁴ has pointed out.

§ 253 (p. 210, last line). Mute *e* in Modern French 'ne s'entend jamais en prose dans les mots isolés ou avant une pause.' Probably *que* is omitted after *prose*, but in any event the statement is too sweeping.

§ 261,3. So far as the history of the language as shown by its monuments is concerned, *ço*, *cest*, etc., are as old as *ïço*, *ïcest*. Why not explain the one set as tonic, the other as atonic forms?

§ 348,2. What indications are there that double *l* and simple *l* had different values in Old-French pronunciation? Again, the assertion is made in § 466 that the writing *ss* denoted a true double consonant in Old-French. It is probable that its meaning as a graphic sign was the same then as it is now.

§ 371, *cas isolés*. The fall of *p* in **SAPUTUM* is rightly classed as not phonetic, but attention might have been called to **HABUTUM* > *ëu* as having caused the fall of the consonant in *seu*.

§ 378. The author adopts the view of Prof. Thurneysen that the point of departure for the loss of the *b* in the Imperfect was *HABEBAM*, *DEBEBAM*, in which the *b* fell by dissimilation. This does not seem, as an unsupported explanation, sufficient. Prof. Lindsay's suggestions of proportional analogy to the Future is worthy of consideration. In early Latin *-ibo* is found by the side of *-iam* in the Future of IV, and *-ebo* by the side of *-am* in the Future of III. Thus, as the Future had forms with and without *b*, the Folk-Latin Imperfect may have had a form without *b* parallel to the form with *b*.

§ § 471, 208. The *Pal.+a* theory of the

³ Z. R. P., vol. xxii (1898), pp. 536-542.

⁴ Z. F. S. L., vol. xv, part 2, pp. 90-91. Cf. also Rydberg, *Die Entstehung des j-Laut*, Upsala, 1896, p. 46; Staaf, *Revue de Philologie française et de Lit.*, vol. xi (1897), pp. 27-31.

⁵ *The Latin Language*. By W. M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1894, 8. p. 493. § 37.

development of *-ARIUM* is adopted, but without comment or exposition. In § 208 the student may be in doubt whether *-ier* represents the uniform development of *ry* or not, while the statement in § 471 that *ry* 'se combine en un *r* mouillé, qui se résout en *ir*,' with the citation side by side, in illustration, of *PARIA* > *paire*, *-ARIUM* > *-ier*, is most confusing. *-ARIUM* might have at least been put down as a '*cas isolé*.'

§ 400, 2, *rem*. If the development of words in *-ICUS* is '*peu clair*,' the difficulty does not lie in the contrast shown in the two sets of words given, for this is due to the *l* of the first set being in weak, and the *l* of the second in strong position.

P. 406. For 415 read 451.

In the sections called '*cas isolés*' more suggestions as to the cause of the variations from regular development might easily be given and would be servicable to the beginner. Some examples of this lack have already been mentioned, and a few others will be added here. The list could be extended. § 379,2. The student should note that in *coulon*, *plon* the *b* which fell was final and followed an *m*. § 382,2. A beginner might not see the bearing upon these words of the late fall of protonic vowels or of the preceding sonorous consonants. The same explanation is needed also in § 400, 2; § 401, 2; § 403, 2, *cas isolés*. The cases in the sections cited might have been contrasted with those in § 390, *cas isolés*, in order to bring out the fact that, for a consonant resulting from the fusion of a secondary combination there is regressive assimilation in place of formation, progressive in mode of formation.

§ 399, *cas isolés*. The words in which *cr* > *gr* all have *cra*. § 399, *rem*. The difference in time between the reduction of *qu* to *k* in *quand* and *quinze* is not mentioned, and attention might have been called to the cause of the reduction in *QUINQUE*, etc.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Lessing's Minna von Barnhelm, edited with an Introduction and Notes by A. B. NICHOLS. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1898.

THIS text-book, which comes from its publishers as a most attractive and handy little

volume of only one hundred and sixty-three pages all told, commends itself in both Introduction and Notes for a sensible discrimination between what is wanted and not wanted by its presumable users.

The Introduction contains a clear, succinct and condensed exposition of the historical background of the play, its composition and production, its dramatic structure and literary significance.

The text is adorned with reproductions of twelve etchings by Daniel Chodowiecki, Lessing's contemporary. They represent the most prominent scenes of the play and are interesting as illustrating the costumes of the time. Nor is a characteristic portrait of the poet as a frontispiece wanting.

The Notes, written for students of an intermediate stage, are rather abundant, and are accompanied by a running comment on the action, the plot and the characters of the play. As he mentions in his preface, the editor has given special attention to the turning of the idiomatic particles so ubiquitous in the text and so troublesome even to the advanced student. And nowhere, indeed, is help more necessary and more legitimate than just here, where even the most voluminous dictionaries discourage consultation. The furnishing of this much-needed help is, therefore, a real merit of Mr. Nichols' edition. It would have been preferable, however, to avoid all repetitions of one and the same note, on a *doch* or a *ja* for instance, and to substitute for them references or—what is far better still—queries, which stimulate the student to do his own thinking. Most of the editor's renderings of the idiomatic particles are unimpeachable; only the following are recommended for reconsideration:

To page 3, line 10. *Nur in ich muss nur bald meinen Herrn aufsuchen* does not mean 'just,' but emphasizes *ich muss* and answers to 'by all means.'

To p. 25, 11. *Ja in man traue doch ja seinem Herzen nicht* is not to be rendered by 'you know;' it strengthens the negative *nicht* and *ja nicht* means 'not on any account.'

To p. 32, 22. *Doch in Doch, Herr Wirt; das haben Sie nicht gut gemacht* does not

mean 'yes,' but is adversative: 'say what you please, Mr. Landlord, you did wrong.' *Doch* may, to be sure, as the note says, be used colloquially for 'yes,' but only where a preceding negative statement is to be refuted, as on p. 70, 1 in *Doch, Franziska, wir wären allein*, which refutes the preceding *wir sind nicht allein*.

To p. 33, 3. *Ja in Ich sage Ihnen ja* is better rendered by the adversative 'but' than by 'you know.' This adversative *ja* is very common in dialogue; cf. Goethe's *Faust*, I. 1765: *Du hörst ja, von Freud' ist nicht die Rede*.

To p. 33, 13. *Wohl in ein Wirt hat sich wohl in acht zu nehmen* does not imply 'as you may conceive,' but simply stands, as often, for *sehr*: 'a landlord has to be well on his guard.'

To p. 36, 6. The statement '*doch*, where it does not affect the order, is a weak adversative=*aber*, though not incorrect, is misleading, inasmuch as the same adversative *doch* may very well affect the order: cf. *doch ist es jedem eingeboren* (Goethe). *Doch sollst du* does not differ in meaning from *doch du sollst*, to which passage the note just quoted refers. The note ought to read: '*doch*, at the head of a clause, is always adversative.'

To p. 39, 1. *Ja wohl in ich will es ihm ja wohl sagen* is not covered by 'just.' It qualifies *ich will* and is used by Just to emphasize his half-reluctant, half-nonchalant compliance with Franziska's request: 'I don't say that I will not tell him (by and by).'

To p. 40, 26. *Wohl in ich verstehe mich wohl selbst nicht* does not mean 'in truth,' but 'very likely.'

To p. 54, 22. 'Ever' seems to be a misprint for 'even.'

As to the rest of the notes, very little requires emendation:

To p. 13, 7. In *Equipage qu* is not sounded like *k*, but like *kv*.

To p. 24, 12. The note '*nichts weniger*, anything but' ought to read: '*nichts weniger als*, anything but.'

To p. 67, 27. *Blutarm, blutjung*, etc., with the intensive *blut*, never have the accent on the first syllable, at least when used predicatively. *Blútarm* means 'anæmic.'

If the writer were permitted to enumerate all the notes that are particularly helpful and

all the renderings that seem to him especially felicitous, the list would be very much longer than that above.

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A GROUP OF OLD AUTHORS.

A Group of Old Authors. By CLYDE FURST, Lecturer for the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co., 1899.

MR. FURST has gathered into an attractive volume five lectures to popular audiences, hoping, as he says in his preface,

"to add to popular knowledge of older European literature by giving detailed illustrations of its condition at several periods between the sixth and the seventeenth centuries."

Mr. Furst need hardly have entertained the fear, which he intimates he felt, that the unfamiliarity of his themes might deter the reader. His essays could hardly fail, even upon a cursory examination, to attract those they were designed primarily to reach, or to prove, upon further acquaintance, both interesting and stimulating. Even those who approach them with some previous knowledge may find their profit in the careful and conscientious treatment, which their subjects receive at his hands.

The first paper, "A Gentleman of King James's Day: Dr. John Donne," treats of the life of the great Dean in its relation to his works, with an examination of the diverse opinions passed upon his verse. As the title indicates, the paradox in Donne's life is brought out, by which, though seemingly unfitted by birth, training, tastes, and a somewhat wild and idle youth, for the profession James forced upon him, he could yet, in so surprising a way, justify as well by practical piety and good works as by his eminence as a preacher, that wise and foolish monarch's insistence. Mr. Furst holds so closely to his main purpose, the exposition of the intimate relation between the events of Donne's life and the substance of his verse, that one misses those picturesque details with regard to Donne's personal peculiarities, which make so much of one's impression of

him as derived from Walton's inimitable biography. It is wise to make little of these, perhaps, for they might serve only to accentuate that first (and erroneous) impression the reader is apt to receive from his verse, that it is curiously bizarre, eccentric, and obscure, and that only. It is much better, no doubt, to emphasize, as Mr. Furst does, the sterling traits of Donne's character and the real virtues of his verse,—its depth of thought, sincerity, emotional intensity, and its noble, though broken and irregular, music.

The papers which follow, "A Mediæval Love Story" (Patient Grissel) and "The Miraculous Voyage of St. Brandan," are studies in comparative literature, sufficiently comprehensive in their inclusion of the various versions, well ordered, simple, and clear. Each story has a charm and appeal of its own, and both are well adapted to enforce the point the author no doubt had in mind—one new to the general reader and most interesting—the way in which a story is found diffused through the whole range of mediæval literature by borrowing and adaptation, and that miracle of persistent vitality, natural enough in a way but always stimulating to the imagination, by which it reappears again and again in various literatures and at various periods even to modern times.

The two remaining papers are drawn from an earlier time. The subject of "An Anglo-Saxon Saint" the life of Aldhelm, and the culture and scholarship of the monasteries in England in the seventh century is almost entirely novel, as a theme for popular presentment. Mr. Furst succeeds in making the actual Aldhelm real to the reader, while not omitting the quaint and delightful legends that associate themselves with his name. He gives an adequate idea of those works of Aldhelm's that remain to us in their cryptic mediæval Latin, and of their scope and purpose, including the famous Riddles, as compared with the Anglo-Saxon collection. Mr. Furst, by the way, unhesitatingly refers to the Anglo-Saxon Riddles as Cynewulf's—and surely, as regards some of them at least, no one will dispute the assumption, if there is any virtue as evidence in a universally acknowledged "moral certainty." Mr. Furst deplores the loss of Aldhelm's works in the vernacular, and justly contends that he must have had an

important influence upon the development of Anglo-Saxon verse.

The concluding paper upon *Beowulf*, which perhaps in concession to its importance Mr. Furst styles "The Oldest English Poem," provides an abstract of the story with such explanatory material in regard to the time and place of its composition and the various conditions determining the character of the early epic, as may enable the student to read the poem with better understanding and increased enjoyment.¹

A feature worth noting of these essays is the care displayed in respect to the citation of approved critical authorities. Mr. Furst has been almost too assiduous in this regard, if that were possible, but they are introduced skilfully in such a way that the essays in no case fail to convey a distinctly personal and individual impression. The volume will undoubtedly be welcomed by those who listened to the papers when they were delivered as lectures, and by reaching a larger audience in their present form will, it may be hoped, perpetuate and extend the influence which it was the aim and inspiration of those lectures to exert toward winning the student and general reader to unfamiliar fields of English literature, and literatures related to it.

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TOMAR LAS DE VILLADIEGO.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In the *Notes*, Vol. xiv, columns 516-517, Dr. Charles Carroll Marden publishes an interesting note upon the colloquial Spanish expression *tomar calzas de Villadiego* which, as far as known, occurs for the first time in the

¹ The author desires the insertion of a note in connection with this review to the effect that he

"regrets not having noticed that in this concluding paper, during its years of growth and revision as a lecture, the marks of several quotations from Mr. Stopford Brooke's *Early English Literature* had become neglected."

Celestina (Act xii.) "The origin of the expression," he says, "is an unsettled problem."

An article¹ by Benito Mas y Prat giving a satisfactory theory of the origin and history of this phrase was published in the *Almanaque de la Ilustración* for 1890. Its substance is as follows.

The origin of the expression is historical. During the thirteenth century the persecutions of the Jews reached such a pitch of barbarity, that Ferdinand III., not wishing to break entirely with this rich and prosperous people, took measures for their protection. By a privilege granted in 1223, and given in full by Benito Mas as found in the *Memorias para la historia del santo Rey*,² he took under his protection the Jews of Villadiego near Burgos.

Some years prior to the granting of this privilege, the Lateran Council, for the better separation of the two races, had decreed that the Jews should wear garments distinct in form and color from those of the Christians. This distinguishing color was probably yellow, as that had been recommended for this purpose in the Bull of Paul IV.

Now the *Celestina* says definitely that the *calzas de Villadiego* were to be taken at the first sound of alarm. "Apercíbete á la primera voz que oyes á tomar calzas de Villadiego." This advice would fit admirably the case of those Jews who, living in Burgos and wearing in spite of the regulations the ordinary clothing of the Castilians, were suddenly obliged to flee from impending persecution. In such an emergency they could dress themselves in the garments that showed them to be protected by the King's privilege and retire for safety to Villadiego.

The expression as found in the *Celestina* must therefore be construed as meaning originally: "to get under cover, to seek shelter;" later it was often used, as it is at the present time, to mean: "to leave hastily," "to run like forty."

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¹ Not mentioned by Vifaza, *Biblioteca histórica de la filología castellana*, 1893.

² Compiled by Burriel (see Amador de los Ríos, *Hist. Crit. de la Lit. Esp.*, Vol. iii. p. 435, note 1). The original privilege seems still to exist (see Amador de los Ríos, *Hist. de los Judíos en España*, Vol. i. p. 357, note 1).

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, February, 1900.

THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION.

THE Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America was held at Columbia University in New York on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, December 27, 28, 29, 1899. In calling the meeting to order, and in introducing President Seth Low of Columbia, the President of the Association, Prof. von Jagemann of Harvard, himself one of the pioneer members, referred to the circumstance that sixteen years before the Association had held its first meeting at Columbia. President Low welcomed the Association on behalf of Columbia: He had not realized that the Association was returning to its natal place; but while this was at the old site on 49th Street and the buildings had changed, the greeting was as hearty and cordial as ever. A university, like the arc-light, sheds rays on every hand; through specialization, like the head light, it also illuminates very distinctly a narrow path. The study of the Modern Languages, particularly, enlarges the world in which a man lives. It used to be considered enough to know what ancient wisdom had to say; there is also wisdom in contemporary life. These studies insisted on equal rights with others, and nothing more strongly forced the elective system upon the colleges. For all these reasons the subjects treated by the Association command the hearty sympathy of all workers, and it is because Columbia has this sympathy that these few words have been said.

Every meeting seems to have a definite note struck which becomes characteristic. The dominant note sounded at the University of Virginia the year before was that of the new romanticism (see article in *Univ. Va. Alumni Bulletin*, Feb., 1899); somehow, it seemed to comport with the mild weather and the bright Southern skies. In New York cold and some snow prevailed, and the wind whistling about University Heights seemed to demand greater severity. The sum of the impressions from the

papers at the Columbia meeting was more complex, but gave clear evidence of added variety, intensity, and strength. Growth in many directions, and in various interests, is the marked characteristic of the work of the Association for the four or five years from the time of the Whitney Memorial Meeting at Pennsylvania, and the Yale meeting of 1895.

This will be evident from a rough division into which the papers of the present meeting may conveniently fall: I. Rhetorical Method—a newer phase and a distinct note coming from an evident general literary aspiration, and an altogether new attention to scientific pedagogical and rhetorical theory, and practical composition work in school and college. II. Modern Literature—the period after the middle of the sixteenth century—under which a larger and larger proportion of papers tends to fall. III. Medieval Literature. IV. Linguistic Studies. V. Phonetics. And VI. Pedagogical Discussion—arising from the publication of the Report of the Committee of Twelve on Modern Language teaching.

I. *Rhetorical Method.* The President's address by Prof. von Jagemann of Harvard on "Philology and Purism" gave early suggestion for the later animated discussion on Dictionaries and Grammar. Every language needs new modes of expression. What general principles should govern their adoption, and what can be done to cause these principles to be accepted? Too narrow ground has been taken in previous efforts. Use in this or that masterpiece, by any given author, or in any country, as in America but not in England, matters little: the real question is, to what extent has the language to gain or lose, and how far are the advantages and disadvantages balanced? The joke about the proof-reader changing the Dictionary was not that he changed it, but that people laughed at him because he did change it. The philologist can take the initiative in efforts to improve speech because his knowledge of the language and literature of all periods better enables him to understand and to judge fully literary and linguistic problems.

In a paper "On Modern English Dictionaries" Miss Leavens of Brooklyn, who adopted as her

text Hamlet's reply to Polonius, "Words, words, words," started a very general discussion on common usage, inaccuracies of speech, changes, and questions of authority. Prof. Emerson of Western Reserve emphasized the need in all the Dictionaries of the scientific treatment and application of the law of Germanic accent, with the consequent changes in usage and meaning. The discussion thus started grew in momentum with the next paper on the "Figurative elements in the terminology of English Grammar" by Prof. Scott of Michigan—an interesting psychological study based on experiments in the Detroit schools. Taking definitions from Whitney's English Grammar he sought to find out the images aroused by the words in the child's mind. "Parts" of speech were conceived as "organs" of speech; the verb "governs" the noun as the teacher governs school; the "irregular" verb was a naughty one, or was one used in the wrong place, or one seldom used; the "objective" case was something to throw at, as, 'The boy hit the dog'; a "case" was a box, or a chest of drawers, even a covering for sausages, or, from the practise of diagrams, something dropped below. The writer admitted any other designations would be just as bad, and urged a closer connection between Grammar and living speech. Prof. Stoddard of New York found no particular objections that images were aroused, but was inclined to think that such conceptions were those of older minds commenting later on the phenomena. This doubt was likewise expressed by Prof. Cohn of Columbia: he could not recall ever having any such conceptions. Prof. Todd of Columbia believed no one would likely have, such who, like Prof. Cohn and himself, had obtained their grammatical ideas through Latin terminology. Prof. Bright of Johns Hopkins declared if the terminology thus stimulated the imagination, it was no ways objectionable. Prof. Greene of Johns Hopkins queried what could be used? We are bound to have some terminology.

A fourth paper connected with these was that of Dr. Buck of Vassar on "The present status of rhetorical theory." The "anti-social" conception of discourse by the Sophists treated Rhetoric as an art of war, a struggle of the

strong against the weak, and brought a false stigma upon the name. Plato gave it a "social" conception, where it was held to be a process of direct communication and transfer from speaker to hearer whose interests were one. The modern theory in the best text-books accepts this, as at least implied if not explicitly stated. No longer limited to Persuasion alone, the subject-matter has direct relation to all mental processes: the modern study of Rhetoric is as large in outline as formerly, and more complete in details.

II. *Modern Literature.* The contemporary spirit which was prominent at the Virginia meeting, was again here; but it was not romantic. "Fatalism in Hauptmann's dramas" was the subject of a paper by Dr. Schuetze of Pennsylvania. It was not an isolated phenomenon treated, but one representative of extreme naturalism as derived from Taine's theories by Zola, Tolstoi, Hardy, Pinero, Ibsen, the later Björnsen, Max Halbe, Hauptmann, and others. In Germany Sudermann and Ludwig Fulda do not belong here. Materialism is the dominant factor, the positive philosophy of John Stuart Mill being its source. Zola gave the prescription in his *roman experimental*, whereby everything is due to heredity and *milieu*: collect facts, group them, and deduce. In classical German drama, in Shakespeare, Schiller, Kleist, there is absolute freedom of will and the characters are held responsible; in this school there is no responsibility and no moral guilt. Outside forces determine character, and action can be calculated with unerring precision. In America Howells gives details, but does not bring out their fatal bearing, as does the English Hardy. With Hauptmann the scenery of the first act is not accidental, but significant, and is suggestive of the hereditary acts. There is an absence of great characters due to the plea that the author is not responsible for his characters. The 'brutal fact,' all characteristic, is the device of contrast in bringing the idea of fatalism home. Related to this paper was one read by title, by Prof. Fanst of Wesleyan, on "Problematical characters in German fiction," tracing a certain type from Goethe, through Jean Paul, Spielhagen, and Keller, to Sudermann.

In sharp contrast with this analysis of Ger-

man "fatalism" was the interpretation of English "idealism" in "The Nature Poetry of Shelley and his contemporaries" by Prof. Edgar of Toronto. The part of the paper given was a comparison between Shelley and Keats. Keats' treatment of Nature was frankly sensuous and pagan, as in the *Nightingale* and in *Endymion*; Shelley's was more spiritual and with a higher mystical perception of Beauty. As colourists it is commonly thought that Keats surpasses Shelley; but a tabulated statement of colour effects in both proves Shelley's variety to be astonishing. Grant Allen's dictum that poets use the red end of the spectrum rather than the violet, from the results obtained, must also be amended.

"The first centenary of the birth of Leopardi" by Prof. Menger of Bryn Mawr, should have been noted the year before (June 29, 1898). There was a celebration by the students of Rome and by the Government. The first took the form of a movement to have a course of lectures at the University; prizes were offered for the best essay and for poems; a monument was erected; and a memorial published. Despite drawbacks and difficulties the movement was made national: many lyrics were called forth; inedited Mss. brought out; his tomb declared a national monument; a bust placed in the Senate house; and streets and buildings in his native province named for him. Mr. Shaw of Johns Hopkins commented at some length upon Leopardi's melancholy, and spoke of the new explanation for this in his suffering from a weakness of the perceptive faculties, a failure to distinguish color, and the inability of the sensory organs generally to represent the outside world.

It was the year of the 150th anniversary of Goethe's birth, and two or three papers derived immediately from Goethe. Prof. Faust's paper, already mentioned, started from a definition by Goethe: "problematical characters" are those "who can never master the situation into which they are placed, yet to whom no situation in life is adequate," and traced a type of character from Goethe. "The curse-idea in Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*" by Dr. Eggert of Chicago was read, in his absence, by Prof. Gruener of Yale. The paper was directed chiefly against a theory of Kuno Fischer's.

Goethe, the student of evolution, could not use an antiquated superstition as a motive for the noble conception of Iphigenie. The law of heredity would explain the deeds of ancestors, and the intensely modern character of the drama leaves no room for the operation of a curse. Prof. Thomas of Columbia believed that Goethe was essentially a poet of the concrete, and that the starting point was the concrete mental image and not an abstract idea.

"The first paralipomenon of Goethe's *Faust*, when written?" a paper by Prof. Manning of Delaware, entered the lists for an earlier date than those generally assigned. All the conditions were realized in the early seventies; if written later than 1775, it is not significant. Things got clearer as Goethe cleared them. The plan is in Goethe's own hand, and shows the influence of Spinoza's *Ethics* upon his youth. Men write abstractly in early life and become concrete later.

"Contributions to English literary criticism culled from eighteenth century letter writers," by Prof. Hulme of Western Reserve, was only announced by title—a contemplated study of the English letter writers of that period with reference to the literary criticism scattered through their pages. Another eighteenth century contribution was "A study of Pope's Imitations of Horace," by Prof. Tupper of Ontario, from a comparison with the Latin originals. Pope's personal tone is keener, more like Juvenal than the urbane Horace, and Pope has many individual affectations of manner. Changes from the Latin are made to suit English conditions; but in spirit, contrary to Dr. Johnson's opinion, between Roman similitudes and English images there is no real difference.

The Elizabethan drama and Shakespeare were the sources of two papers. "The influence of Court Masques on the drama, 1605-15," by Prof. Thorndike of Western Reserve, brought Shakespeare's latest work into question. The date of *The Winter's Tale* may be determined from the anti-masque of the Satyrs which appeared in Ben Jonson's *Oberon* in 1611. So the masque in *The Tempest* throws light on the play: Shakespeare adopted the convention and forced it into service with his imagination. "The episodes in Shakespeare's *I. Henry VI*," by Prof. Henneman of Tennes-

see, touched Shakespeare at his beginning period. It was sought to make more definite what had hitherto been vague suggestion, as to just where and how specific repetitions and contradictions and obvious developments show that an older Talbot play was worked over into a Henry VI. drama. In the discussion Prof. Hulme of Western Reserve cited from Madden's *Diary of Master William Silence* two references to Elizabethan sport that he held to be undoubted passages of Shakespeare's, and with Madden he thought such references to outdoor life constituted a new test of Shakespeare's genuine work, though their absence could not of itself disprove Shakespeare's authorship. Prof. Garnett of Baltimore also concurred in the belief that an older Talbot play had been worked over, and that the wooing scene was Shakespeare's and had been inserted to prepare for Part ii.

III. *Medieval Literature.* The paper by Prof. Rennert of Pennsylvania on "The Spanish poet Luis Baralona de Soto," which was read by title, treating an author praised by Cervantes, lies on the border-land between medieval and modern, and, although nearer the modern, is best grouped with kindred Spanish subjects. "An incident in the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*," by Prof. Marden of Johns Hopkins, strove, by fixing the relations between certain portions of the Spanish epic poem and corresponding chapters of the Prose Chronicle of Alfonso the Wise, to determine more exactly the date. Count Fernan Gonzalez is one of the most interesting figures in old Spanish literature, and the poem written in his honor contains the earliest version of many well-known legends of Christian Spain. The paper was discussed by Prof. de Haan of Bryn Mawr and Dr. Bourland of Michigan. Dr. Bourland contributed a kindred paper "On the date of the *Rimed Chronicle* of the Cid." This was not an unformed series of songs, but a fragment of a lost composition possessing unity of design. The MS. belongs to the fifteenth century, but the date of the fragment lies between 1225 and 1250, and is younger than the "Poem of the Cid." The conclusions were discussed by Prof. Howland of Chicago.

Only one Old French paper was presented to the Association, and that was announced by

title: "The latest researches concerning Arras in the thirteenth century, and Adan de la Hale," by Prof. Rambeau of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. A related paper read by title was that of Prof. Bruce of Bryn Mawr: "Vita Meriadoci: a Latin romance of the thirteenth century, preserved in the Cotton MS. Faustina B. vi."

Three of the papers in medieval literature were on English subjects. One that created particular interest by its admirable presentation was "The Round Table Before Wace," by Mr. Brown of Harvard. Wace makes the first mention of the Round Table in his *Roman de Brut* in 1155, and says he follows Celtic traditions; but as Geoffrey of Monmouth says nothing of these, many of the best scholars have believed that Wace invented his statements. Layamon's *Brut* translates Wace with many new and curious additions, particularly about the Round Table; and it is likely he borrowed from Welsh tradition. The Greek historian, Posidonius, describes the Celts sitting at feasts. The incidents are always barbarous and primitive, the names are unknown, or where known approach Welsh spellings. More positive evidence are the tales of quarrels at feasts common to Celtic literature. The strongest warrior received a particular place at table, and from quarrels of precedence the Round Table was first used. The only argument against the Celtic origin is Silence; but the Mss. are not old, and we must go to Irish literature, where there are Irish banquet tales as early as the seventh century. All the many coincidences go to show that Layamon's account is not a fabrication, but a transcript of genuine Welsh tradition: the traditions are Pan-Celtic and thus were current in Britain and so in Wales. Prof. Bright of Johns Hopkins believed the conclusion the true one, and commended the method. He further suggested a question as to the precise meaning of Posidonius in describing the Celts who "sit in a circle, and the bravest sit in the middle, like the coryphæus of a chorus." The coryphæus, leading the chorus, would face outward from the circle; the chief would face inward. He sat, not in the centre, but in the middle with others on either hand. Posidonius continues: the "spear-bearers sit down opposite in a circle,

and feast in the same manner as their masters." The circular table would naturally interest the older nations as a variation from the Sigma tables.

"The Lambeth version of Havelok," by Mr. Putnam of Harvard, brought out that this version could not be derived from either of the two French versions in Gaimar and the Lay, differing independently from both. It must come from a lost French original, the common source of all three. With this Lambeth version as a check on each of the two French versions, it is possible to determine with some accuracy the form of the story in the lost version. This lost French version and the English romance probably go back to still earlier sources. Comments were made by Prof. Bright. The paper by Prof. McKnight of Ohio on "Germanic elements in King Horn," proceeding from the origin of the legend in the Danish invasions, sought to distinguish the traits which were common Germanic. The death of Horn's father and the adventures were held to have been originally more prominent; the love features developed later. The nationality of the love element was more difficult to determine, and many lines were hard to draw with clearness, even where a seeming Germanic nucleus of details could be traced.

IV. *Linguistic Studies.* These papers were all evidently the results of unusual thoroughness and care: two were on German subjects and one on English. The first was the paper by Prof. Kurrelmeyer of Franklin and Marshall, "On the historical development of the types of the first person plural imperative in German." Both Low German and High German were taken into account; eight types were treated in detail; and it was found that a certain type was a criterion for the date and original dialect of certain texts. This last discovery and the conscientious accuracy of the work were highly commended by Prof. Vos of Johns Hopkins. Prof. Vos' paper on "Rime-parallelism in Old High-German verse" was something akin. Rime-parallelism was characteristic of three of five works considered: a result agreeing with the supposed order of composition. Some light was thrown on the origin of rime in German and on the length of suffix syllables in Otfried.

"The appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon," by Prof. Calloway of Texas, was based upon a careful statistical reading of the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature, and of the more definitely known Latin originals of the prose texts. Divisions and classifications were given and illustrated: adjectival, predicate, adverbial, and co-ordinate. The origin is, in the main, from the Latin. Profs. Hart and Bright contributed to the discussion.

V. *Phonetics.* Last year it was Prof. Grandgent of Harvard, this year it was Prof. Hempl of Michigan, that read a paper under this head. Prof. Hempl had for his subject: "A'n't and h'n't." To the same two gentlemen, and to Mr. Babbitt of Columbia as Secretary, is due much of the activity of the American Dialect Society, the annual meeting of which was called by Prof. Grandgent for noon of Friday.

VI. *Pedagogical Discussion.* The last afternoon session was devoted to the final discussion of the Report of the Committee of Twelve on Modern Language teaching, but little or none was brought out beyond the interesting fact that in certain quarters the Report was selling for money. The paper of Prof. Joynes of South Carolina on "Dictation and Composition in Modern Language teaching," in his absence, was postponed for the expected discussion of the Report to follow: it urged that writing by dictation should have a much larger place and should substitute composition largely, if not wholly, during the earlier stages of study. The Report of the Committee of Twelve was formally submitted, as a U. S. Government document, by the chairman, Prof. Thomas of Columbia, who spoke for its acceptance for the principles involved, and not because of agreement in every particular. Prof. Hewett of Cornell, while differing personally in many points, regarded the Report as a monumental work denoting marked progress in Modern Language study, and moved its adoption. Prof. von Jagemann of Harvard and others expressed their commendation and indebtedness to the vigour and precision and clearness of the Report. It was then unanimously adopted.

At a previous session Prof. Magill of Swarthmore submitted his report on the practise of International Correspondence, as a means of Modern Language study, which, he believed,

was proving remarkably successful. The report was approved and the committee enlarged and continued.

The discussion not brought out by the Committee of Twelve was called forth by a suggestion of Prof. Cohn of Columbia as to the advisability of assigning not more than two papers to each session, so as to leave more time for general discussion, not diminishing at all any number of papers to be read by title or to be published. A very general animated, and in part irrelevant, debate followed, in which Prof. Cohn of Columbia, Magill of Swarthmore, Hewett of Cornell, Stoddard of New York, Price and Thomas of Columbia, Bright of Johns Hopkins, Bowen of Ohio, Harris of Western Reserve, Gudeman of Pennsylvania, Hart of Cornell, and others, engaged. Prof. Cohn, having succeeded in his genial purpose of encouraging discussion at the meetings, withdrew his suggestion.

Among important matters brought up by the Secretary of the Association, Prof. Bright mentioned the purposes of the King Alfred Memorial in 1901, in which all English-speaking people are invited to share. A statue is to be erected and a public hall in Winchester, and a meeting of scholars will be held. A committee to prepare a suitable programme, with a view to taking part in this meeting, was appointed: Profs. Bright of Johns Hopkins, Cook of Yale, Hempl of Michigan, Henneman of Tennessee, Kittredge of Harvard, Manly of Chicago, and Mead of Wesleyan. Also interest was bespoken in the celebration of Dr. Furnivall's seventy-fifth birthday: a personal present to be given, a volume to be published in his honour, and, particularly, money contributions asked, for the cause of continuing the great work of the Early English Text Society in publishing inedited texts.

Several members of the Association were removed by death within the year: Prof. Hempl of Michigan read resolutions on George A. Hench of Michigan; Prof. Henneman of Tennessee on W. M. Baskervill of Vanderbilt; and Prof. Bright on D. L. Bartlett of Baltimore, D. C. Brinton of University of Pennsylvania, and Susan R. Cutler of Chicago, A. N. van Daell of Mass. Inst. of Technology, J. Luquiens of Yale, E. Kölbing of Breslau.

The committee on place of next meeting

(Prof. Learned of Pennsylvania, chairman), reported in favor of Philadelphia, to meet jointly with the Philological and other Associations next Christmas. The committee on election of officers (Prof. Henneman, chairman), reported the following for 1900: President, Thomas R. Price of Columbia; Secretary, James W. Bright of Johns Hopkins; Treasurer, Herbert E. Greene of Johns Hopkins; Executive Council: H. A. Rennert of Pennsylvania, G. Gruener of Yale, Pelham Edgar of Toronto, Ewald Flügel of Stanford, S. W. Cutting of Chicago, B. P. Bourland of Michigan, R. E. Blackwell of Randolph-Macon, E. S. Joynes of South Carolina, T. A. Jenkins of Vanderbilt. Officers of Phonetic and Pedagogical Sections to be continued; Editorial Committee, C. H. Grandgent of Harvard and the Secretary of the Central Division.

Before adjournment, by motion of Prof. Bright, the thanks of the Association were tendered to the members of the Local Committee, to President and Mrs. Low, to the officers of Columbia University and of the Century and University Clubs, for their hospitality and many courtesies.

These courtesies and attentions filled in a large part of the meeting, and determined its high degree of sociableness. For this the members of the Local Committee (Messrs. Price, Cohn, Thomas, Stoddard, Mott, Hyde, and Remy) were all solicitous. The University Library, Gymnasium, and buildings were open to the members; on Thursday at one Luncheon was served by the Local Committee; that evening President and Mrs. Low received the members at their residence; and thereafter the hospitality of the Century Club and of the University Club in its sumptuous new quarters was enjoyed. In the same spirit was the Kneipe on Wednesday evening, with nearly a hundred in attendance, carefully provided by Profs. Cohn and Thomas, where mingled the song of *Gaudeamus* and the patriotic hymns of France, Germany, England, and America. In face of the countless distractions of a metropolis the preservation of the solidarity of the meetings was a striking feature; and from all there is left the distinct remembrance of good fellowship and good work.

JOHN BELL HENNEMAN.

University of Tennessee.

THE FIRST AMERICAN REPRINT
OF WORDSWORTH.

On Friday evening, January 15, 1802, the *Gazette of the United States*, published in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, contained this advertisement:-

James Humphreys, (at the N. W. Corner of Walnut and Dock-Streets,) has just published *Lyrical Ballads*, with other poems: two volumes in one by W. Wordsworth. Of the lengthy and handsome Eulogies from the *British Reviewers* on the above Work, room permits but of the following short extracts; namely, From the *British Critic*.

"—of these Poems it is evident, that they are not to be confounded with the flood of poetry which is poured forth in such profusion by the modern Bards of science, or their brethren the Bards of insipidity: the author has thought for himself; he has deeply studied human nature in the book of human action; and he has adopted his language from the same sources as his feelings."

"—The interest, especially of the *Brothers*, is so wrought up, the minute touches are so accurately studied, the general effect is so infensibly produced, and appeals so forcibly to the heart, as to rank its Author far beyond the reach of common-place praise or censure."

As one reads it the question arises as to how this James Humphreys, whose name appears in the book as editor as well as publisher, became aware of the existence of the ballads which, at that date, were known to but few, and praised by fewer still. One would like to think that some of those Quaker friends on whose share in the Alfoxden life William Howitt so lovingly insists, sent the volume of 1798 as a treasure-trove to the Friendly City beyond the seas, but there is no evidence to support this pleasant fancy. Humphreys himself was no Quaker. Born in Philadelphia, January 18, 1748/49, the records of Christ Church show his baptism on the fifteenth of the following February. In course of time his son's name is on the same register, and on February 4, 1810, he was buried in Christ Church Yard.

He bore the same name as his father, a conveyancer, and was educated in Philadelphia with a view to his becoming a physician, but, disliking that profession, he became an apprentice to William Bradford, one of the most prominent of the colonial printers. He went into business for himself, and in January, 1775, he

published a newspaper. Previous to the Revolution several important books came from his press, among them Sterne's *Works* in five volumes, and Whittenhall's *Greek Grammar*, which, if not the first, was at least one of the earliest books printed from Greek type in America.

Humphreys must have been a most restless and versatile mortal. He acted as clerk of the chancery, and had, as a qualification, taken the oath of allegiance to the King. On that account he refused to bear arms against the government of England, and was in consequence denounced as a Tory: his paper was said to be under British influence, and, as Isaiah Thomas quaintly observes in his *History of Printing in America*. "he was several times in the hands of the people." He does not seem, however, to have been without friends on the Whig side, and Thomas goes on to say that one of them was Dr. Rittenhouse, "a literary character, well known in our country." One Benjamin Towne, the publisher of a rival paper, who seems moreover to have been under financial obligations to Humphreys, attacked him virulently in print, and Humphreys fearful of the result, discontinued his paper, and quitting business went into the country, where he remained until the British army approached Philadelphia, and then returned. When the troops went to New York he went with them, and occupied himself there as a merchant, until peace was concluded.

He then went to England where he procured a supply of good printing materials, and after some little time re-crossed the ocean, this time settling in Shelburne, Nova Scotia, where he established a newspaper called the *Nova Scotia Packet*. Not meeting with any great degree of encouragement, the *Packet* was discontinued, and he closed his printing-house, and employed himself as a merchant in Shelburne, until losses by French privateers induced him in 1797 to give up the business and return to Philadelphia, where he again opened a printing-house. We glean from the perusal of the daily press of the period that Humphreys, in partnership with one Peter Lohra, established a notary's office, advertising as a special attraction that ladies, having papers to execute, might by sending word to the office, "be waited

on at their respective houses." Besides books he dealt in stationery, making a specialty of quills, and once he advertises a line of "good hair trunks," a droll prophecy of modern departmental methods of book-selling.

Restlessness must always have been one of his characteristics, for in the space of three years after his return to Philadelphia, he moved his printing-house three times and his notary's office twice. He was considered a good and accurate printer, and seems to have taken pains to have the best materials obtainable. Thomas says of him, he "possessed a candid mind, and was apparently guided by moral principle." After this eulogy it is somewhat of a shock to find his name signed to the advertisement of a lottery, and that, too, the very month in which he died. But the newspapers of that day listed lotteries with other stocks and bonds, so perhaps minds were then too simple to grasp our latter-day, fine-spun distinctions.

On his death in 1810 his sons succeeded to the business, but relinquished it in 1812, disposing of the stock at auction. The result might have been different had it fallen into the hands of his daughters, for several of them were good compositors and often worked at the case.

Now, to turn from the editor to his edition, we have a volume of duodecimo size, the paper a little larger than that of its London prototype. I have seen three copies, one of which has the imprint "Printed and sold by James Humphreys," and the other two trade copies, differing from the first only in having the imprint "Printed by James Humphreys for Joseph Groff." All three copies have been rebound, the first in two separate volumes. In the Advertisement the editor offers an explanation of the delay in the publication of the poems, and also "presents his thanks to those who have been pleased to favour them with their encouragement by subscription." He proceeds:

"So rapid appears to have been the Sale of these Poems in London after the Publication of the Second Volume the last summer, that another Edition has been already since published. This, containing the following lengthy Preface, the beautiful Ode to Love, and some additional explanatory Notes, more than the former Edition, did not reach this Country till after the present one had been put to Press, and the First Volume nearly finished."

He adds that although the complete work was attended by more expense than he had calculated upon, it would be delivered to subscribers at the rate agreed upon when but one volume was intended.

From this it would appear that Humphreys was under the impression that a second volume had been issued separately in the summer of 1801, and that subsequently another and complete edition, of which the issue of 1798 formed the first volume, had been published. Now, as is perfectly well known, after the anonymous publication of *Lyrical Ballads* in September, 1798, there was no republication until the issue of two volumes dated 1800, but not actually published until January, 1801. Of these, the first volume consisted of a different arrangement of the poems of 1798 with some alterations, noticeably in the text of the *Ancient Mariner*, the *Convict* being omitted and Wordsworth's Preface and Coleridge's poem *Love* added. Humphreys concludes the Advertisement by mendaciously assuring his subscribers that

"the only difference that now exists between this and the last London Edition is, that the poem entitled the *Convict* is retained in this edition, but omitted in that, and that the arrangement of the Poems in the *First Volume* somewhat differs. The reader, however, by turning to them as they follow in the preceding Table of Contents, will have them as they are arranged in the last London Edition."

Examination shows that Volume 1 was undoubtedly printed from the edition of 1798, and therefore differs materially from the "London Second Edition." It is evident that when the edition of 1800 came to hand the preface, the revised contents, and the poem *Love* were printed and inserted before the *Ancient Mariner*, *Love* ending on page 5, on the back of which is the half-title "The Ancient Mariner, A Poet's Reverie," from the altered title of 1800, as is also the Argument which follows on the same page. The poem begins on what should have been page 7, and has the heading and spelling of 1798—"The Rime of the Ancynt Marinere. In Seven Parts." But on turning over the leaf we find the next page numbered 14. A full collation of this volume with technical details is given by the late J. Dykes Campbell in the *Athenæum* of February 17, 1894.

An examination of the text would indicate

that Humphreys was in fact, as well as in name, an editor of the ballads. Aside from differences that are possibly misprints, such as "pity pleasing" for "pity-pleading" in *The Nightingale*, l. 39, and casual variations in spelling, as "chearful" and "cheerful," used in both editions with complete indifference, there are actual alterations in the text and considerable differences in punctuation. One of the most noticeable of the latter is in the use of quotation marks where there are two speakers, the words of one being enclosed in double, and those of the other in single quotations. This rule obtains all through the *Ancient Mariner* and many of the other poems in both volumes, but is by no means slavishly followed. Additional punctuation is, as a rule, used with a view to bringing out the meaning. This may be illustrated by two lines from the *Ancient Mariner*.

London Edition.

Quoth he the man hath penance done,
And penance more will do.

Philadelphia Edition.

'Quoth he, "The man hath penance done,
"And penance more will do."

It must be owned, though, that commas are often omitted or inserted without discernible reason. The change of colon to semi-colon, and the reverse, is frequent, and apparently indifferent. The interrogation point is substituted in several instances for the comma or exclamation point. *Hart-Leap Well*, l. 51.

Are but three bounds, and look, Sir, at this last?

Exclamation points and italicized words are used far more freely than in the London volumes, this is especially true of Volume II, for example, the last line of *Hart-Leap Well*.

"With *Sorrow* of the *meanest thing* that *feels*."

In the second volume there are no less than thirty instances of the substitution of the exclamation point for comma, semi-colon, colon, or period. More words are capitalized in the Philadelphia edition, though there is no discernible rule in the matter: it is, however, a curious point that "cross" and "crucifix" are capitalized wherever they occur, while in the London edition they are spelled with a small letter except once in the *Ancient Mariner*. Hyphens are used or omitted indifferently, though possibly they are more numerous in the Philadelphia edition. A noticeable difference is in the use of paren-

thesis for commas in setting off explanatory clauses. These statements, it must be remembered, are very general, and it is not difficult to find instances where the rule is exactly reversed. The fact that there are fewer alterations in punctuation in the first volume than in the second is very marked. Possibly Humphreys got his editorial hand fairly in by the time the edition of 1800 arrived.

Coming back to the text we find, in the Argument to the *Ancient Mariner*, which, it must be remembered is reprinted from that of 1800, that "a Ship having passed the Line" is altered by Humphreys to "having sailed to the Equator." Did he consider that "Line" smacked too much of the fo'castle? "Calendar" is spelled "Kalendar" in *Lines written at a small distance*, and in l. 89 of the *Idiot Boy* we have,

The green bough motionless and dead

for

The green bough's motionless and dead.

Another alteration, apparently purely arbitrary, is the doubling the length of the stanzas in *Goody Blake and Harry Gill* and printing without division into stanzas the *Lines (written near Richmond)*. The list of *errata* in the edition of 1798 is not reprinted, and it might fairly be supposed that they had been corrected in the text, but as a matter of fact this is true but of two of them.

In the text of Volume II the greater activity of the editor is as evident as in the matter of punctuation. The misspelling "Theives" in the *Contents* is corrected, and "houshold" in *The Fountain* as well as "falshood" in *A Poet's Epitaph* is supplied with the missing letter. In *Hart-Leap Well*, pt. II, l. 24,

And what this place might be I then inquir'd

becomes:

And what this place might be of him inquir'd.—

an emendation peculiar to Humphreys.

Two obvious misprints, "horsemen" for "horsman" in l. 10, *Hart-Leap Well* and "house cloth" for "house clock" in l. 158, *The Brothers* are corrected, but an equally noticeable blunder, "On" for "In" in l. 17, *The Fountain* is left unchanged, as is also "unborn" for "unshorn" in the *Inscription (Rude is this edifice)*. In *Ellen Irwin* the javelin is launched "at Bruce's heart," a phraseology more in accordance with the fact of its having been intercepted by that devoted damsel than the

original "to Bruce's heart," which was retained until 1837, but in the edition of that year became "at." This regard for plain fact appears again in the alteration of the opening line of *Nutting* to "It seem'd a day." The correction of but two of the London list of these *errata* has been attempted, with a curious result in one instance: ll. 5, *The Childless Father* read originally,

Of coats and of jackets, both grey, red, and green,
corrected in the *errata* to "jackets grey, scarlet,
and green." But the Philadelphia edition retains
"both" and substitutes "scarlet" for
"red" thereby producing the lame line.

Of coats and of jackets both grey, scarlet, and green.

It is known that during the year 1801 a long *errata* list was issued by Wordsworth, who was disgusted with the many errors of volume ii. It consisted of a half-sheet containing twenty-seven *errata*, together with a cancel sheet with the missing lines in *Michael*. So far only three copies of this are known to exist, all stuck in copies of the edition of 1800. The question at once arises: Does Humphreys deserve credit for his emendations, or did he see this list? Certainly he did not see it in time to insert the missing lines in *Michael*, for their absence is indicated by a break. The courtesy of Mr. Thomas Hutchinson of Dublin furnished me with a copy of this list, and as only two of the corrections correspond with those of Humphreys, it seems safe to say that he never saw it.

Busy, versatile James Humphreys! One can but wonder that he made the corrections he did, and yet left so many obvious blunders untouched, but for all that is he not entitled to stand first, in point of time at least, in the long line of those whose loving labor it has been to edit the text of Wordsworth?

J. Dykes Campbell in the article mentioned above raises the question as to whether Wordsworth was aware of this early American appreciation of his poetry. He says, "I do not remember to have met with any indication in the published correspondence of either Wordsworth or Coleridge of their having become aware that the 'Lyrical Ballads' had been reprinted—an event which if it had been heard of at the time would have cheered them, and interested them not a little had the news reached them in later years."

This last pleasure at least was Wordsworth's,

for Henry Reed, in a note at the end of the chapter on *Lyrical Ballads* in his edition of C. Wordsworth's *Memoirs*, after making brief mention of Humphreys' edition says that Wordsworth

"never saw a copy of the early American edition of his first poems until 1839, when a copy was forwarded to him by a friend in Philadelphia."

This positive and unhesitating assertion prompts the suspicion that the anonymous friend may have been no other than that ill-fated prophet of Wordsworth, Prof. Reed himself.

L. A. FISHER.

Philadelphia.

A DETAIL OF RENAISSANCE CRITICISM.

SIR JOHN HARINGTON in "An Apologie of Poetrie" prefixed to his translation of *Orlando Furioso* (1591) cites Cornelius Agrippa's¹ four objections to the art of poetry: "That is a nurse of lies, a pleaser of fools, a breeder of dangerous errors, and an enticer to wantonnes." In answering the "first of lying" he draws from a source, which, I believe, has not yet been noticed—Leon Hebreo (Judas Abravanel or Abarbanel): *Los Diálogos de amor*.

*The Dialogues of Love*² was at that time a widely read book throughout Europe. Frequent editions had appeared, and translations had been made into Latin, Hebrew, Spanish, and French, since the original Italian publication at Rome, 1535. Earlier even, a translation into French by Pontus de Thiard had been printed at Lyons. The date of this is 1515, and the subsequent French translation, by Denys Sauvage was also printed at Lyons, in 1558. There were altogether perhaps twenty editions.

Abravanel, the Spanish author, composed his work at Genoa in 1502, under the inspiration chiefly of Italian admirers of Plato. He was the personal friend of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and he represents the last influence of that religion which Gemistos Plethon had attempted to introduce from Greece into Italy by his revival of Neo-Platonism. He is not of course an enthusiast of the Florentine Acad-

¹ *De vanitate scientiarum* cap. 4.

² Accounts of the book and author may be found in Menéndez y Pelayo and *Le Grand Encyclopédie*. There is no biography.

emy, where Ficino burned a lamp before Plato's shrine, and where Pico proposed to harmonize all philosophies and religions. But he reveres "il divin Platon" above all other philosophers, he advocates the theory of Platonic love, and imitates in his dialogues the Platonic form.

Judas Abravanel was born at Lisbon and lived subsequently at Toledo and at Naples, following the fortunes of his father, Isaac.³ Isaac was the financier of Alphonse V. of Portugal, of Ferdinand the Catholic, Ferdinand I of Sicily, and his son Alphonse. In later life he served the republic of Venice. From him, probably, Judas derived a taste for philosophic thought, for Isaac wrote twenty books of biblical commentaries. The son was physician to Gonsalvo de Córdoba. He wrote another philosophic book, *Coeli Armonia*, and some poems in Hebrew.

The Dialogues were written in good Italian. The grace and profundity of their thought, and the piety which made many readers refuse to believe that Abravanel remained of the Jewish faith, invested the book with considerable moral influence. It was just the book which Harington, in defending poetry against attacks from the Church, would like to have on his side.

The interlocutors, Philon and Sophia, discourse upon (1) the essence of love, (2) the universality of love, (3) the origin of love. When, in the second dialogue, Sophia speaks of "that which the poets feign concerning the love of the gods," and asks if it be not "vain and mendacious," Philon replies:⁴

"Los poetas antiguos no una sola, mas muchas intenciones implicaron en sus poemas, los quales llaman sentidos, ponen primero de todos para el sentido literal, como caxca de fuera, la istoria de algunas personas, y de sus hechos notables dinos de memoria, despues en aquella misma fncion ponen como mas intrínseca caxca, mas allegado al meollo, el sentido moral, until a la vida activa de los hombres aprobando los autos virtuosos, y vituperando los viciosos, allende desto debaxo de aquellas proprias palabras sinifican alguna verdadero enteligencia, de las cosas naturales, o celestes astrologos, o theologales, y alguna vez las dos, o todos los tres sentidos científicos se incluyen dentro dela fncion. Como los meollos del fruto dentro

³ Cf. Moïse Schwar, *A. et son époque*, P., 1865.

⁴ *Los Diálogos de amor*. Venice, 1568, p. 28? This is the only edition I could consult; I am inclined to think Harington did not use it.

en sus caxcas. Estos sentidos meolladas se llaman alegóricos."

This favorite Mediæval and Renaissance defense of the poet's story for the sake of his moral allegory, Sir John Harington copies almost word for word:

"The ancient Poets have indeed wrapped as it were in their writings divers and sundry meanings, which they call the sences or mysteries thereof. First of all for the literall sence (as it were the utmost barke or ryne) they set down in manner of an historie, the acts and notable exploits of some persons worthy memorie; then in the same fiction, as a second rine and somewhat more fine, as it was nearer to the pith and marrow, they place the Morall sence, profitable for the active life of man, approving vertuous actions and condemning the contrarie. Manie times also under the selfesame words they comprehended some true understanding of naturall Philosophie, or sometimes of politike government, and now and then of divinitie: and these same sences that comprehend so excellent knowledge we call the Allegorie, which Plutarch⁶ defineth to be when one thing is told and by that another understood."

Harington's substitution of "politike government" for "celestes astrologos" was probably necessary in order to avoid awakening English prejudice; just as later, when he wishes to praise Bishop Fisher—a Catholic prelate under Henry VIII, he feels compelled to add: "though I do not praise his religion." Similarly, to suit his purpose, Harington transforms the dialogue into straightforward discourse. When Sophia replies to Philon:

"No pequeno artificio. ni deflacao ingenho me parece comprehender en una naracion istorial, verdadera o fingida tantas y tan diversas y altas sentencias, Querria di te algun brieve exenplo para que me pueda fer mas creible."

Harington's version reads:

"Now let any man judge if it be a matter of meane art or wit to containe in one historicall narration either true or fained, so many, so diverse, and so deepe conceits: but for making the matter more plaine I will allege an example thereof."

He then repeats in somewhat loose translation the story of Perseus slaying the dragon, and being on that account exalted to Heaven. This story, we are told, is an image of virtue slaying vice, of man's mind vanquishing earthliness, and of the heavenly nature, which,

⁵ Joseph Haslewood: *The Arts of English Poetrie*, etc. ii, 127.

⁶ The reference to Plutarch is not in Leon, and probably comes from Sidney.

"severing itself from our earthly bodies flew up on high and there remaineth forever."

All these meanings excited in Sophia wonder and admiration; but, she questions, "why did the poets not make known their doctrines more openly?" Philon answers with five reasons. They desired in the first place, he says, to secrete their knowledge from "profane wits" (as Harington translates), "in whom science is corrupted, like good wine in bad vessels." Then they wished to further by the use of metre "the conservation of the memorie of their precepts." The third and the fourth reasons—not translated by Harington—are: "para mesclar lo deleitable historial y fabuloso, con el verdadero entelektual, y lo facil con lo dificil," and "por la conservacion de las cosas entelektuales que no se vengan a variar in proceso de tiempo en las diversas mentes de los hombres." The last and foremost ("ultima y primera") is "por que con un misma magar pudiesen dar comida a diversas conbidados de diversos sabores" (with one kind of meat and one dish to feed diverse tastes).

The omission by Harington of the third and fourth reasons, and also of a short passage just after turning the leaf, are unaccountable to me, except upon the supposition that a corner of that leaf in his copy had been torn off. This the position of the passages makes possible—although not in the 1568 edition. The arguments—the desirability of mixing pleasure with profit, and of preserving tradition unchanged—are both unobjectionable and effective.

As a cap to his argument in defense of the truthfulness of poetry, Harington repeats after Abravanel an old amusing error of Renaissance champions of poetry, Plato had banished poets from his Republic, and to them this was a constant ear sore; for they placed Plato himself among the poets. They replied, as a rule, that Plato meant nothing of the sort,⁷ and this final parallel between the English critic and his original, presents a covert and novel answer to the moralists' rebuke. Although neither author mentions the Republic, and Abravanel is concerned to justify not poetry, but the Platonic form of writing; nevertheless Harington clearly attempts to defend poetry against Plato's attack. He has in mind no doubt the passage of Sidney's *Defence of Poetrie*, where,

⁷ I have a thesis on this subject in course of preparation.

after some argument, this conclusion is reached: that poetry was "not banished, but honored by Plato."

"Soph. Me agradan todan estas causas de los fingamentos poeticos. Mas dime, Platon y Aristotiles principes de los philosophos porque uno dellos no quiso (y sibien uso la fabula) usar el verso, mas solamente la prosa, y el otro ni verso ni fabula uso, mas oracion disciplinal.

Phil. No ronpen las leis los pequenhos, mas solamente los grandes, El divino Platon queriendo a largar la sciencia, saco della una ceradura, la del verso, mas no la otra de la fabula, ansi que el fue el primero que ronpio parte de la lei de la conservacion de la sciencia en tal modo la dexo cerada conel estilo fabuloso que abasto para la conservar. Aristotiles mas osado y cobdicioso de acrecentar con nuevo y propio modo, y estilo nel dizil quiso tambien arancar la ceradura de la fabula, y ronper del todo la lei conservativa, y hablo en estil scientifico en prosa las cosas de la filosofia: Es bien verdad que uso tan maravilloso artificio en el dizir tanto breve, tanto comprensivo, y tanta de profunda sinificacion, que aquello abasto para conservacion de las scientias en lugar de verso y de fabula tanto que respondiend el a Alexandro Macedonia fu disipolo, el qualle avia escrito que se maravillava que unise manifestado los libros tan secretos dela sacra Filosofia. Le respondio, que sus libros eran editos, y no editos, Editos solamente a aquellos que dellos han entendidos destas palabras notaras o sophia la dificultad y artificio que ay nel hablar de Aristotiles."

Harington, in adapting this passage to the defense of poetry, rather stupidly retains the name of Aristotle, whose authority, far from being inimical, is that on which all books concerning the Art of Poetry rely. For the rest, where he diverges from Abravanel, he follows Sir Philip Sidney.

"Now though I know that the example and authority of Aristotle and Plato may still be urged against this [writing poetry], who tooke to themselves another manner of writing: first I may say indeed that lawes were made for poor men, and not for Princes, for these two great Princes of Philosophie, brake that former allowed manner of writing, yet Plato still preserved the fable, but refused the verse. Aristotle though rejecting both, yet retained still a kind of obscuritie, in so much he answered Alexander, who reproved him in a sort, for publishing the sacred secrets of Philosophie, that he had set forth his books in a sort, and yet not set them forth; meaning that they were so obscure that they would be understood of few, except they came to him for instructions: or else without

they were of very good capacitie and studious of Philosophie. But (as I say) Plato howsoever men would make him an enemy of poetrie (because he found indeed just fault with the abuses of some comicall Poets of his time, or some that sought to set up new and strange religions) yet you see he kept still that principall part of Poetrie, which is fiction and imitation: and as for the other part of Poetrie which is verse, though he used it not, yet his master Socrates even in his old age wrote certain verses, as Plutarch testifieth:"

Therefore, Harington concludes, poetry is not "a nurse of lies." I am afraid Abravanel led him rather far astray.

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SOME NOTES ON BOIARDO'S VER- SION OF THE ALEXANDER- SAGAS.

THE first canto of the second part of the *Orlando Innamorato* contains a description of the magnificent palace of Agramante, the alleged descendant of Alexander. In this palace is a great series of paintings representing the whole life of the great Macedonian conqueror (20-21). It is really nothing more than an epitome of the legends of Alexander which became so popular after the Crusades. But in this epitome some legends are found which do not appear in many of the French versions,¹ but do occur in the English *Kyng Alisaunder*.² On the other hand, Boiardo agrees with the French romances on some points that are not to be found in the English *Kyng Alisaunder*, which, however, follows very closely the French work of Thomas of Kent (*L'Histoire de toute Chevalerie*), as do all the English romances on this subject. But Thomas of Kent must have followed different sources than the French poets on the continent, although these sources still remain to be investigated and established.

Boiardo says that the Macedonian conqueror founded Alexandria as a monument of his love to Elidonia (st. 5):

E per amor ch'egli ebbe a sua beltade
Sopra il mar fece una ricca cittade.

In *Li Romans d'Alexandre* the conqueror is said to have founded twelve cities in commem-

¹ Alberic de Besançon, the Venetian and Arsenal manuscripts, the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque National, and of the Bibliothèque Impériale, and *Li Romans d'Alexandre* by Alexander de Bernay and Lambert le Tort.

² A poem of the first half of the fourteenth century. Edited by Henry Weber in his *Metrical Romances*, vol. 1, Edinburgh, 1810.

oration of his victories. See Michelant's edition,³ p. 547, line 56:

Après fist li .i. autre que sor .i. mont leva,
Et .i. autre Allxandre là ò Porru tua.

.....
Et le gent Allxandre qu'en Egypte estora,
Et cele fu li miudre et que il plus ama.

In *Kyng Alisaunder* he is said to have built only one (7151):

Withynne the walles he made houses,
and made the stretes merveyulouse.

.....
And gaf thetoun a name of prys,
Alisaunder, after himseolf y-wis.

Boiardo seems to have been the first to have assigned the motive of love to Elidonia as the reason for the founding of Alexandria. The editor of the *Orlando Innamorato*, Panizzi, claimed that the whole story of Alexander's love for Elidonia was an invention of the poet in order to explain the ancestry of Agramante.⁴ In the Arsenal manuscript, however, we find a somewhat similar story (see P. Meyer, vol. 1, p. 101, v. 21):

Sa mulier Rosenès lo curut à embracer.
Que les olz e la boce li commence à baisier.
Sire, dreit enperere, vous me tu donc laisser.
E gerpir en ces segle tant chaitive moller?
Je soi grosse e enceinte, si ne me pois aider,
Reis tu (?) ors me deuses amer e conseller.

Apart from the name these lines resemble very closely the first four in stanza seven of our poem:

Stava in Egitto allora la fantina,
Che fu nominata Elidonia la bella,
Gravida di sel mesi la meschina,
Quando sentitte la trista novella.

The Rosenès of the French poem is said to have had a maid named Lioine (Meyer, p. 99, v. 46), and it is possible that Boiardo might have derived the name of the mistress from that of the servant for reasons of euphony, or of versification. But Boiardo's continuation of the story seems to be his own, as Rosenès is not credited with any of the adventures which befell Elidonia.

Boiardo disagrees with most of the French poets in his account of the birth of Alexander (see *Orl. Inn.*, ii, i, St. 22):

Lì si vedea l'astrologio prudente,
Qual del suo regno se n'era fuggito,

³ All quotations out of the French romances will be made either from Michelant's edition of *Li Romans d'Alexandre*, by Alexander de Bernay and Lambert le Tort, or from the first volume of Paul Meyer's *Alexandre dans la Littérature du Moyen Âge*.

⁴ Note to stanza 30, vol. iv, p. 344.

Che una regina in forma di serpente
Avea gabbata, e prese il suo appetito.

The manner in which the astrologer (Nectanebus) betrayed (*gabbata*) the queen is fully described in *Kyng Alisaunder*, v. 384-392:

Neptanabus his charme hath ynome,
And takith him haums of a dragon,
From his scholdron, to his hele adoun,
His heved, and his scholdron fram,
He dyghte in forme of a ram.
On hire bed twyes he leped;
The thridde tyme yn he creped,
Of he caste his dragouns hame,
And with the lady plaied a game.⁵

In the work of Alexander de Bernay and Lambert le Tort, it appears that the poets were familiar with this story and not disposed to question the truth of it very vigorously (see Michelant, p. 5):

Quar li plusior disoient, sens nule legerie,
Que Alixandres est nés de bastarderie;
Car èl tans k'il fut nés, si com la letre die,
Ert .i. clers de' pais, plains de grande voisdie,
Natabus ot anon en la langhe arrabie.
Al nestre aida l'enfant, coi que uns li en die.

But old Alberic de Besançon denies all allegations against the legitimacy of his hero's birth most indignantly (see P. Meyer, p. 27):

Dicunt alquant estrobatour
Quel reys fud filz d'encantatur;
Mentent fellon losen getour;
Mal en credreyz nec un de lour,
Qu'anz fud de ling d'emperateur.
Et filz al rey Macedonor.

The manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale denies this tradition with equal boldness (see Meyer, p. 120, v. 135-141):

A icel tans en furent les gens espoentés,
Et dirent d'Alixandre ke fut engénrés
D'un maistre encantaour en dragon figurés.
Mais iche fu mençoigne, ne fu pas verités,
Car asès fu par lui l'affaires esprovés,
Car ne fu uns t's ber ne de tés qualités.
Fix fu au roi Philippe ki moult fu honer's.

The Arsenal and Venetian manuscripts also maintains with equal vigor the legitimacy of Alexander's.

The description of the steed Bucephalus varies according to the imagination of the different poets, Boiardo says that he has horns on his head (see St. 22):

E come dentro ad una gran foresta,
Prese un destrier ch'avea le corna in testa.
Buccifal aveva nome quel ronzone (St. 23).

The horse is variously described in the French versions as follows.

⁵ This story is found told in almost the same words in Thomas of Kent's *Histoire de toute Chevalerie*. Verses 489 sqq.

Li Romans d'Alixandre, p. ii, v. 29.

Si a teste de bouc et s'a ious de lion,
Et s'a ous de cheval, s'a Bucifal à nom.

Arsenal manuscript, v. 102:

Dist Tolomés escolta ma raison;
D'un tel cheval poez oïr lo son
Qui plus est fers que t'gres ne lion.
Grant a la gole, de denz sembla dragon.

Thomas of Kent, v. 489:

E por ceo fu nomé le cheval Bucifal;
Une corroune ot el front com(e) ceo fut de roal,
E teste aveit de tor e jubé bestial.

Strangely enough *Kyng Alisaunder* contains the description which resembles Boiardo's most closely, v. 684:

A grisly best, a ragged colt,
They had hit caught in the holt
His heved, so a bole smert;
An horn the forked amyward,
That wolde perce scheldis hard.

The description of Alexander's conquest of the world is essentially the same in all the Alexander romances, as is also the story of his victory over Porrus (st. 26). The account of the punishment of the traitor Basso (st. 24) is also found in most of the romances with a difference in names. In *Li Romans d'Alixandre* two traitors were put to death, but the name of only one is given (see Michelant, p. 256, v. 33).

Et Balans ses compains qui lés lui cevaucoit,
Ambedoi li glouton estoient d'un complot.

But in *Kyng Alisaunder* the poet is more explicit and gives the names of both malefactors. They were Besanas and Besas (v. 4724); the last name looks very much like Boiardo's Basso.

In stanza 25 we find an episode which does not occur in most of these romances, that is, his swimming the Ganges (see st. 25).

E poi si vede in India travargato,
Notando il Gange che è si gran fiumana.

In *Li Romans d'Alixandre*, Alexander is said to have swum in a river for pleasure one warm day and to have nearly died from the effects thereof (Michelant, p. 66), but that is the nearest approach to Boiardo's account that is found in any of the continental French versions. But in *Kyng Alisaunder* there is an account of his swimming over a river called the Estrage (see, v. 4259):

Alisaunder hath theow water caught.
Hit was brod and hight Estrage;
Deope stremes and savage.
He smot his hors and in he leop;
Hit was swithe brod and deop.

Hors and kyng, with alle hater,
Was aunted undur the water.
Alisaunder to-fore no seoth:
He was sore adred of deth.
Notheles, his hors was god,
And keovered up above the fiod;
And swam to that othir syde
There his knyghtis him dude abyde.

The same stanza (25) contains the account of his fight in the city:

Dentro a una terra soletto e serrato,
Et ha d'intorno la gente villana;
Ma lui ruina il muro in ogni lato
Sopra nemici, e quella terra spiana.

None of the French romances which have been published contain any account of this heroic exploit. *Kyng Alisaunder*, however, describes a fight which Alexander had within the walls of an armed town, which resembles quite closely this story of Boiardo's (see *Kyng Alisaunder*, v. 5826):

The Kyng off his stede alighth,
And steegh on the wal anon righth,
And looked oner what hy dede.
Hy weren redy in that stede,
As I fynde on the boke,
And plighthen hym with yrlen hoke;
And laiden hym on with swerd anfbatt
The kyng was nigh all to-flatt,
Er he west where he was,
The kyng rekowered natheles,
Under shelde he gan hym were,
And wel swiftly hym bistere;
Smoot and leide on with mayn,
And slough a rawe two duzeyn;
And maugre the teeth of them alle,
Sette his rigge to the walle.
That folk grete assaught him gae,
With swerdes, axes, stones and stauē,
Woundeden, felden, and sore hym herten
His woundes bledden, his dyntes smerten,
That he grented as a bore,
And deled many a dynt sore; etc.

Finally his army comes and breaks down the walls of the town, rescues him, and slaughters the people.

On the other hand, the ascent of Alexander into the heavens by means of a car borne by griffons, is not to be found in *Kyng Alisaunder*, but is very completely described in the manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, v. 409:

Les .ii. grifons demande, ses a fait amener,
Parmi les cors les fait loier et atourner,
Et par desous les eles, nes vaut pas encombrer.
Puis prent .ii. lons espois, ses commande a doler,
Il. capons i fist metre ke il ot fait plumer.
El chief de le coraie fist les espois bouter;
Aparellier les fist k'il les peüst tourner,
Quel part ke il vauisist on baissier ou lever:
Mist soi en la kaiere, si se fist bien serrer;

Le car monstre as grifons qui les faisoit haster;
Por le vlande atalndre commencent à voler.

.....
Alixandre est si haut nel pueent mais colsir
Au ciel culdolt atalndre, mais n'l pot avenir.

In *Li Romans d'Alixandre* the car is said to have been borne by four griffons: compare with the *Orlando Immamorato*, st. 28:

Poscia che fu la terra da lui vinta,
A due Grifon nel ciel si fe' portare,

Alexander was also supposed to have descended into the sea (see st. 28):

Pol dentro un vetro si cala nel mare,
E vide le balene e ogni gran pesce,
E campa e ancor quivi di fuora n'esce.

In the French practically the same story is found (see P. Meyer, p. 134, v. 484):

Ofr poés comment il servi par un jour
En le grant mer parfonde, dont li siecle a paor,
En .i. petit vaissel ke ot fait à labor
D' .i. voirre tresgeté à .i. engingneor.

.....
Iluec puet Alixandre les poissons esgarder
Dont moult vir entour lui et venir et aler,
As fors prendre les foibles, niangier et estrangler.

The English romance seems to have come from different sources, or to have received some additions (see *Kyng Alisaunder*, v. 6170):

A lond ther is, bytweone Egipte and Ynde,
(In maistris bokes as we fyndith)
In an yle of water they wonith;
Queytance of al men they schoneth;
For they wonith in water y-wis,
With eker and with fysch.

.....
This yle is yhote Neopante.
The kyng thider message sente,
And so shedde with his mede,
That he hadde heore bel awrede
Theo kyng was of hardy blod
With heom he wente undur the fiod
He saw the ekeris wronginge,
How everich other mette
And the more the lasse frette.

The story of Alexander's death at the hands of his physician Antipater or Antipatro (st. 29) is practically the same in all these romances of Alexander.

These few stanzas of Boiardo summarize quite completely all the legends contained in all the French Romances which have been published, as well as the English version based on the *Roman de toute Chevalerie* by Thomas of Kent. There is one episode which is not related in any of them; namely the combat between Alexander and the basilisk (St. 27):

Eravi ancora come il basilischio
Stava nel passo sopra una montagna,
E spaventava clascun sol col suo fischio,
E la con la vista la gente magagna.

Come Alessandro lui si pose a rischio,
Per quella gente ch'era a la campagna,
E per consiglio di quel sapiente,
Col specchio al scudo, uccise quel serpente.

This may, however, be only an adaptation of the Perseus-Medusa legend.

We do not know from what sources Boiardo took the matter for these verses; but the great brevity with which he refers to the different legends indicates that he pre-supposed a familiarity with them on the part of his audience. The *Historia de Proeliis* (see below) was put in Italian verse by Qualichius di Spoleto as early as the thirteenth century. It is very probable that these stories of the marvelous deeds of Alexander had been sung or recited on the squares before the people for a long time, as were so many of the old poems, of an epic character.⁶ At all events these stanzas of Boiardo show that at the time in which he wrote, that is, towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Alexander legends were well known in Italy. This would be a slight proof in favor of the view that the Alexander sagas came to France and the northern countries through Italy, as opposed to those who believe the Italian Alexander romances to be mere translations from the Old French, a view which was taken by Grimm but called into doubt by Gaspary in his *Geschichte der italienischen Litteratur*. F. Meyer speaks very decidedly on this question (see *Alexandre dans la Littérature du Moyen Âge*, vol. ii, pp. 38-39):

"Le Ms. de Bamberg a joué un rôle important dans la transmission de *L'Historia de Proeliis* (also called *Historia Alexandri Magni Regis Macedoniæ de Proeliis*). Non seulement c'est le plus ancien exemplaire connu de cette version de Pseudo-Callisthenes, mais il se pourrait bien être qu'il fût le premier qui ait été porté hors d'Italie. Elle (*Historia de Proeliis*) a dû nous parvenir directement d'Italie et par des Mss. qui déjà avaient perdu le prologue, si heureusement conservé par les Mss. de Bamberg et Munich."

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ETYMOLOGIES.

1. OE. *banca*, ON. *bakki* 'bank,' OE. *benc*, OS., OHG. *bank*, ON. *bekkr* 'bench' may be referred to the root *bhe(u)g-* 'break' in Skt. *bhanákti* 'break,' *bhagna-* 'broken,' Ir. *bougaim* 'break,' OSw. *banka* 'strike,' etc. (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* s. v. *bhanákti*.) To these we

⁶ See Grüber's *Grundriss*, ii, 3, p. 34.

may add Lith. *beugiù* 'end,' primarily 'break off.'

The root *bhe(u)g-* 'break' meant perhaps originally 'cause to fly off,' in which case it may be compared with the root *bhēg-* 'flee, run' in Gk. *φέβομαι* 'flee, be frightened,' Lith. *bēgu* 'flee, run, flow,' etc. With this compare OHG. *bah(h)*, OS. *beki*; ON. *bekkr* 'brook,' etc.

2. To the usual comparisons made with Goth. *brikan* 'break,' Lat. *frangō*, etc., we may add Lith. *brėziu* 'scratch,' base **bhrē-g-*, or OChSl. *brěgā* 'slope, bank,' base **bhrē-g-*. Or both may be related through the root *bher-*, *bhrē-*. Cf. Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung*, 18.

3. Germ. *brüdi-* 'bride' has been explained as an abstract formation to Av. *mraomī*, Skt. *braviṃī* 'speak.' The pre-Germ. form is supposed to have been **mrūti-*. So Uhlenbeck, *PBB.*, xxii, 188; Hirt, *PBB.*, xxii, 234. This explanation is quite satisfactory, and yet I wish to suggest another possibility. Pre-Germ. **mrūti-* may be a secondary lengthening from **mruti-* < **mr̥ti-*. This may be compared with Gk. Cret. *μαρτίς* 'virgin,' Lith. *martis* 'bride.' This connection gains probability from the fact that this word for 'bride' is contained in Crimean Goth. *marzus*. Cf. Loewe, *IF. Anz.* ix, 198.

4. Germ. *fiska-* 'fish' has not been satisfactorily explained, since no certain connection has been found outside of Lat. *piscis* and Ir. *iasc* 'fish.' The base **pi-sqo-* may have meant 'water-animal.' Compare the stem **(p)isqā-* in OBrit. *lōxa*, Ir. *esc* 'water.' This is probably from the root *p̥-* 'flow.' Cf. Fick, *Wb.*⁴ ii, 329.

5. With Goth. *bi-gitan* 'find, get,' ON. *geta* 'get, obtain, guess,' etc., compare, in addition to the words usually given, Lith. *godau*, -*dyti*, *godaju*, -*doti* 'guess, suppose,' *gōdas*, *gūdas* 'avarice' and also the name of a bur, that is, 'grasper,' *gūdūs* 'grasping, avaricious,' *godūs* 'greedy,' and perhaps *geudū*, *gesti* 'miss,' that is, 'want, desire, strive to get,' *gedū* 'mourn for.' On the connection of E. *guess* with *get*, cf. author, *MOD. LANG. NOTES*, xiv, 259.

6. The root **gheu-d-* 'pour' is supposed to be found only in Lat. *fundō* and Germ. **geutan* 'pour out,' Goth. *giutan*, etc. Compare, however, Lith. *žudaū* 'slay, kill' with Lat. *fundō* 'cast down, overwhelm, vanquish' and OE. *gietan* < **gaufjan* 'destroy.' This last form is not mentioned by Kluge or Uhlenbeck in their *Et. Wbb.* The simple root **gheu-* is also in Lith. *žėvū*, *žūti* 'perish,' *žavinū* 'slay.'

7. Goth. *maudjan* 'remind' has been compared with OCh.Sl. *mysl* 'thought' and Ir. *smúanam* 'think' (Fick, *Wb.* 4 ii, 317; Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*). Add to these Gk. *μῦθος* 'word, speech, counsel, advice,' *μῦθεσθαι* 'say, speak, consider.'

8. Goth. *supōn*, OHG. *soffōn* 'season' are declared unexplained by Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* These words, however, have been connected with the Germ. root *sūp-* in E. *sip*, *sop*, *sup*, NHG. *suppe*, etc. Cf. Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *sophā*, *sophōn*. This is a natural connection and easily explained. The base **sū-bo-*, **sū-bā-* is undoubtedly, like **sū-go-* in OE. *sūcan* 'suck,' Lat. *sūgō*, and **sū-go-* in OE. *sūgan* 'suck,' Lat. *sucus* 'juice,' etc. (cf. Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung*, 8 f.), from the root *sū-* 'flow.' The base **sūbo-*, therefore meant 'flowing, liquid, juicy,' from which developed the meaning 'good-tasting.' Hence Goth. *supōn*, OHG. *soffōn* 'season.' For this connection compare Skt. *rāsa* 'sap, fluid, water,' 'taste,' *rasati* 'taste of,' Gk. *χυλός*, *χυμός* 'juice, liquid,' 'flavor, taste,' *χυμώω* 'impart a taste or flavor.'

9. ON. *dāmr* 'taste, after-taste,' *dāma* 'taste, taste of' have a similar development. These come from a base **dhē-mo-* 'drinking,' root *dhē-* 'drink, suck' in Skt. *dhāyati* 'suck, drink,' Goth. *daddjan*, OHG. *tāan* 'suckle,' etc.

10. OE. *clūd*, ME. *cloud* 'a mass of rock, a hill:' ME. *cloude*, E. *cloud* is a comparison doubted by Kluge and Lutz, *Eng. Et.* And yet each could easily come from the common meaning 'mass, lump.' Compare Skt. *ghanā* 'mass, lump, heap:' 'cloud.' E. *cloud* may further be connected with E. *clod*, *clot*, NHG. *kloss*, *klotz*, etc., from the root *glu-* 'stick together, ball up.' We may, therefore, compare E. *cloud* and OE. *clūd* 'rock' with Gk. *γλουρός* 'rump' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *γλουρός*).

11. E. *keep* seems not to occur in any other Germ. language, but it probably has other relatives in OE. besides *cēpan*. This word is defined by Sweet, *Dict. of A.S.*: 'observe, notice; attend to, not neglect, keep; take (to flight), betake oneself (to shelter); devise, meditate.' These various significations may come from the common meaning 'turn, turn toward.' We may then connect OE. *cēpan* with OE. *capian* 'turn, face,' *ge-cōp* 'fit, suitable.'

12. OE. *salod*, *fald* 'fold, pen,' *saldian* 'make sheep-fold, hurdle off sheep' are connected by Skeat, *Et. Dict.*, with ON. *fföl* 'board.' More nearly related are ON. *faldr*

'fold, pen, trunk,' Dan. *fold* 'fold, pen.' These are derivatives of the Germ. stem *salō-* in ON. *fföl*, Dan. *ffæl*. They are perhaps further connected with Lat. *pālus* 'pole, stake.'

13. E. *rend*, OE. *rendan* 'tear, lacerate,' OFris. *renda* 'tear, break' are not traced outside of Germ. by Kluge and Lutz, *Eng. Et.* They are derivatives of a stem *randa-*, pre-Germ. **rondho-*, which appears in Lith. *rāndas* 'stripe, weal, scar,' Skt. *rāndhra-* 'opening, crevice, hole, defect, weakness.' From the same word in the last sense come also Skt. *radhrā-* 'poor, unhappy, wretched,' *rādhyati* 'yield, serve; torment, torture,' *randhāyati* 'torment, torture, subject.' This last word is similar in formation to Germ. **randjan* 'rend.'

These are probably also connected with OHG. *rant* 'rand,' OE. *rond* 'edge,' *rind* 'bark, rind, crust,' OHG. *rinla* 'rinde,' Hess. *runde* 'rinde einer wunde.' The development in meaning is here 'wound, scratch, scar, scab, crust, rind,' etc. The meaning 'edge' comes from 'mark.'

14. OE. *woffian* 'talk wildly or foolishly, blaspheme,' *wæflan* 'talk foolishly' are evidently connected with Lith. *vapū*, *vapēti*, *vāpalioju*, *-lioti* 'chatter, babble.' Compare further ON. *-vafr* 'nonsense,' OE. *wæfer-hūs* 'theatre,' *wæfer-nes* 'pomp, pageant,' *wæsf*, *wæfer-sien*, OHG. *wabar-siuni* 'show, spectacle.'

The root *gēp-*, from which the above words come, must have meant 'throw about, move rapidly.' This would give 'act or talk wildly; gesticulate, make performance,' etc. Compare the similar development in meaning in Lat. *pālor* 'wander about, struggle,' OHG. *fasōn* 'hin und her suchen:' NHG. *faseln* (cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *faseln*; Brugmann, *Grd.* 12, 765); and for the second meaning Lat. *actio*, *actus*, *gesticulatio*, etc.

This primary signification is seen in OE. *wāfian* 'waver, hesitate, be amazed, wonder at, gaze in wonder at,' *wāfung* 'amazement, pageantry.' These show plainly the development in OE. *wæfer-nes* 'pomp, pageant,' etc., and prove connection with OE. *wāfian* 'wave, brandish,' ON. *vāfa* 'vibrate,' *vafra*, MHG. *wabern* 'waver,' OE. *wæfre* 'wandering, flickering.' Compare also Skt. *vāpati* 'scatter, strew, throw,' *vāpus* 'wondrous, beautiful; wonder, beautiful appearance,' where the same change in meaning has taken place. Here also probably belong Lith. *vėpelis* 'maulaffe,' *vėplinn* 'go about with open mouth, gape,' that

is, 'gaze in wonder at,' like OE. *wāfian*.

The root *uē-p-* in the above I take to be an outgrowth of *uē-* 'turn, twist, roll.'

15. A similar development is seen in OE. *windan* 'wind, twist, turn, move, delay, hesitate,' *ge-wand* 'being ashamed, hesitation, scruple,' *wandian* 'hesitate, care for, regard, stand in awe of:' *wundor* 'wonder, wonderful thing,' that is, 'something to stand in awe of, something amazing.' The last word has been compared with Gk. *ἀσπείω* 'look earnestly, gaze at.' This is almost the same as OE. *wandian* 'regard, stand in awe of.'

The entire group may be referred to the root *uendh-* 'turn, twist.' Here perhaps Gk. *ἀσπείω* 'play, sport' < **uēdhurjō* 'turn about, run to and fro.' The root *uendh-* is perhaps nasalized from *uēdh-* 'lead, guide,' that is, 'turn, direct.' The root *uēdh-* also signifies 'turn, twist, struggle, win' in Gk. *ἀεθλον* 'prize,' and 'turn, twist, bind' in Goth. *wadi* 'pledge.' (Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *winden, wenden, waudern, Wunder*; and Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *wadi*.)

16. For Germ. *wambō-* 'belly, stomach, womb:' Goth., OHG. *wamba*, OE. *wamb*, ON. *vomb*, no satisfactory explanation has been given. Compare Skt. *vapā* < **uompā-* 'caul, omentum.' The Skt. word corresponds in formation and gender with the Germ., and in ablaut with OHG. *wunuba*. Primarily **uompā-*, **uompā-* must have meant 'wrapper, veil, covering,' and was then applied to the membrane enveloping the bowels or the fetus, and finally to what was so covered.

For this development in meaning compare: Goth. *nati*, OE. *net* 'net:' *nette* 'caul,' Gk. *νηδύς* 'belly, bowels, stomach, womb' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *nati*); E. *caul* 'covering of network for the head, net: omentum, amnion;' OE. *haua* 'dress, covering: womb.'

It is quite possible that IE. **uompā-* 'wrapper, covering: caul, stomach, womb' is from a root *ue(m)p-* 'throw, swing, sway,' which is the same as *uēp-* in Skt. *vāpati* 'scatter, throw,' OE. *wafian* 'wave,' etc. (v. supra). The original meaning of IE. **uompā-* would then be 'a swinging, swaying, flapping; flap, veil, covering.' Compare Goth. *ga-wigan* 'shake, move,' Lat. *vehō*: *vēlum* (cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I, 769); OE. *scēotan* 'shoot, throw, move quickly:' *sciat* 'piece of cloth, cloak, lap, bosom.'

We may therefore compare Lith. *vamplys* 'Jemand, der mit offenem Munde oder mit dicker herabhängender Lippe dasteht oder umhergeht,' *vainplinu, -linti* 'go around with hanging jaw,' which are closely related to Lith. *vėplys, vėpelis* 'Maulaffe,' *vėplinu* 'go about with open mouth.'

17. E. *rowlock* is explained by Kluge and Lutz, *Eng. Et.*, as 'hole for rowing,' the last part being compared with NHG. *loch* 'hole.' It is true that *-lock* in *rowlock* is related to NHG. *loch*, but the signification is not the same. OE. *ār-loc*, of which *rowlock* seems to be a corruption, is a compound of *ār* 'oar' and *loc* 'lock, fastening.' Whether this fastening consisted of pegs, or tholes, or of a notch in the gunwale of the boat, it was thought of as a 'fastening' not as a 'hole.' Hence E. *oarlock*, *rowlock* is exactly what its composition would indicate, a 'lock or fastening for the oar.'

Aside from the fact that OE. *loc* never means 'hole,' other OE. words for 'rowlock' make it improbable that OE. *ār-loc* meant 'oar-hole.' Compare OE. *ār-wippe* 'oar-withe, rowlock;' *hamole* 'oar-thong, rowlock' (compare ON. *hemill* 'thong for hobbling horse,' *heirja* 'heumen,' etc.); *mīdl*, *mīpl* 'horse's bit: oar-thong' (compare OE. *mīdliau* 'restrain, bridle, muzzle,' Goth. *ga-maiþs* 'crippled,' etc.); *þol* 'thole, rowlock' (compare Lith. *tušis* 'ein Stecksessel in der Seite des Ruderkahns zum Festanlegen des grossen Ruders,' Gk. *τύλος* 'knot, knob, wooden bolt').

From the above we are justified in assuming that OE. *ār-loc* meant 'oar-fastening, oar-holder,' and could be applied either to a thole or a thong. There is nothing in the derivation of the word to exclude the latter. For the Germ. word *lock*, OE. *lūcan*, etc., meant primarily 'pull, bend, twist,' and then 'tie; bind, fasten.' Compare OHG. *liohhan* 'pull, wrestle,' Gk. *λυγίζω* 'bend, twist, wrestle,' *λυγός* 'bend, fasten,' OE. *lūcan* 'pull up, join together, interlace, close, confine,' *haud-locen* 'linked or woven by hand.' (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *galūkan*; author, *Journ. Germ. Phil.* ii, 224.)

18. Of NHG. *guter Dinge* Kluge, *Et. Wb.*, says nothing. Paul in his *DWB.* mentions the phrase under *Ding*. So also Heyne. From this we are to conclude that *guter Dinge* is in

the gen. plur. neut. I think it more probable, however, that we have here a gen. sing. fem., and that *Dinge* in this expression is from OHG. *dingi*, fem., 'hope, confidence,' MHG. *dinge*, same. Compare OHG. *thingan*, *dingan*, MHG. *dingen* 'hope, believe, be confident.'

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[As to *rowlock*, the interpretation of *-lock* as a "fastening," with the primary meaning of "something bent, twisted, joined together," can be supported by archaeological evidence. Oar-holes, or at least holes which unmistakably served as such, are not found in the remains of any Germanic boat ante-dating the viking period. They were obviously out of the question in the shallow dugouts mentioned by Vellejus, and equally so in the larger ones used, according to the elder Pliny, for open-sea navigation. Notches in the gunwales are met with in one large boat of this kind. But the earliest form of rowlock seems to have consisted in a loop of bast rope, withes, or leather, attached to the gunwale; later, the loop passed through a hole in a piece of wood fastened upon the gunwale, and so shaped as to keep the oar from slipping in the recover; in the next stage of the evolution the wooden part and the loop attached to it exchanged functions: the former, now curving upward and backward, served as a fulcrum in the stroke, while the loop, through which the oar was stuck, came into play in the recover and in backing. The two forms of rowlock last mentioned are found in the Anglian (or Danish?) boats of Nydam (third century). The more advanced of these forms, which is characteristic of the twenty-eight-oar boat of Nydam, has remained in uninterrupted use, for sea-going row- and sailboats of moderate dimensions, through the viking age (when the larger vessels, with their higher free-board, had to resort to oar-holes), down to the present day; the fishing-boats of northern Norway having even now for rowlocks the *keipar* of the sagas, crooks or curved pieces of wood on the gunwale, with loops of leather or of twisted or braided withes. That the Anglo-Saxon rowlock was of the same material and general style is shown by the designations *hamole* and *är-wippe*.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Heine's Prose, with Introduction and Notes by ALBERT B. FAUST, Ph. D. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899. li, 341 pp.

THIS new edition of copious selections from Heine's prose works immediately challenges comparison with the well-known edition by Professor Buchheim in the Clarendon Press Series. The plan of both is essentially the same, and could hardly be other than it is for the purpose in view; no one of Heine's longer prose works is given complete, but extracts from all the important ones are included. How variously representative these extracts are of the complete works will appear from the fact that in the Faust edition the ratio of the selection to the whole runs from about one-third of the *Harzreise* and one-fourth of the *Memoiren* to one-fifty-fifth of *Lutezia*. Usually there are grave objections to the abridgment of masterpieces for school use. There is no more justification for the editorial mutilation of an essay or a work of fiction than for placing before students mere fragments of dramas or of lyric poems; the artistic unity of the whole is presumably as important in one case as in another. Heine's prose work is a rare exception to this rule, however, in that it is essentially fragmentary at best, and that its structural value is insignificant as compared with the value of its style and subject-matter, so that there is relatively little lost in studying his prose in excerpts.

Prof. Faust's edition is superior to Prof. Buchheim's as a representative collection of Heine's prose, not so much because it contains about one-seventh more matter, as because it includes parts of important works that were neglected in the older edition, notably considerable extracts from the *Memoiren* and the *Geständnisse*, and brief samples of *Die Bäder von Lucca*, *Aus den Memoiren des Herren von Schnabelewopski*, *Florentinische Nächte*, and *Lutezia*: the inclusion of the insipid "Humoreske" *Der Thee* is of more questionable advantage. The selection of portions to be included in a school edition is so largely a matter of individual taste that probably no two editors would come to the same result, and any criticism would have only the value of a personal opinion; it may suffice to say that there is not much to choose between the two editions

in that regard. Perhaps it is not a matter of personal caprice, however, to regret the omission of *König ist der Hirtenknabe* and *Ich bin die Prinzessin Ilse* from the *Harzreise*, while the one lyric that Heine himself left out after the first edition is retained.

The arrangement of the material in the new edition—chronological throughout—is to be preferred to that of the old. The map of the Harz region is a welcome help, though it is not quite accurate, as the line representing Heine's trip does not touch the Brocken.

The notes, though falling short of the notorious copiousness of all the Buchheim editions, are quite full, and, on the whole, accurate. They are marked, however, by a certain inconsistency and disproportion, as if the editor had widely different grades of pupils in mind in making them. But Heine's style is no milk for babes, and the editor might have taken pretty thorough preparation for granted in his readers. Examples of unnecessary aid are the translations in the notes of such simple words and expressions as *ohne Umstände*, *Meerrettig*, *Halskragen*, *Felsenplatte*, *Kot am Meer*, *auf allen Vieren*, *gleich wichtig*, *verlarvt*, *Gängelband*, *Däne*, *welthistorisch*, *Chignons* (incorrectly translated "braids"), *Firnis*, *Kehricht*, *Söller*. The same criticism applies to the frequent biographical notes on celebrities of universal fame, such as Raphael, Calderon, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Sterne, Richardson, Goldsmith, Fielding, and others. On the other hand, even advanced students of German might need some help on *illuminirt*, p. 66, l. 27, on *Bête allemande*, p. 67, l. 26 (nine out of ten will call it "German beast"), on the phrase *singen und sagen*, p. 201, l. 33, and on a number of characteristically odd expressions on which the notes give no aid. As literary and historical references are carefully noted throughout, the biblical quotations on p. 204, l. 14 and p. 219, l. 8 should be referred to Jeremiah xxxi, 29 and Ecclesiastes i, 9. In the note on *Enthusiasmusfässchen*, p. 84, l. 22, there should be a reference to the last chapter of Mme de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*. *Papagoyim*, p. 89, l. 7, should be noted, not merely as "an unusual plural," but as a humorous imitation of the Hebrew plural. The connotation of *Vor- und Nachdenker*, p. 94, l. 20, should be more sharply defined, with possibly a reference to Prometheus and Epimetheus. The mere translation

of *larmoyant*, p. 136, l. 26, gives the student no hint of the allusion to the "comédie larmoyante."

A few suggestions as to what is infelicitous or misleading in the annotation may be of some value for a future revision. On p. 235, next to last line, "refractoriness" would express the idea better than "brittleness;" p. 20, l. 22, *trocken* is rather "dry-as-dust" than "stilted;" middle of p. 273, "parody" should be "satire." Most students will have no idea that *I. Mose*, note to p. 33, l. 25, means "Genesis." The reference of Heine's romantic egotism to the influence of the Fichtean philosophy, note to p. 37, l. 11, is a strange confusion of ideas—as if Fichte were responsible for a European movement that was in full sweep when he was an infant! "The holy Genevieve," p. 38, l. 2, should read "Saint Genevieve."—The statement that "the monologues of Faust" are written in *Knittelversen*, note to p. 74, l. 8, is quite misleading.—P. 103, l. 22f., "the twaddle of tonsured mountebanks" is nearer the color of *die Salbadereien geschorener Gaukler* than "idle assurances of shaven jugglers," which obscures the clerical allusion; in the note to p. 110, l. 5, "erected" should be "laid out;" p. 283, first line, "triumphal song" would be better; p. 118, l. 32, "*black and dirty*" confuses rather than explains the obvious play on the word *schwarz*.—It may be questioned whether Bismarck would have met Heine's expectation of "the third liberator," p. 121, ll. 6–13.—The note to p. 130, l. 5, is misleading in form: Chateaubriand and Mérimée are hardly well-chosen representatives of the *revolutionary* phase of French Romanticism, as Hugo certainly is.—P. 131, ll. 19ff., *Lancelot* is no more an "adaptation from French originals" than *Iwein*, or any other of the MHG. romances; the reference to "the manner of Hartmann and Wolfram" is absolutely meaningless to almost any student who will use this book; and of Wagner's "musical dramas" only *Parzival* really deals with the Grail subject.—P. 138, l. 31, Werner is not, properly speaking, the "originator" of the Tragedy of Fate; p. 139, l. 22, *Volksbücher* would be better rendered "chap-books" than "folks' books;" p. 156, l. 16, "received asylum" is unidiomatic for "found refuge;" p. 168, l. 12, *Hintersassen* here means "vassals," or better "minions,"—"small farmers of his fame" is meaningless.—

In the note to p. 170, l. 6, it is manifestly wrong to speak of Hölderlin as belonging to a "school" of which Uhland was the "founder;" Hölderlin's work was ended when Uhland was rhyming his first crude ballads.—George Sand certainly did not call her son "Moritz" (p. 185, l. 5); if Heine does, that is no reason why an American editor should follow his example.—P. 192, l. 7, *leidige Familienrücksichten* means "unfortunate," not "odious," family considerations; p. 211, l. 3, "renegade romanticist" gives the force of Elster's *entlaufen*, as "run-away" does not.—When Heine speaks, p. 149, l. 11, of three odes on Schlegel, all beginning *O du, der du—*, he is evidently cracking one of his jokes; of course these odes never existed, but are a pleasant fiction that serves as a humorous recantation of the really laudatory sonnets on Schlegel.

Heine's derisive and unintelligent criticism of French poetry and versification, pp. 194, 216, is explained by the notorious fact that he never mastered even the rudiments of the subject, and never developed the slightest feeling for French rhythm; this is evident, for example, from the barbarous error he makes in quoting a French Alexandrine verse in his *Memoiren* (Elster vii, 476):

Où l'innocence périt, c'est un crime de vivre.

Prof. Faust follows Prof. Buchheim in his explanation of *das Ross Bayards*, p. 170, l. 4. Both of them overlook the direct source from which Heine undoubtedly took the incident in question, a source to which, in fact, no one has yet called attention. In Mme de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*, to which Heine's *Über Deutschland* is a sort of rejoinder, the ninth chapter of the first part closes with these words:

"on pourrait appliquer, en général, à tous ces esprits, à tous ces ouvrages imités du français, l'éloge que Roland, dans l'Arioste, fait de son jument qu'il traîne après lui: *Elle réunit, dit-il, toutes les qualités imaginables; mais elle a pour-tant un défaut, c'est qu'elle est morte.*"

The "point" is worked out here exactly as it is by Heine, and as it is not in Ariosto. The substitution of *Bayard* for *Roland*, both names of famous French heroes, is just such a freak of Heine's memory as the substitution of *Käthchen* for Goethe's *Gretchen*, and of the name of the city of *Lampsakus* for that of the philosopher *Pittakus*.

In the Introduction, the effect of translating *Kahldorf*, the pseudonym of Robert Wesselhöft, as "Barren-Village" (p. xxx), is odd and confusing. On p. 1. the reference to titles and prose lines containing grammatical errors as "verses" is evidently a slip. "Knight" would be better than "champion" to render *Ritter vom heiligen Geist*, p. xxvi. It is not clear what the editor means by a "qualitative" appreciation of Greek and Latin, p. xi, unless it be a superficial knowledge of these languages.

Misprints are more numerous than they need be in a work of this sort. The following were noted in a cursory examination: In the Introduction: P. xii, l. 10, comma after *sister*; p. xvii, l. 1, comma after *discussions*; p. xviii, l. 15, *Ratcliff*; p. xxvi, l. 3 from below, *Allgemeine*; p. xxxii, l. 23, omit hyphen in *Allgemeine-Zeitung*; p. xxxiii, l. 8 from below, comma after *Hamburg*; p. xxxiv, l. 2, *Shakespeares* (this is a normalized text, and the usual form of the name should be followed consistently; cf. the notes to p. 138, l. 13; p. 161, l. 28; p. 180, l. 2); p. xliii, l. 22, *révolutionnaire*; p. xlv, l. 3 from below, *Kunz von der Rosen* should not be in italics; p. xlv, l. 1f., omit comma after *man*, and insert *who* before *should*; p. xlviii, l. 12, *was*, and comma before it; and l. 15, omit comma after *Singen*. In the Text: P. 45, l. 33, *smolliert*; p. 68, l. 22, *aristocrates* (and so in the note); p. 138, l. 13, *Shakespeare* (ending, and same error in the note); p. 149, l. 15, *glänzten*; p. 197, l. 6, *millionnaire*; p. 206, l. 29, *die* for *der*; p. 209, l. 5, *besten*. In the Notes: To p. 20, l. 31, comma after *terminations*; p. 31, l. 2f., *Tieck and Goethe* for *Tieck by Goethe*; p. 39, l. 8, comma after *Mephistopheles*; p. 70, l. 28, *assumed* for *assured*; p. 88, l. 2, *schwitzte*; p. 117, l. 18, *the British monk Winfred* should not be in italics; p. 118, l. 12, comma after *Egypt*; p. 131, l. 19, one *l*; p. 136, l. 23, *K. W. Ramler*; p. 151, l. 6, *objectionable*; p. 151, l. 27, comma after *Volksbuch*; p. 156, l. 5, *eine*; p. 162, l. 2, *Der Freimütige for the Freimütigen*; Page 163 for Page 162; p. 216, l. 32, *misquoted* for *quoted*, and comma after *Malet*; p. 228, l. 22, *Ganasche*; p. 228, l. 27 (on p. 327), omit comma after *bilden*.

The notes are unfortunately quite inconsistent in giving references to the complete edition of Heine's works for the passages

selected, and in supplying summaries of the matter omitted. Especially where the editor substitutes a new chapter-division for that of the original edition should this fact be noted. As this obviously important information is carefully supplied for the extracts from *Über Deutschland*, and in part for *Der Rabbi von Bacharach*, it is all the more surprising to find it absolutely omitted from the notes on *Ideen*, *Italien*, and *Die Harzreise*.

The new edition is a great improvement over the old as a sample of book-making, and indeed the whole new Macmillan series deserves the highest praise in that regard. It seems unfortunate, however, that the larger type of most of the other texts in this series was not used here; this might have been done without adding unduly to the bulk of the book or to its cost. But the last word must be one of satisfaction that so thoroughly excellent an edition of Heine's prose is now available in this attractive form and at a remarkably low price.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Drame ancien et Drame moderne, par ÉMILE FAGUET. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1898. 274 pp.

UP to the present time we have had no literary work by the followers of M. Brunetière in which the theory of evolution had been applied. It had been generally adopted by the school of dogmatic or objective criticism, carefully studied and criticised by them. M. René Doumic has given to the public a number of volumes of literary essays and two works on the drama, but these are all philosophical analyses and discussions of authors and works of various literary tendencies and periods. This can be said of all the works of the younger generation of critics. M. Brunetière's theory has been very strongly attacked, and these attacks have brought to light a number of weak and defective points, which were found in those of his works in which he applied his principles; such as *La Poésie Lyrique*, *Les Époques du théâtre* and *L'Évolution de la critique*. Every new theory in literature and

art, as well as in science, has a period of development in which many errors and defects are found, but these are gradually eliminated, thus bringing the principles of the theory to a state of perfection, in which it is generally adopted. M. Brunetière's theory, first applied and exposed in 1890, has passed through this same development and not until the appearance of his *Manuel* has this theory been applied in all its breadth and extent. The defects have disappeared, the weaknesses have been covered, and now we have the theory in its fullest development. One of the most forceful and just objections to the theory, and one which opened vulnerable points in the works of M. Brunetière, was that in the application of the theory of evolution he had left unnoticed the theory of the generation of one talent by the other, and of the filiation and evolution of methods through species. In the *Manuel* this objection is no longer valid, for in every epoch and every school we read how minor writers either perpetuate the methods of their predecessors and thus form schools and found traditions; or they break away from them and oppose their methods and tradition, thus changing schools or species and transforming methods. These comparatively unknown writers in the application of the theory of evolution become important. In the *Manuel* the theory is applied in its broadest sense; in this the reader no longer has the principles pointed out to him as in the former works; the author has gone a step farther and applied them in their broadest philosophical sense. M. Émile Faguet is the first of the followers who has attempted a practical application of this theory. Heretofore his works have been marked by an acute and keen sense of analysis, by a wonderful power of characterization of an epoch, school or individual, by an exceptionally clear and logical presentation of his subjects, which have been in the form of essays. In his study of the ancient and modern drama he branches out. He has faithfully studied and carefully considered every principle of the theory of evolution, its possibilities, effects and applicability to literature. The results he now applies to the history and nature of tragedy. He touches upon all points of the theory—the people, religion, nature, traits, environment,

age, etc.—; by means of this he is able to analyze and explain the three kinds of tragedy—Greek, English, French. This work is not only of interest to the student, but to every cultured reader. Every literary work that applies this theory is by its very nature of great interest and value; in it we can see principles applied and conclusions drawn, which throw light on all other studies, and which can be in turn applied by ourselves to our own particular field of observation; for in it the history of particular literatures is subordinated to that of the general history of literature. The following synopsis can hardly do justice to the great value of M. Faguet's work. This book is like the *Mamel*, it must be read and carefully studied.

What is dramatic emotion? The theatre is nothing more than a playground where men assemble to see their fellow men suffer. Tragedy and comedy are both founded on this principle of suffering; the difference lies simply in the degree of intensity or importance of the results of passion. It is a constant painting of the misfortunes of humanity and these take different forms with different schools and epochs. Man, however, cannot endure too much suffering; when the stage presents too much he begins to suffer himself. Now the drama must know how great a dose of suffering it can present without affecting man. The second point in the drama is that it makes man reflect upon human suffering, and this reflection brings out suffering in its full truth; it also explains why man dislikes the drama that paints humanity as happy. Man enjoys seeing suffering and unhappiness presented because he himself takes an inexpressible pleasure in overcoming them, which is a remnant of his old self, at a time when he himself had to win his place by hard struggles. He cares not to have the state of happiness described, but the means, the struggles, and hardships that had to be overcome to reach this happiness.

What did French tragedy borrow from the Greek? How does it differ from it and from that of other nations? What are its characteristics? The wonderfully fruitful development of French drama is due to the nature of the people, which is highly delicate, sensitive and curious; it loves pleasure in all forms, whence

its love for the theatre and public assemblages, which is stronger than that of any other nation, except the Greek.

Art is always the reflection of the social state and this grows gradually, has its periods of formation, maturity and decay; art reflects these. The individual has but one maturity, a people can have many. A people is only transformed, it never dies, hence has various periods of childhood and maturity. The French people have passed through the feudal, monarchical, and are now in a new state. Each one of these has had its periods of childhood, maturity and decay, in politics, religion and art. The seventeenth century is a development of the traditions of the sixteenth, and of the new impulse from without, of the Renaissance. In order to trace the influence of Greece we must trace the foundation and spirit of the Middle Ages, and then observe what the Greek and Latin spirit of the Renaissance has added. Noticeable in the spirit of the Middle Ages is the absence of enthusiasm and imagination; it was practical and dogmatic, clear and concise, which carries along with it order and logic. This spirit of logic and clearness carries with it, in French, one of movement. The French reason not for the sake of reasoning, but to arrive at a truth or an application of truth; they love *le dénouement*, and direct all their efforts to it, whence this vivacity and *allure* in French literature. This is more literary than artistic, and more didactic than literary, showing little creative genius. To this the Middle Ages have added a spirit of enthusiasm and mysticism. From this results the tormented art of the Middle Ages. Antiquity introduced its particular kind of sensibility and imagination. Its imagination is more sober and stronger, being subordinated to the idea of beauty and holding it in a precise and luminous line. The elements of order, logic and clearness are found again and recognized by the French in the ancients, which were somewhat obscured by the Middle Ages. Thus was the French spirit formed, of which tragedy is the most striking representation; it was born at the same time with the classical spirit, it reached its culmination with it, and as it began its downward course, tragedy followed in its path.

Art in its broadest sense has three principal

branches: forms, words, rhythms. Each one has its particular aim, but all have the common goal of beauty. There is no absolute separation, only distinction, for each one penetrates the domain of the other to a larger or smaller degree. One supplies what the other lacks. The artist must not endeavor to make one branch supply what is in the realm of another, as is done in naturalistic literature when it busies itself with minute and monotonous details to rival a painting. There are divisions and limitations of species, according to their means of execution; these species of art are limited to certain universal conditions, as space and time. The plastic arts immobilize forms and suspend action. Literature's productions present living and changing pictures, but the traits are brought out one by one, and memory must reconstitute the image of the *ensemble*. Music produces movement or the sensation of the ideal movement, thus paints sentiments which are in turn movements of the soul, and these are nearest being outside of time and space. Music resorts to speech and dance, which are its narration and painting. These three arts have three functions—those of seeing, thinking and feeling. These often unite; when we have a union of the arts of design, word and melody, we have the largest and broadest expression of human art, being the most complete painting of life; this is dramatic art. It is an art that proposes to paint human life; for its means it has living men taken from life, before other men assembled to see them. Thus it does not exclude any art, because life includes all. Dramatic art thus has the advantage of being able to resort to any of the arts; whereas, these taken separately, do not have this liberty. A great difficulty arises now. How subordinate this complex system of arts to a principle in order to form a unity? Which one of the arts must be the head? The one which in itself comes nearest to fulfilling the mission of dramatic art, which is a painting of human life. Dramatic art, since it demands expression and speech above all, is a literary art, but can call upon all other arts as auxiliaries to complete its painting of life. In Greece it has shown a harmonious union of all arts, such as is seen nowhere else. Dramatic art there is a union of the plastic, epic, rhythmic,

musical and dramatic. Greek tragedy lacks action; there is no intrigue well concocted and skilfully unraveled; no rapid succession of scenes closely connected. It is a beautiful poem or epic episode, with a majestic and quiet *allure*, with only the form of a drama. It cannot be judged by the same rules as the French; it forms a beauty of its own. It contains immense narrations filled with incomparable picturesqueness of details. More importance is given to the complete painting of character than to continuity of action. It loves the beautiful for the beautiful, and this makes the drama often more of a grand scene or tragic picture than a real drama; it remains a grand piece of sculpture work. The Greeks had no curiosity, hence their drama is so different from ours. The people knew what the end of the drama would be beforehand, and did not come to the theatre for the pleasure of curiosity; this naturally led to the disregard of the unity of action, which is the very principle of the interest of curiosity. Greek drama is an epic episode put on the stage, made up of useless tales, digressions, a weak intrigue or none at all, a multiple action or none at all, the interest of curiosity nearly absent, with a considerable lyric portion, in songs partly describing human grief, passion, triumph, etc. There is an abundance of majestic comparisons, in a lyric or elegiac strain, always dreamy and contemplative. It is a continuous mixing of lyric and dramatic poetry, in which action is only a means of binding together the threads of the ode, elegy, etc. The aim is the musical expression of the sentiments; the interest is not centered in the issue of the struggle, but on the struggle itself. In the spoken part there is an intimate union and harmonious combination of the epic, lyric and dramatic arts; in the not-spoken part the rhythmic and plastic arts aid speech by sustaining it by all the power of music, and encasing it in all the prestige of sculptural and architectural decoration. Thus Greek drama is a complete perfect type.

In the development of the modern drama there was a period of uncertainty during which dramatic art was hesitating between the exact imitation of ancient models, and an irregular and free inspiration proper to itself. The Italians adopted the antique form; the Spanish

and English abandoning the musical, plastic and lyric branches, developed the dramatic and epic almost exclusively. Compared to the drama of episode of the Greeks, theirs is a poem with fewer forms, but with an extraordinary wealth of material and matter, showing a profound knowledge of the historical causes and effects of characters, manners, etc. In regard to characters the Greek drama takes a simple, clear character, and describes and paints it in a thousand ways with the resources of its manifold art. The English drama enlarges the material matter and amplifies the moral in painting a character, embracing it in all its breadth and complexity; it paints a soul in all its diversity and all its depth. The Greek only deals with one sentiment or one movement, as an obstinate warrior in a state of resentment refusing to return to camp. The assassin comes, sees, and kills; we see nothing of his inner torments, etc. In the English we learn the temperament, habits, manner of thinking, etc. We learn how the assassin acts; his whole complex nature develops and unfolds itself before us. Long periods of history are put on the scene, and humanity itself is taken as a character. The people, represented by the chorus in the Greek drama, not a real actor nor an accessory, but a kind of half-active being, not affecting the action, takes an important part in the modern drama; it represents the spirit of a whole epoch. Thus the modern drama must reach a limit; it extends its branches as far as nature allows, until it has reached a point where it places on the scene humanity in its entirety as a character. It admits both the comic and the tragic. However, the unity of impression does not allow a drama to be half comic and half tragic; the impression it leaves must be either one or the other. They do not exclude each other, as in nature both elements are found. The English drama uses both almost constantly, while the Greek, only admitting one side of life, one moment of time, one simple action, one simple character, one simple impression, rarely uses both. The English drama in its effort to paint man, humanity, history, whole epochs of civilization, goes out in great conquests; it goes even farther than is plausible, thus weakening the interest, dispersing it and even changing the unity of

impression. It discovers new regions and adds them to its domain, thus broadening and enlarging its empire. Thus, then, the English drama is no longer the harmonious synthesis of all forms of art, but the strong and profound expression of life. The drama gave a full sensation of an harmonious *ensemble*, a contemplative joy, which is the pleasure of an artistic people; now it gives an intense sensation of varied life, an impassioned joy, which is the pleasure of an observing and curious people. It has changed from the artistic to the philosophical.

The French drama has gone one step further in almost altogether excluding the epic, plastic, lyric, and rhythmic, preserving the dramatic alone. The lyric was dropped gradually, being absorbed in the monologue. The epic, which is an important accessory in the Greek and the very foundation of the English drama, is entirely absent. It imposes the three unities as absolute laws. Two traits in the French race account for the suppression of the epic and lyric; it is by nature neither poetic nor lyric, whence its love for *pièces de théâtre* which come near being simple conversation; second, its love for clearness. It desires to see clearly and quickly what is going on; whence, its love for clear-cut species, subdivisions of *genres* so well marked in French literature, whose spirit is to seize the essence of things and to give it a succinct form. Therefore French tragedy has dropped the other branches and preserved the pure dramatic in its most simple, precise expression, and easiest to seize well. This dramatic branch it has developed into action or intrigue which is the logic of the drama—and logic is a quality of the French race. This intrigue means to have a certain number of forces act and react upon one another, to combine the *coups* and *contre-coups*, and to lead from causes to effects, always proportioned to their causes, the series always well-connected of premises and consequences, to a final consequence contained in the first facts, which is called the *dénouement*. This requires precision, distinctness and vigor or *esprit*, and in this the French have become masters. No developments that delay action, whose merit lies in beauty alone; no painting of characters not necessary, whose merit lies in being profound.

Only that is brought out that leads to action. This is the narrowest dramatic conception in the world. The next point is *le problème* which leads to pure logic; it is a sort of syllogism. Where the Greek finds occasion for artistic developments of all kinds, the English for moral and historical observation, the French only sees energy, force, action, machinery and wheelwork, whose lead he likes to follow. This intrigue serves to arouse an interest of curiosity which is a characteristic mark of the French nature and one the Greek hardly possessed. If the intrigue is the main part of the drama and curiosity supports it, then the *dénouement* must remain unknown to the audience; this is one of the most important requisites of French drama. Thus, then, the interest of curiosity replaces all other dramatic means, and this naturally demands that the interest be not dispersed, hence unities are necessary. The interest of action is nothing more than the unity of curiosity. From this result two characteristics in French tragedy—rapidity and progression. Every scene must serve to tie or untie the plot, each discourse must be a preparation or an obstacle. There must be continual new, strong elements to keep up the interest. But this intrigue is not enough for the drama; after having abandoned all parts except the dramatic and reduced that to mere intrigue, how could the French poet compensate for all this loss? The greater part of French tragedies are too long in spite of their brevity, because they are built up on dramas that were rich only in accessories, and because they abandoned these accessories without substituting anything in their place except a more detailed intrigue. French nature, however, supplied the want. The trait already mentioned of practical philosophers and didactic moralists comes to the rescue. They made of the drama a moral lesson, a sustaining of a thesis. Thus the two principal characteristics of French nature, curiosity and moral predication, are found in the drama in the scenic movement and moral predication, in rapid intrigue and philosophical dissertation, whence come the characters of *raisonneur* and *confidant* who take the rôle of moralists. Two characteristics result from this—a tendency to moralize and a sententious and oratorical character. Maxims and dis-

courses abound and these increase all the more as the rapidity of action increases. The practical reasoning produces the didactic spirit and this in turn creates orators. Thus, then, French tragedy is built up on well-conducted intrigues, lofty moral lessons and well-made and eloquent discourses. The nature of the drama forbids any detailed psychological painting and development of characters. The characters must be described quickly and accurately, and to do this one single force or trait is taken up and carried out to the end. Such characters produced by a purely logical and didactic moralist are abstract creations, not living and real; they are creations of reason, ideal, abstract, so different from those of the English drama, which produces a rich and powerful *ensemble* of life, and not a suite of ideas that create and sustain each other. The characters of French drama are rather types than personages, truths and not realities; ideas, not beings; to create them it takes no effort of the imagination, but logic. In history, too, it seeks situations only; single events and not entire epochs; a striking and illustrious deed for the final act, so to speak. But not all French tragedy has confined itself to this system. In some we find characters that live, with a rich and powerful life, changing before the audience; epochs, peoples, a true historical state; for example, *Polyculte*, *Cinna*, *Britannicus*, *Horace*, *Athalie*. In these even the action does not allow the poet much room for painting the characters in their manifold nature or the historical part; people do not appear because the simplicity of the dramatic construction does not allow many characters, and only when the spirit of an epoch is manifested in the enclosure of a palace can it be painted. These difficulties then nearly always prevent French tragedy from being the work of a true moralist and historian; but when once it does succeed it is really great.

A practical illustration of these three systems is given by a comparison of the three dramas *Antigone*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Le Cid*. In this the three types of characters or lovers are compared, analyzed and results drawn—*Antigone* and *Hénion*, *Juliet* and *Romeo*, *Chimène* and *Rodrigue*.

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PROVENÇAL POETRY.

Frederi Mistral, der Dichter der Provence.
VON NICOLAUS WELTER. Mit Mistral's
Bildnis. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Ver-
lagsbuchhandlung, 1899. 8vo, 356 pp.

UNDOUBTEDLY Mr. Nicolaus Welter has chosen a sublime topic, the treatment of which requires above all a keen sense of the beautiful. We would certainly be wrong in denying him this precious faculty, the lack of which is frequently the reason that simple-minded enthusiastic readers are better judges of the merits of a great living poet than critics famous for their learning and acuteness. Mr. Welter loves his poet, a most natural feeling in regard to the great "empereur du midi," "le roi du soleil," with whom since the publication of *Mireio* all countries and nations sympathize. But Mr. Welter's admiration is not blind, as we shall soon see.

His interesting book, which is full of pleasant detail, is dedicated to August Bertuch, the peerless German translator of *Mireio* and *Nerto*. It is divided into the following twelve chapters: i. Childhood and College Years; ii. The Félibrige; iii. *Mireio*; iv. The Latin Confederation; v. *Calendau*; vi. *Lisisclo d'or*; vii. The *Capoulié*; viii. *Nerto*; ix. *Maiano*; x. *La Rèino Tano*; xi. The *Song of the Rhone*; xii. *Epilogue*. The reader is consequently prepared for a most eloquently written biography interspersed with the principal dates which mark the gradually spreading influence of the Félibrige, and in addition skilfully analyzed poems the chronological order of which has been strictly observed. If Mr. Welter expects his public to pick out but one or two chapters at a time in order to spend a pleasant hour over their amusing contents, his arrangement will certainly meet with general approval. But those who will read his book through from beginning to end will be puzzled now and then in case they are not sufficiently versed in the history of the modern Renaissance of Provence, or will make the unpleasant discovery that very fine and touching effects created by the clever writer are checked or even counteracted by his frequently grouping together rather incongruous elements. The chapter on *Maiano*, for instance, is full of all sorts of information on Mistral's later years, his house, the death of

his mother, of dear friends, his trip to Italy, etc. This chapter is placed directly *after Nerto*; and *Queen Tane* and the *Song of the Rhone* when their turn comes, are rather severely criticised. We all know that Mistral was not born to be a dramatist, a statement which needed no further discussion. But his last epic poem deserves a *fair* judgment. Mr. Welter has forgotten to consider that as a rule the last pages of a book count double. Or does he believe that the charming *Epilogue*, the product of his own fancy, will efface the idea of decline which in the case of a long-lived genius is inevitable but on which nobody should dare to insist while the hands of the poet are still full of gifts as rare and ennobling as Mistral's will be to the end? Mr. Welter would, perhaps, have better served his own purpose by briefly stating the exact dates of the poems in a more condensed biography and by rearranging his whole poetical product in a distinct series of chapters which in conformity with his own taste he might have successfully crowned with *Calendau*. For the chief merit of Mr. Welter's book consists in his high-minded appreciation of *Calendau* which he terms a "*goldenen Codex der Ehre, der eine Fülle der kernigsten Grundsätze enthält und durch die Glut und Wucht seiner Sprache besonders empfängliche Jünglingsseelen hinreissen muss*" (p. 164). He excels all other (even the French) critics in climbing to the lofty heights to which Mistral's powerful inspiration has soared during the years of vigorous manhood. This period of Mistral's activity must be kept in front. Placed after *Calendau*, the *Epilogue* would have turned out one grand hymn and might have represented Mistral as the personification of his hero *Calendau*, having achieved like him great deeds, though not only in honor of the fervently beloved native soil but for the sake of the divine art of poetry. Assuming the beautiful shape of "*Esterello*," the genius of poetry crowns Mistral with the laurels of immortality!

Another merit of Mr. Welter's book consists in a selection of beautiful and exact translations of his own (for instance, from *Calendau*, pp. 135-147; from the *Song of the Rhone*, pp. 233-340), for which he may indeed rank with Bertuch. It is a pity that he did not choose to

favor us also with a masterly reproduction of the grand passage in which Estrello vividly protests against the destruction of the forests of Mount Ventour:

*Engendramen de sacrillège,
Dins lou vaste univers, dis, creson tout de siéu ! . . .*

But perhaps he intends to publish later on a *Calendau* in German verse. To judge from the fine specimens here given we may congratulate ourselves on such a brilliant prospect. For Mr. Welter himself is a poet and in relating some picturesque episodes of Mistral's life he reveals an uncommon descriptive power and a marvelous vividness of expression. In recording, for instance, the day on which Mistral crossed Lake Geneva on board the yacht of the Princess of Brancovan (p. 236), he does not write prose but a jubilee in blank verse. A few trifles may meet with contradiction. In mentioning the *Trésor d'ou Félibrige* Mr. Welter compares Mistral's method of collecting the vocabulary and legends of the South chiefly by means of *oral* communication, with the analogous proceedings of *Malherbe's* (?) and *den Brüdern Grimm*. *Malherbe* and the Grimms in one breath! *Malherbe* was not a fit example to quote. His well-known assertion that he would like to take refuge with the *crocheteurs du Port au foïn* must not be taken literally. It was but an outburst of his habitual querulous manner of uttering his disgust for Ronsard and the *Pléiade* (p. 241).

Why are we repeatedly told that the sublime poem of *Calendau* is a fit subject for *men*: "für Männerherzen, empfängliche Jünglings-seelen, eine beschränkte Anzahl stolzer und freilichtsfroher Männer?" Women especially are indebted to the great poet for his creating such wonderful types of the "ideal woman;" for Mireio incorporates love faithful unto death, Nerto with her sweet innocent belief in God and pure love delivers frivolous Don Rodrigue from the hold of the hellish fiend, Esterello, as the genius of real love shields *Calendau* from the temptations of base sensuality! Why, I wonder, are women not to be counted among the grateful admirers of *Calendau*?

Every time I peruse an essay or a detailed study on Mistral I sorely miss the scholar's grateful acknowledgment of the fact that the great poet included in the splendid framework

of modern poetry some brilliant gems of ancient French origin: Estrello, for instance, in encouraging her lover, evokes some touching scenes from *Aliscans*, and the *Song of the Rhone* carries with its waves the memory of the ancient blissful time when tender-hearted Nicolette "en coustume de piclot fanfounaire," returned from distant lands to the castle of "Bèu-Caire" where faithful Aucassin pined for her love.

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GOETHE'S POEMS.

Goethe's Poems. Selected and edited with introduction and notes by CHARLES HARRIS, Ph. D. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1899. xvii, 286 pp.

THIS small volume contains six pages of introduction, one hundred and seventy of text, and one hundred and five of notes. The selections are chronological and almost without exception excellent. The notes confine themselves to necessary explanations, and also give the history of the origin of each poem, as far as this is known. There is an air of great carefulness about the notes, about the whole book in fact. Errors in printing have been reduced to a minimum.

While the work is characterized by excellence and is a distinct contribution to our Goethe text-book literature, one does occasionally meet with an idea or a statement in the notes to which one cannot subscribe. The most obvious are the following.

Selection 2 (p. 175). *Profound* is too strong an adjective in the sentence "The three years of his student life at Leipzig were of *profound* influence in Goethe's development."

Again, the same paragraph later on reads: "but the stimulus given him by his associates and the social, intellectual, and artistic life of the city (Leipzig) were impulses to rapid growth, *probably unequalled in his later career*."

Exception is to be taken to the last statement. The period of Goethe's youth which stands out pre-eminently in point of growth above all others is that of Strassburg. What intellectual stimulus of Leipzig compares for one moment with that gained from contact with Herder?

What life-giving power the vigorous, thoroughly German atmosphere of Goethe's Strassburg surroundings had! How much more stimulating than the semi-French character of his environment in Leipzig!

The statement regarding Behrisch, on the same page, proves misleading to students who learn of him for the first time. Nor did Goethe decide to destroy most of what he had previously written by reason of Behrisch's suggestion, but rather because of the discouraged state of mind in which he was by reason of adverse Leipzig criticism in general.

Selection 7 (p. 178). In enumerating the chief Strassburg influences, the essentially German atmosphere should certainly not be omitted. The three great shaping influences were Herder, Friederike Brion and the Germanizing element there encountered.

Selection 20 (p. 188). It might be well, when commenting upon Basedow and Lavater, to refer the student to the biographical list found in the back of the book.

Selection 23 (p. 191): "the fourth (stanza) has to do with communion with nature." Has it not rather to do with a longing for universality of life-experience?

Selection 34 (p. 198). The note on Frau von Stein seems unwise for pupils who here become acquainted with her for the first time. A simple statement of facts would be far preferable.

Selection 35 (p. 199): *reinste Nerve* needs either translation or explanation.

Selection 43 (p. 206). The following statement in regard to the question of unity of *An den Mond* would seem to be an exaggeration: "The transitions in thought . . . are totally without justification in anything that goes before them." The thought of the poem is somewhat as follows.—The poet wanders forth for a stroll in the moonlight in quest of peace of soul. As the lovely light of the moon rests upon him, he does not forget that in a similar manner there rest upon his career the gentle glances of a loving friend.—Lines seven and eight must be noticed, as they pave the way for the otherwise wholly abrupt close of the poem.—As he hears the Ilm across the meadows he is reminded of days of former love now passed: he also prays the stream to

whisper new melodies to his poetic ear. Then his mind reverts to the thought of friendship and its inestimable blessings. Thus interpreted the poem possesses some degree of unity—more is not claimed for it.

Selection 55 (p. 212). It will hardly be possible for a majority of Goethe-students to agree with the statement: "It is difficult to believe that Goethe's presence at Weimar made any essential difference in the fortunes of the little duchy."

Selection 68 (p. 221). The "conclusion" should be: *Let each one then look to himself*, rather than that "men are not alike."

Selection 71 (p. 223). Goethe's maxims are somewhat underrated. Goethe was pre-eminently a sage whose good fortune it was also to be a poet. Thus it happens that frequently bits of great practical wisdom are met with in his maxims. It is easily possible to do full justice to Goethe the poet, and at the same time admire many of his proverbs.

Selection 91 (p. 237). *Die Meile* is nearer four and a-half than five English miles (4.62).

The above are the chief defects noticed. Compared with the many excellencies of the notes in general they are few indeed. Some readers will wish that the selection of poems had been made longer. A hundred more pages would increase the value of the book materially. A helpful biographical list of six pages and an index of first lines complete this excellent little volume.

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COMPARATIVE LITERATURE.

Der heimkehrende Gatte und sein Weib in der Weltliteratur. Litteraturhistorische Abhandlung von W. SPLETTSTÖSSER. Berlin: Meyer und Müller, 1899.

It is to be regretted that the author of the present dissertation did not restrict his investigations to the Volkslied, the form of literature with which he seems to have the widest acquaintance. His quotations range from Russian popular songs to Portuguese romances, from Serbian Volkslieder to Scottish ballads. All this is good as far as it goes, but it does not go very far. A really thorough investiga-

tion into the occurrence of the "returning husband" motive in the primitive ballad literature of Europe would have had great value for the student of comparative literature and would alone have sufficed to fill a volume. Instead, however, of confining himself to one field, Dr. Spletstösser professes to trace his motive through the "Weltliteratur," which means, as far as modern literature is concerned, that he picks out two or three isolated examples, such as Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*, Maupassant's *Le Retour*, Houwald's *Heimkehr*. This does not satisfy even the modest claims he himself makes for his essay: "So will denn vorliegende Abhandlung keine Vollständigkeit erzielt, wohl aber nach Möglichkeit angestrebt haben." Had Dr. Spletstösser looked more carefully into the German "Schicksalsdrama," or the modern French novel, he would have found at least a dozen examples for every one he quotes. At the best, however, little is gained by investigations of this kind unless they are confined strictly to primitive forms of literature, and the most that can be said for Dr. Spletstösser's essay is that he has made a beginning for such an investigation. But here also there are too many omissions. Was, for instance, the rich ballad literature of Denmark not worth an examination? And surely it is a little perverse to devote pages of discussion to *canti popolari* in remote Italian dialects, and to neglect such obvious sources as the German popular sagas. Even so familiar a collection as the Grimms' *Fairy Tales*, not to speak of their *Deutsche Sagen*, would have furnished an example or two. Dr. Spletstösser also seems to me unnecessarily diffuse in defining his motive; he discusses not only the returning husband in all possible forms, but also the returning lover, a motive which surely belongs to a different category. Here, again, a greater limitation would have been a gain. On the whole, the essay is not without interest, but too incomplete to have much scientific value.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DIPHTHONG *oi* IN NEW ENGLAND.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In one of the last articles written by Prof. W. D. Whitney ("Examples of sporadic

and partial phonetic change in English, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 4, 32), he supported Prof. Tarbell's strictures upon the dogma of the invariability of phonetic change in language (*Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, 1886, p. 1) by further developing one of Prof. Tarbell's illustrations—that of the sporadic shortening of a long *o* to a real short *o* in New England. Another interesting illustration of this is afforded by a phonetic change, interesting in itself, which apparently must have been making its way for some time in New England, though not, so far as I can ascertain, noted in print, and quite novel to me in spite of Yankee birth and frequent visits to various parts of New England.

A Bostonian used the phrase "loin of veal" recently in my hearing, pronouncing *loin* as a disyllable—*lô in*, with *o* as in *lo*, *i* as in *oin*. The possibility that this was an eye-reading of a word by some strange chance unfamiliar was disposed of by the fact that the word *coin*, given in a sentence for the purpose, was similarly pronounced, but not so markedly. I set the pronunciation down as an individualism until a week or two later, when I heard a native of Concord, twice the age of the person first spoken of, pronounce the word *soil* in the same way that *loin* had been pronounced, only if possible more so, with an *o* so close and so carefully rounded, as to suggest, when its tension was relaxed, an incipient *w* in the hiatus before the *i*. Of three other Bostonians, two pronounced these and similar words in this way. The diphthongs remained clear in *sir-loin* and *tenderloin*. All are persons of education, but so circumstanced that their native habits of speech are not likely to be disturbed by foreign influences.

The converse phenomenon is noticeable in my own speech and that of other New Englanders. I naturally pronounce *poet*, *poi et*, and *poetry*, *poi etry*, and tend when speaking unsophisticatedly to pronounce *going*, *goi ing*, a form, which, as Dr. C. P. G. Scott suggests to me, may be equated with forms which preceded and led to Somerset *gwaa-yn*, pronounced with the diphthong *a-i* (cf. Elworthy, *West Somerset words*, s. v. *gwain*), and to Negro *gwine*.

As bearing upon the matter of the inception of sound changes sporadically in particular words of a group, it seems possible it might be worth the while of some one having the oppor-

tunity and inclination, to ascertain to what extent the analysis of the diphthong spoken of has developed through the group of words with *oi* in the case of individual persons. That phonetic changes should ever have been assumed to be, or considered as invariable, seems of course strange at the present day. One would think the simple fact that words in frequent use must change quicker than those not in frequent use, would naturally suggest itself to any one considering the matter,—the word *wan*, for example, as being somewhat bookish and rarely used, lagging behind others of its class in the change of the *a* wrought by the *w*. But it would certainly be of interest to ascertain the facts regarding a well-marked and (in a geographical sense) apparently somewhat limited change, like the one spoken of, and the results would certainly possess illustrative value.

While upon the subject of an American pronunciation, I may perhaps be pardoned if I record a fragment of conversation between two persons I heard recently upon a Sound steamer. One, A, was a southern woman, with deliciously deliquescent vowels; the other, B, was a Northern youth, who articulated with noticeable care, and whose pronunciation, so far as I am able to judge, was uniformly correct. A remarked, "I don't see any stewed tomatoes on the *menu*, do you?" B answered interrogatively, "Stewed tomatoes?" A said "tomay toes", B said "tomahtoos". Both said "stooed".

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OBITUARY.

WILLIAM MALONE BASKERVILL.

DIED, SEPTEMBER 6, 1899.

(A tribute read before the Modern Language Association, December 29, 1899.)

William Malone Baskervill was a native of Tennessee, and for the last eighteen years of his life (1881-1899) labored in Tennessee at Vanderbilt University. The influence of this institution was deeply felt in education throughout the Central and Southern Mis-

issippi Valley, and he had unusual opportunity, therefore, to affect strongly a widely representative body of young men. Comporting with Southern conditions and Southern needs, it was as a teacher, mingling intimately with his students, instructing them in classroom, and receiving them cordially into his home, that the best work of his life was done.

Born in the spring of 1850, he was not quite fifty years old at his death. He was already in the twenties before his own life interest was aroused, as a student of Randolph-Macon College in Virginia, by coming in contact with a body of forceful men. The teacher who first exercised a profound influence upon him and who was a warm friend and an inspiration to the last, was Thomas R. Price. The young student was induced to go to Germany in 1874, where he studied at Leipzig under Wuelker. Coming back home and teaching awhile at Wofford College in South Carolina, he returned finally for his Doctor-examination in 1880, his dissertation, an edition of the Anglo-Saxon *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, appearing in the spring of 1881, and being published in *Anglia*. The same year (1881) he was called to the newly established chair of English at Vanderbilt University, where he remained the rest of his life.

He was representative of the educational endeavor of his section in many ways. He was closely identified with the movement for raising educational standards in the South by the organization of a thorough system of strong private preparatory schools. When the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges was organized in 1895, as senior representative he was chairman of its first committee on English, and in 1897 he was present with his committee in New York at the deliberations of the several committees in joint conference, the first time the Southern States had been represented.

For the series of Anglo-Saxon texts under the general editorship of one of his former instructors, Prof. Harrison, he edited *Andreas*. Far away from the large libraries, the result was an edition that left much to be desired, he himself felt; and he always had in mind a new and worthy one. With Prof. Harrison he likewise edited a *Students' Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon*, and the two were again associated on the staff of editors of the *Century Dictionary*.

The last joint work of the two friends was an *Anglo-Saxon Reader* for beginners.

But Prof. Baskervill's truest interests and best work in his later years, growing out of his environment and his teaching, lay not in editing books on Old English, but in literature. He was a close student of the English prose style of his own century, an interest indicated by warm essays on Thackeray and Dr. Holmes, and by his *English Grammar*, based upon English as he found it actually written. Most of all, from his central position in the South, he was concerned in the literary conditions of his section. It is his booklets on *Southern Writers: Biographical and Critical Studies*, collected into one volume, that his name will be most closely associated with, and by which he will be best remembered. Though he did not live to complete the work, the essays that were finished have one marked significance. They were critical, yet full of sympathy; told from the point of view of one who had lived the life of these writers, who had grown up with them, and who took them to heart as in their verses and stories they appeared one by one.

In his death the cause of education and literary endeavor in his section lost a stout heart and true supporter, and the Modern Language Association, with which he was identified from its beginning, a devoted friend.

J. B. H.

BRIEF MENTION.

According to the official returns, the number of women studying at the German universities this winter is six hundred and sixty-four. Of these no less than six hundred and nine are to be found at the Prussian universities alone: Berlin comes first with four hundred and six, Breslau follows with fourty-seven, Bonn has forty-four, Göttingen thirty-seven, Halle thirty-three, Kiel twenty, Königsberg fourteen, Marburg eight. At the three Bavarian universities only six women are officially notified as studying, five in Erlangen, one in Würzburg. Tübingen has five, Freiburg sixteen, Heidelberg thirteen, Strassburg fifteen. The *Persónalverzeichnisse* for Giessen, Jena, Leipzig, Rostock

mention no women at all; but this does not necessarily mean that women are excluded from these universities. In Leipzig, for instance, it has long been the custom for the Docenten to allow women to "hospitieren," although no official cognizance has been taken of the fact. Jena, again, does not, as a matter of principle, admit women to its lectures, but it organises special courses for them in the holidays, and these courses, we believe, are largely taken advantage of. It is a matter of regret that the *Persónalverzeichnisse* of the universities, excepting those of Heidelberg and Strassburg, do not specify to which faculty the women students belong. Of the thirteen in Heidelberg, twelve have inscribed themselves in the philosophical faculty, one belongs to the theological faculty; while in Strassburg there are three women students of medicine, there is one of natural science, the remainder belonging to the philosophical faculty.

As its annual Christmas gift to its members, the Goethe-Gesellschaft has issued this year the second volume of "Goethe und die Romantik," edited by C. Schüddekopf and O. Walzel. The first volume, which appeared last year, was devoted to Goethe's correspondence with the older Romantic School; the present volume contains his correspondence with the younger Romanticists, including, of course, Bettina von Arnim, and extending as far down as Immermann, Platen and Heine. The importance of this work for the study of Goethe's later years cannot be sufficiently emphasized. Notwithstanding excellent books like Harnack's "Goethe in der Epoche seiner Vollendung," we are still far from being as well informed on the poet's relations to his contemporaries after Schiller's death, as we are with regard to the friendships of his earlier life. No chapter of Goethe's life is so full of gaps as that which deals with his attitude towards this group of writers who were the "moderns" of their day; nor is it possible to estimate properly Goethe's influence upon the nineteenth century without first understanding how far he sympathized with the Romantic Movement. The value of these two volumes lies in their bringing together all data bearing on Goethe's personal relations with the leading writers of that movement.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, March, 1900.

MEETING OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

THE fifth annual meeting of the Central division of the Modern Language Association of America was held at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., December 27, 28, 29, 1899. The first session was held in the Chapel in University Hall, and the following sessions in the room of one of the literary societies in the same building.

The Association first listened to a brief address of welcome by Chancellor J. H. Kirkland of Vanderbilt University. He spoke of the necessity for raising the general standards of culture and scholarship. That the position of modern languages in the University of today is an assured one, and that their recognition is everywhere demanded, is shown by the establishment of separate chairs. In the past, especially in the South, this was attained only after a resistance. The battle for modern language has been won in the University, but it should be necessary for every reputable high-school to give instruction in those branches as well.

The President of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association, Prof. C. Alonzo Smith, of the University of Louisiana, delivered his annual address. This subject was "Interperative Syntax." He said in part: The traditional treatment of syntax under the heads of Empirical, Historical, and Genetic, is insufficient. Syntactical phenomena need to be correlated with other linguistic processes and interpreted in broader terms. Syntactical effects are closely allied to literary effects, and the sharp separation of the principles of literature from the principles of syntax has been detrimental to both. Syntax has become mechanical and statistical, while literary criticism has become mincing and arbitrary. What is called æsthetic syntax is not broad enough, for syntax may be interpreted not only in terms of the æsthetics, but in terms of history, sociology, and ethics."

Many illustrations from modern and ancient languages were cited, and attention was also called to the significance of the syntax of sub-

stitution and the syntax of omission. At the close of the session an informal reception was tendered the members of the Association in the University library.

At the second session, in the absence of the Secretary, Prof. Schmidt-Wartenberg, Prof. Blackburn of the University of Chicago was chosen Secretary *pro-tem*. After the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer had been read, the President appointed committees on nominations, auditing, etc. The first paper "Are there Two Authors in the Idylls of the King," was read by Prof. Richard Jones of Vanderbilt University. The essayist applied to the *Idylls of the King* the same critical method adopted by the *Faust* commentators. We find that entirely different conceptions of Arthur existed in the minds of Tennyson's most intimate friends; some viewed him as the irreproachable Knight, while others asserted that the poet intended to depict Arthur as the conscience or the soul. It was shown that at one time Tennyson himself intended that the *Idylls* should be taken allegorically, and that some of them were written with that idea in mind. But as was the case in *Faust*, this symbolism was carried too far, and Arthur was allegorized away to a type of the conscience, and Guinevere to a type of the sensual, in man. The poet himself finally was tempted to stem this tide of allegorical interpretation, and the final tendency was to emphasize the humanity of the *Idylls*. We must then look upon the introduction of the allegory as an after-thought and a mistake. The King is a composite portrait of two conceptions.

The paper on the "Elizabethan Sonnet" by Prof. C. F. McClumpha of the University of Minnesota, discussed the so-called sonnet sequences or cycles from the appearance of Sir Philip Sidney's collection in the year 1591 to the year of the publication of Shakespere's *Sonnets* in 1609. The purpose of the paper was not to trace the English sonnets back to the Italian or French originals, nor to examine the structure of the English sonnet. It sought solely to present the various kinds of imagery and oft-repeated conceits employed by the writers of sonnet-cycles. The general classifi-

cation of sonnets usually adopted by investigators in this field of Elizabethan literature was followed; namely, sonnets written in praise of some real or imaginary mistress or man, more or less amatory in nature, the theme of love being generally told as a continued love-story. Sonnets composed upon religion, philosophy, and other kindred subjects, usually classed as a secondary and later development of the sonnet, as well as the third general class of sonnets, comprising dedicatory poems addressed to patrons, etc., were not included in the discussion.

The sonnet-cycles belonging to the first class were next taken up in order of publication. An attempt was made to arrange the vast amount of what might be termed sonnet-material. Such an arrangement was made so as to disclose the varied conceits, the imagery, situations, reflections, parallelisms, and possible borrowings, made by one sonneteer from another, from the earliest true sonnet-cycle down to the latest. Love was shown to be the principle theme. This theme was accompanied and contrasted with a vast array of subsidiary sentiments, all reflecting the amatory state of the lover and mistress. Such sentiments as hope, desire, delight, pleasure, etc., were contrasted with their opposites, fear, despair, pain, sorrow and sadness. The descriptive sonnets were analyzed, showing the strange efforts made by the writers to present their mistresses' charms in new and startling phraseology. The scenic effects and descriptions of celestial and terrestrial phenomena were compared, as well as the imagery borrowed from mythological lore. Various writers were found who made extensive use of imagery taken from the fine arts, such as music, painting, weaving; again from the well-known professions and interests of their time, such as jurisprudence, usury, warfare, navigation, commerce, etc., etc. Contrasts or, as the Elizabethan sonneteer termed them, contraries, from a large portion of the conceits common to the sonnet construction of this period. Many such uses of 'contrasts' were pointed out in the general survey of the cycles. Possible borrowings were also cited. Sonnets on special themes, such as sleep, magic, the four humors, the four Deadly Sins, etc., were given a place by themselves at the

close of each discussion. The purpose of this study of sonnet collections was to present some systematic account of the literary material employed in sonnet literature. It is believed that such an analysis presented the most exhaustive and instructive grouping of conceits, descriptions, in a word, sonnet-material, that has yet been made. Such a grouping solves many of the sonnet riddles.

The next paper was entitled "Qualities of Style as a Test of Authorship; a Criticism of Wolff's *Zwei Jugend-Lustspiele von Heinrich von Kleist*" by Prof. John S. Nollen, of Iowa College. On the basis of a criticism of Wolff's argument from style (a portion of a review of Wolff's entire argument is to appear in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*), the paper concluded with a statement of some principles of comparative criticism.

The problem of fixing the authorship of an anonymous work by the test of style must be recognized as a very complex and difficult one. There are such things, in the abstract, as a prose style, a poetic style, a style of literary form, a style of a nation, a style of a dialect unit, a style of a literary period, a style of a literary group, a style of an individual author, a style of a period in the author's life, a style of an individual work. Every one of these is more or less of an abstraction, and every one of them is a complex of the same basal qualities—intellectual, emotional, imaginative, æsthetic, grammatical, and of diction. The interrelation of these various "styles" is a matter of extreme intricacy, and a mathematically accurate statement of even the relation of any one to any other, or of the precise limits of any one, is practically impossible. And yet these relations and limits are of decisive importance in the solutions of problems of authorship or of poetic individuality.

The most elementary requisite to fixing of the authorship of an anonymous work is a thorough knowledge of the common qualities of the period, or literary group, whose product the work evidently is. A comparison with the style of any one author alone is almost sure to lead to erroneous assumptions. The author who is suspected of responsibility for the work in question, must be seen against the background of his period and his school, perhaps

also of a particular model, and it will require the sharpest vision and the most delicate discrimination to distinguish the personal shading he gives to the color of the *Zeitgeist* that shines through him: it is just this *nuance*, however, that is of the greatest value in determining the final result. The more or less roughly approximative characterization of an author's style by his biographers is useless for such an investigation, and even monographs upon style are usually of little value for this purpose, because they commonly fail to make the necessary distinction between individual and group qualities.

Again, it is only as the analysis approaches complete exhaustiveness that the results will be approximately conclusive. The discovery in an anonymous work of a few select qualities of an individual author's style is practically worthless as a test of authorship. The only acceptable test, after the influence of *Zeitgeist* and literary school has been eliminated, is an all-round comparative investigation of the anonymous work and of the known work of the author in question, on the basis of a rationally symmetrical analysis of style—such an analysis, for instance, as is suggested by Mr. Crawshaw in his book on *The Interpretation of Literature*; to Mr. Crawshaw's outline under Style it will be necessary, of course, to add the important topics of Diction and Grammatical Usage.

Another important requisite is an appreciation of the relative value of the various tests applied. To illustrate from the study of figures of speech: The mere classification of figures according to subject, or according to development, is a relatively unimportant basis of comparison, though it is the only one Wolff seems to recognize. Of far more weight are such questions as these: whether the figures, of whatever subject-matter, are original, or commonplace and stereotyped; whether they are imaginative or intellectual, essential or mechanical and external—in other words, whether they are a mark of real or spurious concreteness; whether they have any emotional significance; whether they are used dramatically, that is, have a definite relation to character and situation; whether they are static or dynamic. Such tests as these immediately set off the figurative usage of Wolff's anonymous come-

dies from that of Kleist, and identify it with the conventional style of the period as represented by Kotzebue and others.

There is no reason why literary investigation should not be strictly scientific in its methods and scientifically reliable in its results. But if the critic is to escape the charge of dilettanteism, if his art is to be organized into a science, he must proceed according to scientific principles—he must be diligent in collecting all the available facts, he must be intelligent, systematic, and unbiased in studying them, and he must base his final decision strictly on the evidence when it is all in. It must be noted, however, that a scientific method, vitally important though it be, is not sufficient in itself. While criticism should become a science, it must still remain an art. There are values in style, imaginative, emotional, and æsthetic, which cannot be weighed by even the most delicate intellectual mechanism; they can be determined only by the reaction of sympathetic appreciation. This is not saying that criticism becomes after all a mere matter of subjective caprice: it is only a warning to people who are color-blind that there is a limit to their usefulness as critics of painting.

The fourth paper on the "Geste de Guillaume at the Close of the Eleventh Century"—[to appear in *Romania*] was presented by Prof. Raymond Weeks of the University of Missouri. A summary was given of the existing datable monuments concerning the *Geste*, from Ermoldus Nigellus in 826, to the *Liber de miraculis Sancti Jacobi* in 1137-47, and a survey was made of the theories already advanced concerning the condition of the *Geste* in the eleventh century. The statements made by Gaston Paris, in his *Littérature Française au Moyen Âge*, are the most accurate thus far given forth. Subsequent research has brought out more clearly some points of detail in the analysis of M. Paris, but no important part of his theory has been overthrown.

In the absence of Prof. Jullus Goebel of Leland Stanford Jr. University, his paper on "The Suffix -arja" was presented in abstract by Dr. Herman B. Almstedt of the University of Chicago. The paper discussed the Grimm theory, which has now been given up. The essayist inclined to the belief that the suffix

had, in Gothic an independent existence, although it is not found in Germanic as a separate word. The possibilities of light being thrown on such proper names as Arioivustus, Ariorichus, etc., were mentioned.

The paper of Prof. Frederick Kloeber, of the University of Minnesota, was presented in abridged form by Prof. C. F. McClumpha of the same institution. The subject was "Notes on the Alfredian Version of Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People'." The author discussed the great need of delving into the linguistic details of the O.E. *Bede*. 1. *The Vocabulary* is characterized, on the one hand, by a considerable number of rare words, more or less distinctly by Anglian vocables, and terms of poetical flavor—the percentage of such unusual lexical elements being much higher than has been hitherto assumed—and, on the other hand, by 'unusual words' (Sweet), chiefly compounds and derivations, formed in close imitation of the Latin original. 2. The Anglian coloring is (with Dr. Miller) to be looked upon as a survival rather than scribal innovation. As a result of a minute comparison of the MSS., the assumption that the original text may, after all, have been in Alfredian West-Saxon, appears methodically inadmissible. The internal evidence points to the North. 3. Out of a large number of corrections and annotations, one *emendation* in the Cædmon Story (iv, 24) is presented. 4. The question of the authorship, which in fact requires a lengthy discussion of all the Alfredian works, is briefly touched. If sensibly interpreted, the designation "Alfredian" is perfectly proper.

"The Grammatical Gender of English Words Used in German" was the title of the paper read by Prof. Charles Bundy Wilson of the University of Iowa. The paper examined first, the three principal theories of the origin of grammatical gender—Adelung-Grimm, Brugmann and Wheeler, and also stated the salient points in the arguments against the first two. It then showed how far these theories may be applied to the gender assumed by English words in German. A list of nearly four hundred words, which the author had gathered from various sources, was presented. These were grouped, and the grammatical gender was

discussed from different points of view. The results of the study may be summed up in brief as follows: The gender has been determined 1. by the influence of German cognates or synonyms, 2. by terminations, 3. by class or character of objects, 4. occasionally by fancy or chance. While agreeing to a certain extent with the principles of the Adelung-Grimm and Brugmann theories, the author maintained that Wheeler is undoubtedly nearest to the truth, in his claim that grammatical gender is an imperfect blending of two systems of classification, the one based on meaning, the other on form.

The paper by Prof. Guido Stempel of the University of Indiana on "Chaucer's Narrative Art" was not read owing to the absence of the essayist, and his failure to send his paper.

Then followed Prof. Herman S. Piatt of the University of Illinois on "The Dramatic Function of the Confident in the Tragedies of Corneille and Racine." The three pseudo-Aristotelian unities, along with certain other less important, but no less rigid conventional limitations, had the effect of banishing all real action from the seventeenth century tragic stage. Not only the physical events of the play, but also the psychic episodes had to be made known to the spectators through the medium of narration. This necessitated the employment of some character whose study it should be to impart or receive this narration. As much which the hero or heroine had to impart partook of the nature of the delicate personal confidences, this character must be conceived to stand in close personal relations with the principal, and yet must not be of sufficient social importance to require a leading part to be created for him in the plot. No character of real life fulfilled these conditions. Hence arose the *confident*. The character of real life which came nearest to fulfilling the conditions was the *gouverneur* or *gouvernante*. This is the forerunner of the *confident* in Corneille.

Corneille's attitude toward the confident is throughout tentative and experimental. He tries first to enlarge its functions, to relieve it of its artificiality, and to create for it a real place in the intrigue. In doing this, he uses it most effectively as a moral background, in order to throw into relief, and emphasize the essential attributes of the principal character.

This is notably the case with the *gouvernantes-confidentes* of the *Cid*. In his later tragedies his tendency is to eliminate more and more the character from the plot; also to abandon the name *confident*, and to conceal the character under other titles. There is clearly marked throughout Corneille's tragedies a distaste for the conventional, professional *confident*.

Racine accepts the *confident* more complacently, as he does the other literary conventions of his time. He does not hesitate to make generous use of the rôle whenever it suits his purpose to do so, and is not ashamed of the name. He accepts it, too, in all its artificiality, and does not undertake to enlarge its functions, or to make it a psychic force in itself for the elaboration of plot or character.

In the absence of Prof. Glen L. Swiggett of Purdue University, his paper entitled "An Interpretation of Faust i, ll. 1607-1626" was not read. The report of the committee of the main body, Prof. E. H. Magill, Chairman, to report on the condition and prospects of the International Correspondence, and on the advisability of establishing a central bureau to obtain correspondents for American students and instructors, was read by Prof. T. A. Jenkins. The report describes the constitution of the French Committees, called particular attention to the successful work of the Leipzig bureau, and urged the need of organizing the work in this country by the appointment of a standing committee.

On Thursday evening the members of the Association were socially received by the faculty of Vanderbilt University, in the parlors of Wesley Hall.

The first paper read on Friday was by Prof. James T. Hatfield and Miss Elfrida Hochbaum of Northwestern University. It was read by Prof. Hatfield; subject, "The Direct Influence of the American Revolution upon German Poetry." At the time of the American revolution, a spirit was abroad in Germany which manifested itself in literature by attacks upon tyrants, and by a general enthusiasm for freedom. Thus a way was prepared for American ideals, which were eagerly greeted and loudly praised, by the poets of the time. For some time America, as a country, has been well known to the Germans. The American movement was

looked up to as the highest expression of the general desire for liberty, and as largely the cause of the desire—as testified by Goethe.

It is evident from the journals of the time, that the progress of the war was watched with sympathetic attention, both for its own sake and still more because of its probable effect in regenerating European politics.

The sale of German mercenaries to England was felt to be a degradation, and was frequently assailed in poetry.

The American revolution found its warmest sympathizers among the poets of Germany. Especially enthusiastic were the members of the Göttingen group. F. L. Stolberg, in his fragmentary poem *Die Zukunft*, gave fullest expression of his sympathy for the American cause. Klopstock, Schubart, Klinger, Voss, and many other poets praise the cause of American liberty, and mention it with enthusiasm. Not only the cause but its leaders, such as Franklin and Washington, received high tributes. American ideals and institutions were contrasted with those prevalent in France, to the great advantage of the former.

"The Italian Sonnet in English" was the subject of a paper read by Dr. E. E. Severy of the Bowen Academic School of Nashville. The paper consisted of an enumeration of the sonnet writers in English from the time of its introduction by the Earl of Surrey down to the present time, and a classification according to legitimacy or illegitimacy in form, as compared with the Italian sonnet.

In the paper entitled "Some Points of Similarity between Hauff's *Lichtenstein* and Scott's *Ivanhoe*" by Dr. Clarence W. Eastman of the University of Iowa, the author endeavored to show that Hauff did not follow Scott merely along certain broad and general lines, but that in writing *Lichtenstein* he was materially influenced by *Ivanhoe* in working out details of plot and situation. Certain parallelisms of characters, *Ivanhoe*—Georg von Sturmfeder, Richard—the Duke of Württemberg, Rowena—Marie, Rebecca—Bärbele, as well as similarity in certain incidents, seem to show that if Hauff was not consciously influenced by *Ivanhoe*, it must at least have been very fresh in his mind at the time when he was engaged in writing *Lichtenstein*.

The paper on the "English Gerund" by Prof. W. L. Weber of Emory College, Oxford, Ga., defined the gerund as a verbal derivative in *-ing* having the function of both noun and verb, in that it may be qualified by an adverb, and have an object in the case which a verb would require. To the gerundial infinitive are to be given over gerundial constructions of form not in *-ing*. The origin of the construction is to be sought in the attempt to reproduce the ablative case of the Latin gerund. It was shown that the Latin construction is consistently reproduced by the *-ung (ing)* noun, or by the present participle in *ende*. Especially do the 'Psalter' translations—as well as the earlier glosses, bear witness to the A. S. origin of the gerund.

"The Dialectical Provenience of Scandinavian Loan-words in English, with Special Reference to Lowland Scotch" by Dr. George T. Flom of Vanderbilt University, was next presented. When the Norse and Danish population in England and Scotland merged into the native English, it brought with it a host of Norse and Danish words that have, in a large measure, persisted down to the present time. By the study of the form and meaning of these words, as they appear in the older literature and in the northern dialects, we can determine their dialectical provenience, and by a further study of their distribution, it is possible to localize the two Northern races in England and Scotland. Brate showed that the Scandinavian elements in the *Ormulum* are predominantly Danish, but the existence of certain Norse-words in Midland works proves that the settlements even so far South were not exclusively Danish. Brate's is the only attempt hitherto of determining the exact Northern source of Scandinavian loanwords in Middle English. Arnold Wall (Cambridge University, England), who has made a study of the loan-word elements in the dialects of England, considers the question of dialectical provenience one that cannot be settled. Dr. Flom, however, through an examination of Scottish literature from Barbour to Burns, inclines to the view that the general character of loan-words in Scotch is Norse not Danish. This view is supported by the fact that, 1. a number of words in Scotch do not exist at all in Danish or have in Scottish a distinctively Norse sense; 2. a number of

words have in Scotch a form that is West Scandinavian.

A brief summary of Miss Katherine Merrill's paper on "The Beginning of Thackeray's *Pendennis*," was read by Prof. F. A. Blackburn. The paper was a study of literary construction, and showed that the lack of plot and movement in Thackeray's novels was due to the sketchy nature of his mind so that the result afforded brilliant bits of conversation, but that the general effect of the whole was broken and interrupted.

At the close of this session the report of Prof. Pearson of Beloit, in behalf of the committee on nominations, was adopted and the following officers were elected: President, Prof. Charles Bundy Wilson, Univ. of Iowa; Sec.-Treas., Prof. H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, Univ. of Chicago; First Vice-Pres., Prof. T. Atkinson Jenkins, Vanderbilt Univ.; Second Vice-Pres., Prof. F. A. Blackburn, Univ. of Chicago; Third Vice-Pres., Prof. C. F. McClumpha, Univ. of Minnesota; Members of the Council, Prof. Raymond Weeks, Univ. of Missouri, Prof. C. C. Ferrell, Univ. of Miss., Prof. Julius Goebel, Leland Stanford, Jr. Univ., Prof. M. W. Sampson, Univ. of Indiana.

Prof. Ferrell spoke briefly concerning Dr. Baskervill, late Prof. of English at Vanderbilt Univ., and presented appropriate resolutions, which were adopted and entered on the records of the Association. Dr. Florer of the Univ. of Michigan paid a brief tribute to the memory of Prof. George A. Hench, and similar resolutions were adopted and placed on the minutes.

The last session was opened by the reading of a summary of a paper entitled "New Facts concerning Udall's Life and Works," by Prof. Ewald Flügel of Leland Stanford Jr. University. The paper itself will probably appear in the near future as an introduction to an edition of Udall's works.

"Sherwood Bonner, Story Writer and Novelist" was the subject of a paper read by Prof. Alexander L. Bondurant of the Univ. of Miss. Katherine Sherwood Bonner's instinct in choosing the material for her stories from her home, life in the south was certainly not at fault, as her friend and adviser, Longfellow, was obliged to confess. She seems to be the first writer of

the negro dialect story, and though she does not manifest that care in the treatment of dialect that we see in Page and Harris, no writer who has followed her has apprehended more fully the negro character. One character in particular, the old southern mammy, she has portrayed with a faithfulness and beauty equaled by no other writer. Of her novel of the reconstruction period, *Like Unto Like*, a reviewer in the *Boston Courier* speaking for New England wrote:

"The main thing is that Sherwood Bonner has seized the transition period of the feeling between the North and the South so perfectly that her book will probably stand in the future as the best representative of this episode of the national life."

The paper by Prof. Edward S. Joynes of South Carolina College on "Dictation and Composition in Modern Language Teaching" was presented at both the New York and the Nashville meeting. It consisted of a plea for a larger place for dictation work in elementary instruction on account of the combination of faculties, eye, ear, and hand. The giving up of too large a portion of time to the learning of paradigms did not seem advisable to the essayist. In the discussion that followed, the question was raised as to the advisability of devoting more time at the meetings to questions of a purely pedagogical nature.

"The Discussion of Some Questions Raised by the Report of the Committee of Twelve," elicited only a brief discussion. On the motion of Prof. Hatfield, the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved that the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America indorses the report of the Committee of Twelve for Modern Language Requirements in German and French."

Owing to the shortness of time, the two last papers were limited to eight minutes each. The paper of Dr. W. W. Florer of the University of Michigan on "The Change of Gender from Middle-High-German to Luther, as Shown by the Bible Edition of 1545" was one which, in spite of the limitation in regard to time, presented many points of interest. It showed that about three hundred substantives show change of gender from the Middle-High-German period with manifold complications of

detail. These changes are due in large part to a confusion in the weak declension owing to similarity of form in mas. and fem. ending; in less degree to the tendency to give the same gender to the words belonging in the same class or category.

The object of the paper entitled "The Syntax of the Verb in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 787-1001 A. D." by Prof. Hugh M. Blain of the Speers-Langford Military Institute, was to produce a working syntax of the Verb in Anglo-Saxon. The paper was read only in part, and was confined principally to a general outline of chapter headings.

On the motion of Prof. Wilson, a resolution was adopted expressing appreciation of the efforts of the reception committee of Vanderbilt University. A note taken to obtain an expression of opinion in regard to the place for the joint meeting next December, showed the following order in preference, Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Baltimore. The Secretary was empowered to act for the Central Division in making arrangements for the joint meeting.

CLARENCE WILLIS EASTMAN.

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JOHANN RAUTENSTRAUCH AND GOETHE'S *Götz*.

RAUTENSTRAUCH, the Viennese poet and controversialist,¹ has recently been honored by a special biographical study.² Its author, Dr. Eugen Schlesinger, has performed his task with diligence and accuracy in the gathering and reporting of facts. He has, however, utterly failed in evolving from his studies a life-like picture of Rautenstrauch's personality and activity. For that, his method of treatment is, on the one hand, not incisive and suggestive enough; on the other hand, too mechanical, one is tempted to say, "reportorial." Not only is the style of the book very unattractive, but the author seems to scorn the most elementary principles of grouping, emphasis and perspective, in a word, everything that helps to change

¹ Cf. Goedeke's *Grundriss*,² iv, xix, and vi, 529.

² Dr. Eugen Schlesinger: *Johann Rautenstrauch* (geb. 1746, gest. 1801). *Biographischer Beitrag zur Geschichte der Aufklärung in Oesterreich*. Wien, 1897. 8vo, 147 pp.

a series of facts into an organic and attractive whole:

Fortunately this need not be a cause of undue regret to the student of German literature, for Rautenstrauch, whatever may have been his influence in Austria as a champion of the reformatory efforts of Joseph II, cannot claim any particular prominence in the literary movements of his time.

A few facts suggested by a study of Dr. Schlesinger's book are, however, not without interest in connection with the general study of German literature during the second half of the eighteenth century, and may, therefore, be briefly mentioned here.

1. When in May 1770 the archduchess Marie Antoinette passed through Strassburg, Rautenstrauch composed a poem *Der glücklichste* (Goedeke: *glückliche*) *Frühling*, etc., which received a prize and, printed on satin, was presented to the princess. This fact is of some interest in as far as Goethe prominently speaks of the visit of Marie Antoinette in the beginning of the ninth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, and there tells us that he wrote his last French poem on that occasion (*Werke*, Weimar ed., vol. 27, 242). Rautenstrauch did not leave Strassburg for Vienna until the fall of 1770. His prize poem, as well as former publications, must have given him some prominence in literary circles in Strassburg, and it would be of interest to know whether he was connected with Salzmann's *Gesellschaft*, and acquainted with Goethe. No such possibility, however, is thought of by Dr. Schlesinger, who does not even mention Salzmann or Goethe, and here, as elsewhere, avoids everything that might broaden and enliven his treatment and awaken interest in his protégé.

2. Rautenstrauch published in 1778 *Kriegslieder für Josefs Heere*, called forth by the then threatening war of the Bavarian Succession. They almost challenge comparison with Gleim's *Preussische Kriegslieder* and their imitations by Weisse, Gerstenberg, and others. No such thought suggests itself, however, to Dr. Schlesinger. And yet, even a casual comparison of the specimens printed by him with Gleim's *Kriegslieder* furnishes conclusive proof of the direct influence of the latter; for even these few specimens contain several in-

stances of striking verbal correspondence, while the metre in which they are written is identical with that used by Gleim, the famous stanza of the Chevy Chase ballad, which, through the *Spectator*, had found its way into Germany long before Percy's *Reliques*. According to Sauer, Pröhle in his *Kriegsdichter des siebenjährigen Krieges und der Freiheitskriege*, Leipzig, 1857, traces the use of this particular stanza as a metre for war lyrics from Gleim to the period of the war of German independence. Whether he has included Rautenstrauch in his discussion, I cannot tell. So much is certain, however, that the latter's war songs of 1778 are among the direct descendants of Gleim's *Kriegslieder*.

3. As a dramatic writer Rautenstrauch deserves to be remembered as the author of at least one comedy, *Der Jurist und der Bauer*, Vienna, 1773, which was popular not only in Vienna, but at almost all theatrical centres in Germany: Mannheim, Berlin, Hamburg, Weimar (Cf. Goethe, *Tag- und Jahreshefte*, 1802; *Werke*, Weimar ed., vol. 35, 128). One would, therefore, like to know how the comedies of Rautenstrauch, and this one in particular, compare with those of his contemporaries, for instance, Chr. Fel. Weisse and the Austrians Ayrenhoff (especially his *Postzug*) and Stephanie d. J. But again, one is disappointed. There can, however, be little doubt that, like them, Rautenstrauch in his comedies directly followed French models and traditions, despite Lessing's *Minna*.

4. Goedeke's bibliography of Rautenstrauch will have to undergo some changes and additions as a result of Dr. Schlesinger's monograph. So much the more is it to be regretted that the latter has not himself compiled, as an appendix, a complete chronological bibliography of his author's writings.

5. The foregoing paragraphs, in all likelihood, would never have been written, were it not for the interesting fact that in Dr. Schlesinger's biographical sketch we find attention called to a hitherto unnoticed contemporary review of Goethe's *Götz*.

During the years 1774/75 Rautenstrauch edited, and probably wrote himself, *Die Meinungen der Babet. Eine Wochenschrift*. In it is found a short article on Goethe's *Götz*

which is not contained in Braune's *Goethe im Urtheile seiner Zeitgenossen*. Since in Dr. Schlesinger's monograph it is not likely to be very generally noticed, it may be appropriate to reprint it here as far as it is of interest (Schlesinger, pp. 113-4).

"Die seltenste und wichtigste Erscheinung unsrer Zeiten. Herr Goethe, Doctor juris in Frankfurt am Main, ist der Verfasser. Er nennt es ein Schauspiel: dies ist es auch, aber nur zum Lesen, und trotz der Nachricht, dass es zu Berlin aufgeführt worden, kann ich mir kaum die Möglichkeit davon vorstellen, wenigstens würde ich um das Vergnügen, es in der Vorstellung gesehen zu haben, hundert andere Ergötzlichkeiten gerne vermissen wollen. Man darf es zehnmal lesen und wird nicht satt werden, und noch dann wird man schwerlich daran denken können, dass der Verfasser sich über alle dramatischen Regeln hinweggesetzt hat.

Dieses Stück hat einen Dialog voller Natur, Auftritte voller Empfindungen, handelnde Personen voller erhabenen und gleichwohl ungekünstelten Denkungsart, und das Ganze reißt die Einbildungskraft der Leser mit sich fort, ebenso mächtig, ebenso stark als Shakespeare's Schauspiele. . . . Die Geschichte und die Personen dieser Handlung sind historisch wahr und machen einen desto stärkeren Eindruck auf die Seelen der Leser. Stoff zu mehreren Schauspielen liegt in diesem Drama. Es hat allenthalben Vertheidiger und Tadler gefunden, aber jeder Tadler bemerkt nur, dass es nicht aufzuführen sei, und jedes Lob sagt, der Autor sei ein ausserordentliches Genie.

Der *Deutsche Mercur* hat von allen kritischen Schriften am gründlichsten davon geurtheilt. Er nennt es ein Stück, worin alle drei Einheiten auf das Grausamste gemisshandelt werden, das weder Lust=noch Trauerspiel ist: und doch das schönste, interessanteste Monstrum, gegen welches man hundert von unseren komischen, weinerlichen Schauspielen austauschen möchte, deren Verfasser dafür sorgen, dass der Puls ihrer Leser nicht aus seinem gewöhnlichen Gange gebracht und ihre Nerven von keinem fieberhaften Anfall schauernder Empfindungen ergriffen werden. . . . Wenn doch nur der Verfasser dieses Stücks den Wünschen seiner Leser und des unparteiischen Erinnerungen des *Deutschen Mercur's* Gehör gebe! Wenn er einmal etwas regelmässig unternähme! Wenn er die Geschichte zweier Personen zum dramatischen Stoff wählte, welche ohnlängst so grosses Aufsehen machten [Frederick und Maria Theresa?]. Was könnte man von ihm nicht erwarten?"

The critique, it is seen, furnishes no novel point of view for our knowledge of the reception of *Götz* at the hands of contemporary

critics. Not only in the passage directly quoted, but also in almost all other particulars, it follows the review which appeared in Wieland's *Der Teutsche Merkur* for September 1773 (Wieland's reply of June 1774 had evidently not yet been seen by Rautenstrauch).

On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that the review in Rautenstrauch's journal appeared in Vienna, and in 1774, that is, at a time when the Austrian capital, unlike German literary centres, was still the unchallenged stronghold of French literary standards and traditions. Of the approximately thirty notices concerning *Götz* that are printed in Braun, all hail from Germany proper, not one from Austria. This circumstance alone lends a certain interest and significance to the review in Rautenstrauch's magazine; and this interest is further increased by the fact that the date of the first performance of *Götz* in Vienna and the gradual change, in the literary life of that city, from French to English standards, have been objects of special inquiry in recent years.

It had long been supposed that the first presentation of *Götz* in a Vienna theatre occurred in 1810 (so still in Winter-Kilian's *Zur Bühnengeschichte des Götz von Berlichingen*, 1891, and in Nollen's *Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen auf der Bühne*, 1893); then the year 1808 was credited with that event, until Horner recently showed (*Beilage zur Allg. Ztg.* 1897, no. 123) that *Götz* was performed in Vienna at the *Kärntnertheater* as early as 1783, hence at the very time when Ayrenhoff and Schink were carrying on their heated discussion concerning the supremacy of the regular French drama or of Shakespeare and his imitators (Cf. *Goethe-Jahrbuch* xix, 293 f., and E. Horner, *Das Aufkommen des englischen Geschmacks in Wien*, *Euphoriion* ii, 556 ff. and 782 ff.).

Horner, in the interesting article just mentioned, does not find any direct manifestations of the "English taste" in matters of the theatre and drama until the very end of the seventies. In 1774, at any rate, it would seem that Vienna, in as far as it did not continue to be pleased by farcical comedy and the blood-and-thunder form of tragedy, was entirely dominated by the 'correct' French standards of writers like Joh. Elias Schlegel, Weisse, Cronegk and Ayrenhoff. So much the more, however, does Rau-

tenstrauch deserve credit for his early and enthusiastic praise of the 'English' *Götz*; and one is tempted to connect it with the literary satire which in the very next year Ayrenhoff in his *Gelehrte Frau* directed against Shakespeare and Shakespearian tendencies.

But of these or similar considerations that might make Rautenstrauch's critique more than an isolated fact of no particular interest, there again is not even a suggestion in Dr. Schlesinger's book. The critique is reprinted; that is all. And further, that is practically all that we learn about Rautenstrauch's *Wochenschrift*. For while Dr. Schlesinger devotes several pages to the very uninteresting external history of the short-lived journal, we learn nothing about the spirit and tendencies of its contents. This one must regret, for the journal was largely devoted to literature and the theatre, and the *Götz* review characterizes Rautenstrauch as one of the early champions of the new English taste in Vienna. One would, therefore, like to know more about his attitude in the animated literary and theatrical discussions of that day. That, however, remains "ein frommer Wunsch."

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WORDSWORTH'S REALISM.

I.

THE subject of realism has received so much treatment that a fresh attempt to handle the word may seem superfluous. The discussion, however, has not much undertaken the detailed study of individual writers, being chiefly concerned with the general characteristics of the subject. Many critics have eloquently defended or objected to the whole matter; others have been content to treat this or that phase; while the coma of the word, made up of much loose hasty writing, is a long penumbrous mass apparently incapable of being condensed, and either clearly united to its nucleus or separated from it. Words are thus comet-like, to use Prof. Dowden's figure, because of the great complexity, and perhaps because of implied inconsistency in the ideas they include. Abundant complexity is found in the word realism, and as it is generally used, inconsistency also.

Regrettable as this is, it is not likely to be cured by an attempt either to give new meanings to the word, or to restrict much those it now has. The most that may be done is to differentiate where necessary, and to avoid inconsistency where possible. To thresh the straw once again, therefore, of the controversy over realism and idealism is unnecessary. Certain things may be taken as agreed upon—conclusions reached by mere force of necessity; and they may here be set forth very briefly. Everyone must admit that realism, if by it is meant exact reproduction of life, is manifestly absurd. Art at best, even in its mere materials, cannot be more than illusion. The presence, too, of subjectivity is unavoidable; the artist cannot escape some modification of his material. On the other hand, the inevitable presence of some degree of nature-imitation is just as evident. Forms and ideas do not spring up from nothing, they come from experience and appeal to experience. Thus there is a primitive conflict and also a primitive reconciliation, between realism and idealism. Both elements are necessarily present in any human product. But these facts being granted and put out of the discussion, there still remains sufficient difficulty to give the word reasonable elasticity and consistency. Because, though we may arbitrarily set aside this fundamental conflict, it constantly surprises us nevertheless, necessitating more arbitrary restrictions and distinctions, until, perhaps, the whole carefully wrought system must be criticized as artificial and misleading. A critic's best hope lies in making a few large divisions and holding to them for his purpose, but realizing also that in a scale of difference having a great number of degrees a colleague may find it convenient to emphasize other degrees and establish a different system.

One thing seems generally agreed on,—that the determining mark of realism is the desire to reproduce actuality. Bound up with this desire is the purpose for which the reproduction is made. For convenience in theoretical discussion, literary works may be separated according to the prevalent purpose, and in practise also there is a somewhat clear line of demarcation. Realism may imitate nature for the pleasure found in close reproduction; be-

cause of the delight in fact. For this purely æsthetic purpose and result no one name is generally accepted. Again, realism may imitate nature for some further didactic or non-æsthetic purpose. For this, didactic realism is the best expression now in use. Though no distinguishing nomenclature exists for the two kinds of realistic art thus produced, the main difference between them is easily perceptible, and the generic principle underlying each is the same,—desire for accurate imitation of the actual or of what seems to be the actual. To this principle of nature-imitation is opposed one equally generic, nature-modification—idealism. Here too, the same difference of purpose, resulting in two distinct though unnamed kinds of art, is easily recognizable. Nature is modified, for better or worse, to derive from it greater pleasure,—the æsthetic purpose; or it is modified to enforce a lesson or a belief. Thus both realism and idealism may be doctrinaire and dogmatic, or they may be content to remain æsthetic. An intellectual element is what is added to the æsthetic in the case of either; and sometimes there is so just a balance between the emotional element and the intellectual, that the result is superior to either constituent, and becomes a complex æsthetic yet unified and philosophical whole.

Realism in the literature preceding Wordsworth was much less self-conscious, less severely consistent and logical, than realism of today, because realistic theory in art had not been carried to the extreme conclusions to which the scientific and positivist thought of this century has brought it. Such uncompromising artists and thinkers have been won, in France at least, to the cause of realism, that a realistic æsthetics is now to some degree formulated. Because of these facts it is desirable to study the subject of realism in Wordsworth from the standpoint of the present development, in order to decide what in him is properly included under this head. Accordingly, realistic theory as spoken of in this paper, will in general be understood to refer to the ideas and the practice of realists of the last thirty years. The leading notions of recent realism may be given in a few words.

Since nature-imitation, whatever its purpose, is admitted to be the controlling principle of realism, two corollary principles are at once

evident. The first of these is the importance of nature, with whatever the word includes; not only nature and life, but all nature and all life. The distinction between good and bad, strong and weak, rich and poor, is little regarded. The function of the realist, as he thinks, is not to judge, but to reproduce. Nature is to be the model, the law-giver, and is to have all its elements revered because they belong to nature. The second corollary, of equal rank with the first, is the importance of accurate reproduction. Nature and life appear in unarranged, fragmentary, and unintegrated forms. Men feel inclined to order, unify, and complete. But this means to change nature and produce something different, and it is thus opposed to the imitative principle. Again the realist regards it as his function not to harmonize, unify, and legitimate, but to reproduce. This seems to be the present imitative theory. But in practice there is restriction and rejection. The primitive conflict, too, between the imitative and the modificative impulses is apparent, and the actual result is always a compromise. Man's intellect is of course part of the nature to be represented. In practice, however, the realist tends to avoid intellectual operations because as a rule he distrusts them. What he can test with his senses he is usually more willing to accept as true, both for himself and others; and thus he is more concerned with the impressions made on his senses than with the after-effects of these on his intellect. Much of his material is therefore sensuous, and even though he subjects it to some utilitarian and hence intellectual purpose, he nevertheless often omits a large portion of experience that is as much a part of nature as is what he uses. In his fear of modifying and thus falsifying his sense-impressions, he tends to confine himself to these, and to condemn art not so confined as untrue. Sensible reality comes thus to be the great reality, and he is likely to question the existence or the value of any other kind. At the same time, while the realist's tendency is thus to regard as outside his domain the higher intellectual and emotional workings of the mind, he is nevertheless compelled to admit a good degree of the mental operation of selection, harmonizing, and unifying.

The truth, accordingly, appears to be that

the reader may expect not only varied approximation to reality, but equally varied approximation to the theory of imitation. How, indeed, may we expect to find agreement to any rigid standard among writers so different as Maupassant, Meredith, Henry James, Tolstōi, Zola? Yet all these have certain clear marks of realism, all are deeply interested in the actual facts of human life, and all have some notion of being true to those facts, whether or not they have ever put forth their ideas in any set theory. To sift out the imitative from the modifying impulses and effects in any author's work is a difficult task, and its result at best somewhat uncertain. He may be closely analytical and investigative in method, yet he may apply this method to highly-wrought emotional states, which according to the limitation given the word by practice and by positivist thought, are not realistic. The same analytical method may be applied to high society—a phase of life somewhat tabooed by realism. Again, an author may present commonplace matter drawn from low life, but subject it to the demands of plot and story interest. The first questions, then, that have to be asked in undertaking to classify any author are whether he may be called realist at all; if so, whether he is realistic in matter, or in method of presentation; and whether possibly the word belongs to him by double right.

Although, in the analysis of Wordsworth's poetry, to take the retrospective point of view above indicated makes the degree of realism seem indeed small, yet it affords a few standards that may indicate nevertheless some true conclusions as to the extent and the character of his realism. It is not expected, of course, that realistic traits will be found predominant. Any unprejudiced student of Wordsworth at once admits that, however much imitation of fact he shows, yet the atmosphere which in all his good work surrounds the fact is highly subjective and idealistic.

One of the most noticeable things on viewing Wordsworth from the standpoint of realism is the realistic element in his theory of poetry. The student, therefore, naturally turns to the question of the extent and the importance of this element. A sentence or two from the famous Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1800) in-

cludes much of the realism as well as the idealism of Wordsworth as they are actually revealed in his poetry.

"The principal object proposed in these poems," he says, "was to choose incidents and situations from common life, and to relate or describe them . . . in a selection of language really used by men."

So far he is realistic in both subject and manner; for modern realism, if not logically, at least historically, concerns itself much with common life and aims at conversational style. But Wordsworth goes further. He wishes also "to throw over them a certain coloring of imagination,"—at this the recent realist might pause, for he distrusts imagination,—"whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual aspect." This the realist would condemn on the ground that the unusual aspect would probably not exist in the thing, but be the working of the author's own mind, and also on the ground that the ordinary thing in its ordinary aspect is truer and more valuable. What follows,—

"to make these incidents and situations interesting by tracing in them . . . the primary laws of our nature: chiefly, as far as regards the manner in which we associate ideas in a state of excitement,"—

would probably be accepted or rejected according to the bias of individual realists. Having stated thus in brief his theory, Wordsworth goes on to expound it. In his exposition are found elements that seem to carry him away from realism rather than toward it. Realists may indeed choose to portray "humble and rustic life," but hardly in the belief that "in that condition the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they can attain their maturity." They will rather choose it because, as in the case of Miss Wilkins or Mr. Hamlin Garland, that is what they have known with direct and first-hand knowledge. The realist of today is likely to say that if in humble and rustic life "our elementary feelings coexist in a state of greater simplicity," this is because the feelings themselves are not much developed, refined, and differentiated. That, therefore, if their simplicity allows 'more easy contemplation and communication,' yet the manifestations of them are coarse and broad.

As for the 'manners of rural life germinating from those elementary feelings,' realistic works would seem to show that the manners of humble rural life are much more likely to be the result of oppressive monotonous labor—toil so continuous that even the elementary feelings seem to sink out of sight, or to become crusty, almost excremental. And if they "are more easily comprehended, and are more durable," it is in part due to this stagnant growth. The last statement made by Wordsworth, that "in that condition the passions of men are incorporated with the beautiful and permanent forms of nature," the realist would in the case of most rustics positively deny. From this exposition of his theory concerning his material, the poet passes on to similar exposition concerning the medium of presentation "The language, too, of these men (rustics) has been adopted, purified indeed from what appear to be its real defects."¹ Realistic theory dictates the use of rustic language—and allows, too, some modification of it—in the portrayal of rustic life; but hardly otherwise. The same desire of the realist to be true to the language of the rustic when depicting him, leads to imitation of the language of the factory-worker when depicting him. But it must be at once admitted that in the point of literary medium, Wordsworth's theory and present realistic theory, though allied, stand far apart. In this case Wordsworth was not seeking truth of individual fact, as the realist is likely to be. He was seeking for a literary medium that should be true to the fact in the sense of giving no false refinement and tinsel decoration. In his theory of poetic diction Wordsworth was far less realist than anti-classicist. His encomium on the language of rustics is to be regarded as a mistake in his effort to find a medium at once vigorous, poetical, and sincere; one that could express "truth carried alive into the heart by passion."² On no part of his theory did Wordsworth insist more than on the use of "the real language of men."³ But he was of course not using the phrase with scientific accuracy, and the various limitations and prepossessions involved in his understanding of it have long ago been exposed by Coleridge. At the same time, however, though the con-

¹ Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800.

² Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800.

nection between Wordsworth's theory of poetic diction and realism may not be considered close, a connection clearly exists, and exists despite the fact that his theory, bound up as it is with his belief in the value of rustic simplicity, leads to effects in some of his poems as false in their way, perhaps, as the pseudo-refinement he rejects.

Comparison of Wordsworth's theory with that of realism of today would thus seem to show that, so far as regards his choice of common and rustic life for his subject, he is realistic; but in his reasons for the choice, in the qualities he expects to find in his subject, he does not agree with realistic theory. Again, in his insistence on using the real language of men he approaches the theory of realism, though his artistic sense and his subjective philosophic thought keep him in his best work far from the limitations of either his own or the realistic theory.

The result of this comparison suggests what I believe to be the truth, that Wordsworth's realism is incidental, and is subordinated to purposes not claimed by theoretical realism. Realistic at times he certainly is; yet, in general theory and purpose, and in much of his best most characteristic work, he is idealistic and transcendental. It becomes, accordingly, an interesting and fruitful study to trace in his poetry the operation of these two principles; to see how again and again some trait of realism appears, and yet how he often builds on a realistic base a most idealistic superstructure; how from a sensation vividly, realistically described, he reaches a complex emotion that few would claim as the legitimate material of realism;—to see, as he says

"How Verse may build a princely throne
On humble truth."³

Among the most striking features of modern realism are the use of subjects strictly contemporary and the portrayal of actual and individual persons and scenes with little generalization.

As to date of material, Wordsworth's work separates rather sharply into two large classes. Nearly everything produced before 1812 or 1815 is contemporary in subject, presenting matter

³ *At the Grave of Burns*.

of direct observation; while the work written later than this approximate date is chiefly historical. With the second class it will not be necessary to deal in this paper. For, as Wordsworth's mind hardened with age, he grew more strictly intellectual in his production, and derived less inspiration from immediate and concrete objects.

The leading contemporary subjects include of course both narration and description, and of these the narrative poems will be first considered. A narrative in which the author does not appear has in itself little means of indicating whether or not the figures and incidents are drawn from life. This information, however, is in almost every case supplied by Wordsworth's notes, which, though written much later than the poems, may yet be regarded as accurate. *Guill and Sorrow*, the poet's first narrative, deals with the time of the American war (1776-81), and parts of the woman's story at least are taken from the experiences of one of his friends, while his own impressions of Salisbury Plain with slight additions furnish the background. Wordsworth is less specific, however, in the introductory note to this poem than in many others. Observe, for example, the exactness in the note on *We Are Seven*,—"the little girl who is the heroine I met within the area of Goodrich Castle in 1793." The old Cumberland beggar he says was "observed, and with great benefit to my own heart, when I was a child;" and it was the 'war of the political economists upon mendicity in all its forms' that aroused the poet in 1798 to record his memory. The detail in the note on *Lucy Gray* is not more remarkable than that in many other cases. Here it mainly concerns the incident, and the chief change in this is reported. In the note on *Resolution and Independence* we read,

"this old man I met a few hundred yards from my cottage, and the account of him is taken from his own mouth. I was in the state of feeling described." "Vaudracour and Julia" was "faithfully narrated from the mouth of a French lady, who had been an eye-and-ear-witness of all that was done and said. . . . The facts are true; no invention as to these has been exercised, as none was needed."

Many other instances are recorded of the same careful copying from life.

Wordsworth's notes show that in respect to imitation from actual models his narratives fall into three classes. In each of the cases just quoted, for example, there was for the figure, and often for the incident, a single model. Though we are told nothing about the 'Lucy' poems, the internal evidence of deep personal experience is so strong as to suggest the classification of them with this group. Selection is exercised, however, for a number of poems, and composition from several models. With almost any other poet this would be taken for granted, but Wordsworth is too careful to report the sources of his materials to allow vague supposition. In the note on *Michael* we are told that

"the Sheepfold remains . . . the ruins of it. The character and circumstances of Luke were taken from a family to whom had belonged . . . the house we lived in at Townend. . . . The name of The Evening Star was . . . given to . . . another (house) . . . more to the north."

Nothing is said, however, of the model for the great shepherd. *Peter Bell* is a composition; the note records many elements of the incident, though the mental experience of Peter seems to have little correspondence with the models here spoken of. *The Excursion* presents complex composition in both character and incident. The long introductory note shows with what great care the poet records, years after the writing of the work, not only the sources of his material, but the changes and fusions through which it passed. The character of the Wanderer is a union of Wordsworth's idea of himself and of what actually fell under his "own youthful and subsequent observation."⁴ So the Solitary also is a combination of several men into a type of the revolutionary atheist. He too represents Wordsworth, but represents his period of doubt and despair. The shadowy Pastor was formed on no model, nor does he have any particular substance.

Again, a detached fact or an idea first attracted the poet's attention, figures and incidents being created to illustrate or embody these, and formed the basis of poems of still another class. Even in such poems one may suppose that vague figures and stories floated

⁴ Note on *The Excursion*.

in the poet's mind, and furnished the necessary outline. These poems are obviously the least imitative, and therefore afford a test of Wordsworth's narrative fancy and power to write when freed from the restraint of fact. Examples of this kind—as shown by the prefatory notes—are *The Reverie of Poor Susan*, *The Thorn*, *The Forsaken Indian Woman*, *The Idiot Boy*. These poems are, in my opinion at least, among Wordsworth's poorest narrative work. They would probably be disregarded today, were it not for the fame that their very poverty has given them. They seem to prove that to Wordsworth truth to fact was no restraint, but a necessary support. They show, too, that to present human figures with power Wordsworth needed not only accurate observation, but—even more—imaginative and impassioned meditation. In this double need lie both his realism and (as the word realism is limited) his idealism also. All his work, indeed, reveals the demand of his nature for these two habits of mind and the activity of them. Wordsworth wrote no good poem that did not spring from both these processes. However detailed and accurate he was in his facts, he threw around them a sentiment and an atmosphere entirely the creation of his own deep feeling. Wherever this atmosphere is lacking, there exists the fact of sense, but no poetry. To this the narratives in question bear witness. In *The Thorn* the human element was from the beginning secondary to the transitory impressiveness of the tree. The woman and her story were invented or adapted to commemorate this; and though the story is in its facts pathetic, its connection with the tree is slight and artificial, and the woman is shadowy. *The Idiot Boy* is really a remarkable instance of bathos. Founded on the odd remark of an idiot and composed "almost extempore,"⁵ this poem seems to be based on neither observation nor meditation, and the result is worthy of its name. These two poems are sufficient in themselves to vindicate the judgment that Wordsworth is peculiarly unfit to transcribe 'impressions,' unless indeed these coalesce at once with previous emotional experience. His creations almost never leap full-statured from his brain, as *The Ancient Mariners* sprang from

⁵ Note, *The Idiot Boy*.

Coleridge. Or compare for only a moment Shelley's peculiar power to incorporate graceful "unbodied" fancies, and Keats's plastic touch! Wordsworth follows the process of nature, and with a plant-like slowness gradually unfolds his flowers in the air and sunshine of high emotion. Then if the impulse seize him to write, the reader may expect something rare, indeed, but not exotic, something vitalized by juices from familiar soil and possessed of medicinal virtues. Of this peculiar vitality there is nothing in the poems under discussion. *The Highland Girl*, *The Solitary Reaper*, and *Resolution and Independence*,—those beautiful transcripts of impressions,—do not contradict what has been said. They rather confirm it; for in them there is precisely that immediate coalescence of the present object with past emotional reflection which makes the exceptional condition just noted, and which renders the object a revelation and living embodiment of the poet's former experience.

That Wordsworth could vitalize men only after imaginative meditation is proved also by *Peter Bell* and *Michael*. The character of the pedlar as still known in Wordsworth's day had, indeed, long appealed to the poet's imaginative sympathy, and it is true, too, that for years he was at work on *Peter Bell*. But Peter the Potter is not such a pedlar as Wordsworth admired; he is a vicious person with coarse and blunted sensibilities, and is really outside the pale of the poet's sympathies. Wordsworth's undramatic and moralizing temper made it impossible that such a man as Peter should attract him from interest in character *per se*; and thus (not having even an individual prototype) Peter is left really little more emotionally synthetized than Goody Blake or Betty Foy; and he is not much superior to them in vividness of portraiture. With *Michael* the case is quite different. The character and circumstances of Luke were drawn, as before noted, from a bit of actual family history. Probably the incidents were not changed much, and the background is such as must have been familiar to Wordsworth from childhood. But where did he get the shepherd—that noble quintessential incarnation of north English pastoral life? The model for Michael is not far to seek. In words that convey an unmistakable

ble impression of depth and grandeur of oft-repeated emotion, Wordsworth tells us where he found him.⁶

"Shepherds were the men that pleased me first; . . .
 . . . images of danger and distress,
 Man suffering among awful Powers and Forms;
 Of this I heard, and saw enough to make
 Imagination restless. . . . Yet, hail to you . . .
 Powers of my native region! . . . Your snows and streams
 Ungovernable, and your terrifying winds,
 That howl so dismally for him who treads
 Companionless your awful solitudes!
 There 'tis the shepherd's task the winter long
 To wait upon the storms, . . . And when the spring
 Looks out, and all the pastures dance with lambs,
 . . . him his office leads
 To watch their goings, whatsoever track
 The wanderers choose. . . .
 . . . A rambling schoolboy, thus,
 I felt his presence in his own domain,
 As of a lord and master, or a power,
 Or genius, under Nature, under God,
 Presiding. . . .
 By mists bewildered, suddenly mine eyes
 Have glanced upon him distant a few steps,
 In size a giant, . . . or, as he stepped
 Beyond the boundary-line of some hill-shadow,
 His form hath flashed upon me glorified
 By the deep radiance of the setting sun;
 Or him have I descried in distant sky,
 A solitary object and sublime,
 Above all height! . . .
 Meanwhile this creature, spiritual almost
 As those of books, but more exalted far, . . .
 Was, for the purposes of kind, a man
 With the most common; husband, father, learned,
 Could teach, admonish; suffered with the rest
 From vice and folly, wretchedness and fear."

Michael is the most typical, the most generalized, yet one of the most vivid and convincing of Wordsworth's personages. He is the only greatly successful figure abstracted from an individual prototype, and he is truly an incarnation for the reason already indicated;—the similarity of numberless emotional experiences, and, owing to the peculiarly powerful effect of these, the gradual imaginative synthesis of them into an embodied type.

Yet the evidence furnished by these poems that Wordsworth needed impassioned meditation for successful narrative is not in opposition to the statement that he is realistic in portrayal. But the word cannot be taken to mean too much; the basic facts of sense being given, sometimes with superabundant detail, there then comes a

6 *The Prelude*, Bk. 8.

point where he rises from these to higher intellectual and particularly emotional states and truths, which, without extending the present meaning of the word, cannot be called realistic. To Wordsworth and to many of his readers, his best works are imbued with a "sense sublime of something far more deeply interfused"⁷ than is externally manifested. His best narratives, as well as his descriptions and his reflective poetry, give clear expression to this feeling; some of his human figures, notably the Highland Girl, being the embodied spirit of their surroundings. These highly-wrought emotions undoubtedly lie outside the bounds of realistic material, though the realistic method may indeed be applied to the presentation of them.

Below this poetically highest work, there is an intermediate grade in which the imitative tendency is still strong, but in which the modifying influence is also vigorous; the complex result being used mainly for ethical purposes. *The Excursion* is full of this kind of writing, both descriptive and narrative. From the standpoint of realism, a less distinct difference exists between this grade of work and that still lower, more prosaic and poor. The didactic purpose runs through both ranks, and much the same kind of material is used, so far as humanity is concerned, the chief difference being one of tone and style.

It becomes evident, therefore, that in seeking for realism in Wordsworth's personages and incidents, the reader finds the poet obeying his own theory rather than the theory of recent realism. He chooses humble and rustic life, to quote once more,

"because in that condition the essential passions of the heart find a better soil . . . because the manners of rural life germinate from those elementary feelings."

In other words, his realism is intended from the beginning to be didactic, ethical; it is not the outside man in rustic life that Wordsworth cares for, but the essential passion that he thinks he finds dominant. He is true to the external object in his picture because he believes that to have his eye "steadily fixed upon his object"⁸ is the duty of the poet. Among

7 *Lines Composed above Tintern Abbey*.

8 *Preface to Lyrical Ballads*, 1800.

the powers requisite for the production of poetry he places first

"those of observation and description,—that is, the ability to observe with accuracy things as they are in themselves, and with fidelity to describe them, unmodified by any passion or feeling existing in the mind of the describer, whether the things depicted be actually present to the senses, or have a place only in the memory."

In this he is unquestionably realistic; but in accordance with his own peculiar purpose and method, he judges immediately this power:

"though indispensable," he says it "is one which he (a poet) employs only in submission to necessity, and never for any continuance of time; as its exercise supposes all the higher qualities of the mind to be passive, and in a state of subjection to external objects, much in the same way as a translator or engraver ought to be to his original. . . . The more exquisite the sensibility is, the more will he be incited to observe objects, both as they exist in themselves and as reacted upon by his own mind."⁹

These sentences distinctly show the relative importance that the powers of imitation and of modification hold in Wordsworth's mind. The first is indispensable, but is nothing without its compeer. Though he insists on getting close to the fact, he is never satisfied to remain there. The "essential passion" pervading it is the real object of his search; and his patient attention to the fact is due to his belief that without this he cannot attain insight into the essential passion. How clearly this is illustrated in the old Leechgatherer! Bodily condition is dwelt on for the sake of a strong moral contrast. Most poets are content to portray the essential passion (as much their own as their creature's) and give merely swift glances at the subject of it. Perhaps the chief reason why Wordsworth is instructive to a student of realism is that he frequently offers along with the passion the unemotionalized basis of it. Or, if not this first stage of his material, he shows a transition from it to the other. An illustration is found in *Simon Lee*. The first four stanzas furnish nearly enough information to present fully and delicately the pathetic old figure, but to these is added this bit of dead fact:

"And he is lean and he is sick;
His body, dwindled and awry,

⁹ Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, 1815.

Rests upon ankles swollen and thick;
His legs are thin and dry,"

Several stanzas of unimportant detail follow, and then an address to the reader, who, the poet thinks, may expect a tale to be related, but who is requested to make one for himself from like incidents by using such "stores as silent thought can bring." *Simon Lee*, in spite of this awkward interlude, is not altogether a poor poem; but it has the fault common to a great many of Wordsworth's narratives,—the realism is a little absurd, and the ethical purpose, while broad enough, perhaps, is rendered uninteresting by triviality of style. Many of the subjects, too, of these slighter poems remain commonplace; they remain so because the feeling of the person described has reached no great height, as in *The Last of the Flock*; or because the poet has failed to realize the nature or the depth of the passion portrayed, as in *The Forsaken Indian Woman*. Such poems sprang from no depth in Wordsworth's nature, and they reach none in ours. Wordsworth's realism in the field of narrative lies, therefore, in the fact that in the majority of cases he begins with close imitation of both personage and incident; when he attempts to create either, he nearly always fails. But having begun with imitation of the objects presented to his senses, he passes on to emotional reaction on this sense-material, and in this unrealistic activity he finds his chief interest, and displays his greatest power.

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FAUST-INTERPRETATIONS.

I.

WITH regard to the lines in the *Prolog im Himmel*

- 247 Ihr Anblick giebt den Engeln Stärke,
Wenn keiner sie ergründen mag.
267 Der Anblick giebt den Engeln Stärke,
Da keiner sie ergründen mag.

Düntzer¹ says

"Mit Absicht setzt wohl der Dichter hier statt *wenn* (obgleich), dessen er sich oben bedient hat, *da* (weil); in der Unergründlichkeit des in

¹ Erläuterungen, Faust, Erster Theil, p. 68.

der Welt sich bekundenden Gottes werden sie sich seiner Allmacht bewusst und dadurch gestärkt."

Schröder makes *da=wenn=wenn auch, obgleich*:

"Wenn die Engel auch das Wesen der Sonne nicht ergründen können, so erhebt sie doch ihr Anblick."

Thomas³ says this is hardly possible, and refers to Grimm, *Wb.*, where *da* is not once quoted in that sense. He proposes *since* as the proper meaning. Strehlke, *Wb.*, quoted by Thomas, gives it the meaning of *da wo*.

The difficulties disappear, if we take *wenn*, varied, as Schröder properly intimates, by *da*, not with the now usual hypothetic meaning, but as denoting the co-existence of two co-ordinate facts placed side by side adversatively. In the eighteenth century *wenn* was frequently used in this sense, where now we should use *während*; see Paul, *Wb.*, p. 533, where the following examples are quoted:

"sie führen uns in Gängen voll Nacht zum glänzenden Throne der Wahrheit, wenn Schullehrer in Gängen voll eingebildeten Lichts zum düstern Throne der Lügen leiten" (Lessing);

"fehlet Bildung und Farbe doch auch der Blüte des Weinstocks, wenn die Beere, gereift, Menschen und Götter entzückt" (Goethe);

"durch immer schönere Gedankenformen schreitet der philosophische Geist zu höherer Vortrefflichkeit fort, wenn der Brotgelehrte das unfruchtbare Einerlei seiner Schulbegriffe hütet" (Schiller).

By taking *wenn* in this sense we get rid of the strained thought involved in the assumption of a causal or concessive relation between the two clauses.

II.

318 Da dank ich euch; denn mit den Todten
Hab' ich mich niemals gern befangen.

Thomas translates the second line by "I have never cared to concern myself," and adds "This use of *befangen=befassen* is very rare, seemingly a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, so far as Goethe is concerned." Paul, *Wb.*, states its use with Jean Paul to be (*öfters*)=*sich befassen*. The

² Page 18.

³ P. 246.

expression *sich befangen*, however, was quite frequently used in northern Germany during my early years (1860-1870), and I have the impression of an admixture of the meaning of *physical contact* with the meaning of 'concern,' which makes Goethe's expression very vivid.

III.

554 Ja, eure Reden, die so blinkend sind,
In denen ihr der Menschheit Schnitzel kräuselt,
Sind unerquicklich wie der Nebelwind,
Der herblich durch die dürrn Blätter säuselt!

Hayward translates: "In which ye crisp the shreds of humanity."

Bayard Taylor: "Where ye *for* men twist shredded thought like paper."

Thomas: "Prink up humanity's leavings, (or, perhaps) twist gewgaws *for* men."

Bayard Taylor, in a note, justly objects to taking *der Menschheit* as a genitive; yet his "shredded thought like paper" is, I think, far from representing the exact idea. *Schnitzel kräuseln* means "cut up and curl paper" (especially scraps of paper) for ornaments, like for instance, those put round candles to receive their drippings (French *bobèches de papier*); the meaning, then, would be: Your glittering speeches which are humanity's flimsy ornaments.

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NOTE ON THE TIME ANALYSIS OF MACBETH Act iii, Sc. iv—Act. iv, Sc. i.

THE accepted analysis of the time in the last part of the third, and the first part of the fourth act of Macbeth, made by Daniel, in the New Shakspeare Society's *Transactions for 1877-79*, places Act iii, sc. 5, on the same night as Act iii, sc. iv, and supposes that Act iv, sc. i, took place on the following morning. This view is supported by Act iii, sc. iv: 132-133, where Macbeth says:

..... "I will tomorrow,
And betimes I will, to the weird sisters."

The objection to accepting this analysis lies in the fact that Act iii, sc. vi (which Mr. Daniel indeed rejects, perhaps needlessly), evidently

does not take place on the same night as Act iii, sc. iv; for in Act iii, sc. iv, 130, Macbeth says he has heard casually that Macduff denies him his presence, and that he will send to find out whether this is true; while in Act iii, sc. vi, 21-40 Lennox says that Macduff "from broad words and 'cause he failed his presence at the tyrant's feast" lives in disgrace, and has fled to England to make preparations for war. In order to account for this confusion, the suggestion has been offered that Shakspeare added Act iii, sc. vi as an after-thought, in order that the two witch scenes might not follow each other in immediate succession; and that in inserting the scene, he forgot, or purposely neglected, the time of the action. It seems hardly probable that Shakspeare, even though he did not always perform his work with strictest attention to detail, should have committed so inexcusable a blunder. If his only motive had been to separate the witch scenes, his ingenuity could have found some method of doing it which would not have affected so directly the action of the play.

Another solution of the difficulty has been offered and made on the supposition that Macbeth was in the habit of visiting the weird sisters, and that the two scenes described took place on two different occasions; that Act iii, sc. v, is on the same night as Act iii, sc. iv, and that it shows the preparation of the sisters for Macbeth's visit on the morrow; furthermore, that there is an interval between Act iii, sc. v, and Act iii, sc. vi; and that the action of Act iii, sc. vi, and Act iv, sc. i, takes place on succeeding days. This method of interpretation obviates the necessity of explaining the insertion of Act iii, sc. vi, but it does not seem entirely satisfactory; because such an interpretation of the sequence of the scenes leaves the reader in ignorance of what Macbeth considered an important meeting with the witches, and also makes the witches tell him at the second meeting what he would have wanted to find out at the first.

A new suggestion, however, may now be offered, and a different explanation of the time relation of these particular scenes may perhaps be worthy of consideration. This suggestion is an extremely simple one; it depends merely upon a trifling change in the Folio punctuation

of two lines in the scene. In other words, the suggestion is made to place a period after "I will tomorrow" in Act iii, sc. iv, 132; and to omit any mark after "And betimes I will" in line 133. The lines will then read: "I will tomorrow. And betimes I will to the weird sisters;" that is, I will send tomorrow. Punctuating in this way we find that "I will tomorrow" refers to what Macbeth has just said about sending to Macduff; and that the words "And betimes I will" refer to his visit to the weird sisters which is to be made in the near future, but not on the morrow. The interval then will fall between Act iii, sc. iv, and Act iii, sc. v; while Act iii, sc. v—Act iv, sc. i, take place on a later night and the following morning.

The objection may be raised that in this way the reference in Act iii, sc. vi, 21-40, to Macduff and Macbeth, and the second reference to the same events in Act iv, sc. i: 140 sq. would be placed in opposition. This objection is scarcely valid, for although it is true that in arranging the time as Mr. Daniel advocates no question arises of this difficulty, the conflict will be found if the interval be placed between Act iii, sc. v, and Act iii, sc. vi. In the present interpretation and method of analysis of the scenes, and indeed in the second scheme of analysis, the difficulty might be avoided by supposing that "the king" in Act iii, sc. vi, 39, refers, as the Folio seems to indicate, to the English sovereign and not to Macbeth. This may be rather hard to believe since in the next line but one Lennox says: "Sent he to Macduff?" where the "he" plainly means Macbeth. Still, in his intense interest in the question under discussion, it is conceivable that Lennox might speak of the person uppermost in his mind as "he," without considering what reference the pronoun might have to anything which had just preceded. This supposition that it is the King of England, and not Macbeth, who is preparing for war, is further borne out by Macbeth's attitude, in Act iv, sc. i, 140 sq., when he is informed of Macduff's flight. If he had known of the flight before, there would be no excuse for his surprise when he hears of it, and there would be less excuse, granted that the surprise was feigned, for the soliloquy which immediately follows. Nor in this solilo-

quy is it necessary to interpret Macbeth's remark that time had anticipated his dread exploits to mean that he had not yet sent to Macduff. Why could not Shakspeare have wished us to infer that time had prevented Macbeth from meting the same fate to Macduff that he had already done to Duncan and Banquo?

Aside from this question, however, through this new method of dividing the time of the play as suggested, the difficulties of the other two analyses would be done away with, and at the same time advantages of both would be retained. In the first place, the action of Act iii, sc. vi, is thrown into its proper perspective if we imagine the scene to have taken place after Act iii, sc. iv, and yet the scene does not become merely an interpolation marring the harmony of Act iii, sc. v, and Act iv, sc. i. In the second place, if we recognize the interval here we find that the action of Act iii, sc. v, and Act iv, sc. i, is centralized, and not only are we able to see the preparations for that crucial visit of Macbeth, but we are also brought face to face with the visit itself and we can watch the most minute development without being obliged, as in the former case, to piece together two scenes by imagining the sequel to the first and the introduction to the second. If the Macbeth were less a drama of action we might conceive that Shakspeare had given us merely two disconnected scenes, but when, as here, one event is so closely connected with another, and follows it in quickest succession, it is difficult to believe that he would willingly scatter our attention. And so long as this difficulty of the time does exist, it would seem perhaps that the spirit of the play would be less marred and more easily understood by a mere change in the punctuation of a line in the Folio, than by long explanations of what otherwise seems almost inevitable. Some consideration at least may be given to this suggested interpretation and punctuation of the lines Act iii, iv, 132-133: "I will [that is, send] tomorrow. And betimes I will to the weird sisters."

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THE PRESENT STATUS OF RHETORICAL THEORY.

Two opposing conceptions of the nature of dis-

course bequeathed to us from classic times still struggle for dominance in our modern rhetorical theory,—the social conception of Plato and the anti-social conception of the Sophists.¹ The latter, though known to us only fragmentarily from allusions and quotations in later treatises, can be, in its essential outlines, easily reconstructed. According to the sophistic teaching, discourse was simply a process of persuading the hearer to a conclusion which the speaker, for any reason, desired him to accept. Analyzed further, this familiar definition discloses certain significant features.

First of all it conveys, though somewhat indirectly, a notion of the ultimate end of the process of discourse. Why should discourse take place at all? Why should the hearer be persuaded? Because, answers the definition, the speaker wishes to persuade him. And, to pursue the inquiry still further, the speaker wishes to persuade the hearer to a certain belief presumably because he recognizes some advantage to himself in doing so. We should conclude, therefore, from examination of the definition before us, that discourse is for the sake of the speaker.

Nor is this conclusion threatened by further investigation into the pre-Platonic philosophy of discourse. It is true that the practical precepts of the sophistic rhetoricians pay great deference to the hearer, even seeming, at first glance, to exalt him over the speaker. Every detail of the speech is to be sedulously "adapted" to the hearer. Nothing is to be done without reference to him. His tastes are to be studied, his prejudices regarded, his little jealousies and chagrins written down in a book;—but all this, be it remembered, in order simply that he may the more completely be subjugated to the speaker's will. As the definition has previously suggested, the hearer's ultimate importance to discourse is of the slightest. To his interests the process of discourse is quite indifferent.

But not only does persuasion, according to the sophistic notion, fail to consider the interests of the hearer; frequently it even assails them. In fact, the sophistic precepts bristle with implications that the hearer's part in dis-

¹ The use of the term "social" in connection with rhetorical theory has been borrowed directly from Prof. F. N. Scott of the University of Michigan; though for the interpretation here put upon the word, he is not necessarily responsible.

course is virtually to be spoiled. The hearer is to be persuaded for the sake of some advantage to the speaker. If his own advantage should chance to lie in the same direction with that of the speaker, the utmost that the process of discourse could do would be merely to point out this fact to the hearer. In such a case little persuasive art is demanded. It is rather when the interests of the hearer, if rightly understood by him, oppose his acceptance of the conclusion urged by the speaker that real rhetorical skill comes into play. Then is the speaker confronted by a task worthy of his training—that of making the acceptance of this conclusion, which is really inimical to the hearer's interests, seem to him advantageous. In plainest statement, the speaker must by finesse assail the hearer's interests for the sake of his own.

This is a typical case of discourse, according to the sophistic conception. Its essentially anti-social character appears both in its conscious purpose and in its unrecognized issues. We have seen that the end it seeks is exclusively individual, sanctioned only by that primitive ethical principle of the dominance of the strong. The speaker through discourse secures his own advantage simply because he is able to do so. The meaning of his action to the hearer or to society as a whole, is purely a moral question with which rhetoric is not directly concerned. There is, in the rhetorical theory of the sophists, no test for the process of discourse larger than the success of the speaker in attaining his own end.

But further, the sophistic conception of discourse is anti-social in its outcome. Instead of levelling conditions between the two parties to the act, as we are told is the tendency in all true social functioning, discourse renders these conditions more unequal than they were before it took place. The speaker, superior at the outset, by virtue at least of a keener perception of the situation, through the process of discourse, comes still further to dominate the hearer. As in primitive warfare the stronger of two tribal organizations subdues and eventually enslaves the weaker, so in discourse the initial advantage of the speaker returns to him with usury.

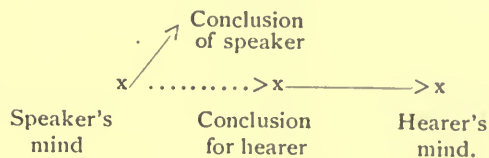
This anti-social character of the sophistic discourse, as seen both in its purpose and in

its outcome, may be finally traced to the fact that the process, as we have analyzed it, just fails of achieving complete communication between speaker and hearer. Some conclusion is, indeed, established in the mind of the hearer, but not necessarily the conclusion which the speaker himself has reached upon this subject. It may, in fact, oppose all his own experience and thought, and thus hold no organic relation to his own mind. But wishing the hearer to believe it, he picks it up somewhere and proceeds to insert it into the hearer's mind.

This absence of a vital relationship between the normal activities of the speaker's mind and the action by which he seeks to persuade the hearer, breaks the line of communication between the two persons concerned. Conditions at the ends of the circuit cannot be equalized, as in true social functioning, because the current is thus interrupted.

This conception of the process of discourse might be graphically represented in figure:

Figure 1.



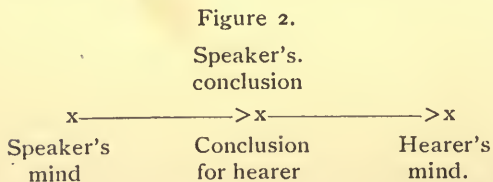
The sophistic account of discourse, then, makes it a process essentially individualistic, and thus socially irresponsible. It secures the advantage of the speaker without regard to that of the hearer, or even in direct opposition to it. Because this conception leaves a gap in the chain of communication between the minds of speaker and hearer, it fails to equalize conditions between them. The speaker wins and the hearer loses continually. Discourse is purely predatory,—a primitive aggression of the strong upon the weak. The art of rhetoric is the art of war.

Against this essentially crude and anti-social conception of discourse, Plato seems to have raised the first articulate protest. Discourse is not an isolated phenomenon, he maintained, cut off from all relations to the world in which it occurs, and exempt from the universal laws of justice and right. The speaker has certain

obligations, not perhaps directly to the hearer, but to the absolute truth of which he is but the mouthpiece, to the entire order of things which nowadays we are wont to call society. Discourse is, indeed, persuasion, but not persuasion to any belief the speaker pleases. Rather is it persuasion to the truth, knowledge of which, on the part of the hearer, ultimately advantages both himself and the speaker as well. The interests of both are equally furthered by legitimate discourse. In fact the interests of both are, when rightly understood, identical; hence there can be no antagonism between them.

In respect, then, to the advantage gained by each party to the act of discourse, speaker and hearer stand on a footing of at least approximate equality. In fact the ultimate end of discourse must be, from the Platonic premises, to establish equality between them. Before discourse takes place the speaker has a certain advantage over the hearer. He perceives a truth as yet hidden from the hearer, but necessary for him to know. Since the recognition of this truth on the part of the hearer must ultimately serve the speaker's interests as well, the speaker, through the act of discourse, communicates to the hearer his own vision. This done, the original inequality is removed, the interests of both speaker and hearer are furthered, and equilibrium is at this point restored to the social organism.

It is plain that the circuit of communication between speaker and hearer is in Plato's conception of discourse continuous. The speaker having himself come to a certain conclusion, does not set about establishing another in the hearer's mind, but simply transmits his own belief into the other's consciousness. The connection between the two minds is living and unbroken. The Platonic notion of the process of discourse may be thus illustrated as in figure:



Thus have been hastily reviewed the two

opposing conceptions of discourse delivered to us by the earliest rhetoricians. The changes which they have suffered in the lapse of centuries are surprisingly slight. We find implicit in many of our modern text-books practically the same conception of discourse which was held by the pre-Platonic teachers of rhetoric,—a conception which regards discourse as an act performed by the speaker upon the hearer for the advantage of the speaker alone. It is true that the present-day sophists include in the end of discourse not persuasion alone, but the production of any desired effect upon the hearer. This fact does not, however, modify fundamentally the nature of the process itself. The hearer (or reader as he has now become) is to be interested or amused, or reduced to tears, or overborne with a sense of the sublime, not indeed because the writer himself has previously been interested or amused and, in obedience to the primal social instinct, would communicate his experience to another, but because,—well, because the writer wishes to produce this effect upon the reader. Thus wishing, and being able to gratify his desire, the act of discourse results,—an act still individualistic and one-sided, serving no ends but those of the speaker himself. The effect to be produced upon the hearer, being wholly external to the experience of the speaker, leaves unjoined the old break between speaker and hearer in the process of communication. We have again, in but slightly altered guise, the sophistic conception of discourse.

But in spite of the persistence of this outworn conception in even some recent text-books, there are not wanting many evidences that the Platonic theory of discourse is at last coming home to the modern consciousness. It is doubtless true that the later social theory of rhetoric would not venture to define the end of discourse as that of declaring to another the absolute and universal truth. There may be two reasons for this. In the first place we are not now-a-days on such joyfully intimate terms with the absolute truth as was Plato. And, again, the practical value of even a little relative and perhaps temporary truth has become clearer to us—such truth as touches us through our personal experiences and observations. Yet it must be remembered that

Plato himself allowed the subject-matter of discourse to be the speaker's own vision of the absolute truth, thus individualizing the abstraction until we cannot regard it as fundamentally alien from our modern conception of experience, in the largest sense of the word.

Granting this substantial identity, then, we have only to prove that Plato's idea of personal experience as the subject-matter of discourse is a real factor in modern rhetorical theory. For this no long argument is required. We find this idea theoretically expressed in rhetorical treatises even as far back as Quintilian, in the implied definition of discourse as self-expression, a conception recently popularized by such writers as Arnold and Pater. This notion of discourse, neglecting that part of the process of communication by which an experience is set up in the mind of the writer, emphasized exclusively that segment which develops the experience of the writer into articulate form. Being thus incomplete as was the sophistic theory of discourse, it served only to supplement that by bringing out into clear consciousness the Platonic truth that the subject-matter of discourse has a direct relation to the mental processes of the writer.

On the practical side this truth has appeared in the comparatively recent decay of formal instruction in rhetoric, and the correlative growth of composition work in our schools. This practical study of composition, in so far as it deserved its name, displaced the writing of biographical essays, largely drawn from encyclopediac sources, and of treatises on abstract subjects far removed from any natural interests of the student who wrote. Both these lines of effort proving relatively profitless, the experiment was tried of drawing the material for writing directly from the every-day experience, observation and thinking of the student,—an experiment whose results proved so successful that the practice has long been established in most of our schools. This is a piece of history so recent and so well-known that it need not be dwelt upon. Its import, however, is worth noting. It means the practical, though perhaps unconscious, acceptance of Plato's principle that the subject-matter of discourse bears a vital relation to the mind of the speaker. And by virtue of this, it means the

complete closing of the circuit of communication between speaker and hearer.

So far, then, the rising modern rhetorical theory agrees with the doctrine of Plato. It may, perhaps, differ from him in making discourse a process somewhat less self-conscious than he seems to have conceived it, arising from the speaker's primitive social instinct for sympathy, or (to put it more technically) for closer relations with his environment, rather than from any explicit desire to communicate his own vision of the truth to another. But this modification affects neither the nature of the process itself nor its ultimate outcome. Both the Platonic and the modern theory of discourse make it not an individualistic and isolated process for the advantage of the speaker alone, but a real communication between speaker and hearer, to the equal advantage of both, and thus a real function of the social organism.

This conception of discourse is rich in implications which Plato never saw, and which no modern has yet formulated. To this formulation, however, our practical teaching of English with all its psychologic and sociological import, is daily bringing us nearer. It cannot be long before we shall recognize a modern theory of discourse as large in its outlines as Plato's and far better defined in its details; a theory which shall complete the social justification which rhetoric has so long been silently working out for itself.

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GERMAN LANGUAGE.

Materials for German Prose Composition.

With notes and vocabulary. Vol. ii, Narrative and Descriptive. By MAX POLL, Ph.D. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1899. 12mo, pp. 133+168 (Vocab.).

German Composition, based on humorous stories. By CARLA WENCKEBACH. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1899. 12mo, 282 pp.

THE mastery of any language naturally involves the power to express one's thoughts in

it both in speech and in writing. These two are intimately associated, and it is a question in my mind whether a student can write a foreign language easily and accurately, save as he possesses a corresponding power to speak it. For both there are alike necessary a command of the proper words and idioms, which are the symbols of thought, and an instinctive feeling for the correct order. It is true that one can speak with reasonable accuracy who cannot write, but it does not seem to me that one can write who does not possess a ready command of spoken forms. If this be true, it has an important bearing upon what should constitute the contents of a volume for teaching composition in a foreign language. The language should be simple and natural, and the subjects should be such as lend themselves readily to practical use. Conversations, descriptions, and attractive stories are demanded, but the language and the constructions should be those of familiar intercourse, of every-day life. No one speaks like a book; if he does so, he becomes intolerable. If it were possible to teach a lofty literary form of expression, colored with the individuality of some particular author, the acquisition would be in the main useless. The student would be powerless to discuss subjects with which he is daily associated, and upon his arrival in Germany his material for conversation or communication would utterly fail.

What is to be attained by German Composition does not always seem to have been clearly before the makers of such books. There are natural and inevitable limitations to what may be demanded in this direction. One limitation is based upon the time available for the study of a modern language, which is in itself restricted; another is to be found in the acquisition possible in the case of the average student in writing German.

It is evident that in the study of any language this feature must be subordinate to the general end. It must be proportional, and in harmony with other essential aims in linguistic study. A knowledge of the literature is the one universal requirement. Grammar and so-called philological study as an aid to this have their place, and conversation presents certain valid but not general claims.

Unless a vocabulary and a facility in the use

of foreign idioms dwell already in the mind, the first steps in writing are a mechanical process. The pupil has no feeling for the language which can guarantee the accuracy of any rendering. He is dependent at first upon the arbitrary statement of the teacher. If he has to choose laboriously the proper words from a vocabulary, and arrange them in a formal order, he has but a vague conception of the admissibility of any translation. Repeated instruction may fix the order and the use of the proper words in his mind. As a result, he acquires a knowledge of construction, which, in itself, is a valuable acquisition, and possibly one not to be obtained save through writing.

After an exercise has been written and revised by the teacher, few pupils remember it so that they can reproduce it if called upon to do so. Students seldom possess a verbal memory which enables them to retain a thought in a foreign language save as it is impressed upon the memory by repetition and familiar use. It is rare even in one's native language for a writer to retain accurately, after writing, the exact form in which his statement has been made. If this is so in one's own speech, it is true in a more emphatic sense in translations into a foreign language. There is, therefore, a certain limitation in what we may expect to achieve in teaching composition to the general student.

A recognition of such facts as these would aid in determining the place of composition in any course of study, and guide our estimate of the value of the results attained. It would also suggest the character and fix the value of any manual of instruction.

The first aim in such a volume would be to impress upon the pupil the use of familiar words and forms and principles of construction. Later, when he has read much easy prose, and attained a certain feeling for the language, he should re-write exercises from connected narrative, the text of which supplies the words and suggests the form of arrangement. His knowledge of what constitutes accuracy does not then rest merely upon the authority of the teacher, but he learns to write from the language itself.

Such a volume would naturally contain only

language in its familiar use. Thought is expressed in certain stereotyped forms. It is this which makes the interchange of ideas possible. If the pupil can master these, he has made a positive and useful acquisition which is of accepted value everywhere. The vocabulary should be specially chosen and restricted. The variety of expression possible by a mastery of from four to six hundred words is practically unlimited. The selections should be graded so that there is an orderly development of the principles of the language.

The question arises whether such a volume cannot be made which, while unfolding the principles of the language, shall, at the same time, contain a practical speech which the student can use in travel, in visiting a city, and in familiar descriptions. Such a volume of selections would, in its contents, border closely on the material used in conversational classes. Letters embracing lively narrative should also be included. The choice of selections from the German, skilfully translated and re-adapted, has ordinarily the advantage that they are free from embarrassing English idioms. The language, as has already been said, should not be stilted or even classical. When thought receives a certain stamp or color from the individuality of the author, features are introduced which transcend the forms of ordinary speech, and which it is not desirable to imitate. The writings of Mark Twain, Raumer, Macaulay, do not afford the requisite material for such a book. Even the Vicar of Wakefield, which was once the favorite vehicle for such instruction, is too full of quaint and antiquated expressions to afford the best results. Latin essays in the English universities were formerly written in the style of Tacitus or of Cicero. Such imitations of characteristic features of an author are to be avoided. If the pupil acquires the accepted currency of familiar expression, it is all that we can ask. A dominance of fairy tales is likewise injudicious. Mere infantile speech cannot interest an advanced student, and, though usually simple, presents no adequate substitute for the direct and serviceable speech of travel and familiar intercourse.

The first of the two new composition books whose titles are given above is intended to be

"an alternative collection" to that made by Prof. von Jagemann, and follows, according to the editor, the same general lines. It is also accompanied by the same vocabulary. It contains foot-notes guiding to the proper rendering, and refers constantly to von Jagemann's very useful "Elements of German Syntax."

Between the two volumes of this series there is little difference in the relative difficulty of the selections. The later has greater variety, and a more graphic quality. It is not quite clear why two volumes on the same general plan are desirable. The original vocabulary was excellent, and the use of one vocabulary for both volumes has less objection than one might anticipate. Words in the text which do not occur in the vocabulary have been inserted in foot-notes. The editor has not in all cases been successful in supplying the words which are missing in the vocabulary. The omissions are, however, probably few. Occasionally we miss notes which would have aided certain renderings for which the vocabulary is inadequate. There is no note on "to look out of the window at" etc., p. 23, l. 12, and the definitions in the vocabulary would not suggest the correct words. We miss in the vocabulary such words as "merchant ships" p. 79, l. 7; "uneventful" p. 78, l. 4, etc., etc. Few students could render "Cheap Furniture Exhibition" from the meagre note "Compound." In the note to "all of the first six pages" p. 33, l. 1, "all" is translated by *alle*, as if modifying "pages." It may be doubted whether the choice of selections from modern English reading books affords the best models for reproduction. Similarly, the geographical and historical selections, including one from Walter Scott, as well as that from *Die Familie Buchholz*, are not the best adapted to the purpose sought. The book, however, has substantial merit.

The volume by Prof. Wenckebach contains in the beginning German stories, with a paraphrase on the opposite page for re-writing, and, at the foot of the page, conversations based upon the text, together with notes. The method is excellent and rests upon sound pedagogical principles. The selections are, in general, good, and include letters. There are useful supplementary chapters, one containing drill-exercises, and a very serviceable one

upon word-order. The vocabulary contains an English-German as well as a German-English part. The principle of humor adopted in making the selections is perhaps calculated to awaken interest, though not necessarily educative. It is not clear what is gained by reproducing Eckstein's "Visit to the Carcer" in lisping English.

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ITALIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

1. *First Italian Book*: Grammar, Exercises, and Examination Papers, with Vocabularies. By Rev. A. C. CLAPIN, M. A., St. John's College, Cambridge, and Bachelier ès Lettres of the University of France. London and Paris: Hachette and Company, 1897. 18mo, pp. viii, 70.

2. *Un Curioso Accidente*. Commedia in tre atti di CARLO GOLDONI. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. D. M. FORD, Ph. D., Instructor in Harvard University. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1899. 12mo, pp. ix, 78.

1. MR. CLAPIN states in his preface that the purpose of his little grammar is to meet the requirements of those who have only a limited time to devote to the study of the grammar and idioms of the Italian Language. Certainly it is not a suitable work for the serious student of Italian, not only because of its extreme brevity, but also because of the incorrectness of some of its statements.

The synoptical arrangement restricts each subject to its own page. The grammar portion of the book is followed by exercises, a page of exercises being provided for every corresponding page of grammar.

The great danger in a short, grammatical treatise like the one before us, is the temptation to sacrifice clearness and accuracy to brevity. That Mr. Clapin has yielded to this temptation in many instances will be seen from the corrections which follow. P. 1: The statement that "the vowels *a, e, i, o* are sounded as in French" is misleading. The usual sound of French *a*¹

¹ Cf. John E. Matzke, *A Primer of French Pronunciation*. New York, 1897, § 15.

is that found in words like *page, par, a*, but this sound is much closer than the Italian *a*. The open *a* sound in the French *bas, âge, flamme* is pronounced like the Italian *a*, but the open *a* in *bas*, etc., is less frequent than the close *a* in *page*, etc.; hence, one could not say that *a* is pronounced in Italian as it is in French. In like manner the varieties of *e* and *o* sounds in French would hardly permit one to compare the pronunciation of these vowels in French with the sounds usually given to them in Italian. The cases where they differ in pronunciation should at least be stated.

In the second place, the statement that *a, e, i, o* are pronounced in Italian as in French will be of little or no value to those for whom this grammar was intended. It presupposes a knowledge of French, and, as this grammar was written primarily for English students, the phonetic equivalents of the Italian vowels should have been given in English rather than in French. P. 2: The author states that

"when the plural noun ends in *gli*, the *g* of the article *gli* is dropped (that is, *li* is used) to prevent the repetition of the same sound; for example, *li scogli*."

Fornaciari² gives *gli scogli* without mentioning *li* in this connection. P. 17: While discussing verbs in *ire* the author says:

"twelve only are conjugated throughout like *sentire*, namely: *bollire, cucire, dormire, fuggire, partire, pentirsi, sdruccire, seguire, sentire, servire, sortire, vestire*."

This statement is misleading. Although all the verbs given above may be conjugated like *sentire*, only *dormire, fuggire, pentire, servire, vestire* are always conjugated thus. *Aborrire, bollire*, and verbs in *-vertire* are generally, and *assorbire, inghiottire, mentire, nutrire, tossire*, are often conjugated like *sentire*. *Partire* and *sortire* are, when transitive, inflected like *finire*; when intransitive, like *sentire*. P. 18: the statement that "the conj. pronouns follow the verb (and are joined to it) in the Inf., Gerund, Past Part. and Imperative" should be modified. These pronouns are joined to the past participle only when it is used without an

² Fornaciari, *Grammatica Italiana dell' Uso Moderno*. Firenze, 1879, p. 78: "Si usa la seconda forma (sing. *lo*, plur. *gli*) davanti a nome maschile che cominci per *s* impura o per *z* o per *j*. P. es. *lo stúdio, gli stúdi; lo scoglio, gli scogli*."

auxiliary.³ P. 31: the following rule is incorrectly given:

"The past participle conjugated with *avere* (with *essere* in Reflexive verbs) *must* agree with the direct object of the verb when this direct object precedes it, and *may* when it follows it."

This rule should be stated as follows: The past participle may or may not agree with its direct object according to the choice of the writer. It nearly always agrees when the object is a personal pronoun standing before the verb; it generally does not agree when the object follows.

Omissions in the Italian-English Vocabulary: *allegò* (*allegare*) 'alleged' (p. 45, 21, 3); *lire*, 'francs' (p. 42, 15, 6); *perdita*, 'loss' (p. 44, 19, 7); *scuse*, 'excuses' (p. 45, 21, 2); *subita* (*subire*), 'sustained' (p. 44, 19, 7).

Omissions in the English-Italian Vocabulary: *conquered*, 'vinto' (p. 46, 23, 3); *mouth*, 'bocca,' (p. 46, 23, 6); *nature*, 'natura,' (p. 46, 23, 5); *owe*, 'dovere,' 'essere debitore di' (p. 45, 21, 2); *powerful*, 'poderoso' (p. 46, 23, 1); *Rome*, 'Roma' (p. 37, 6, 2); *talent*, 'talento' (p. 46, 23, 6); *timid*, 'timoroso,' 'pauroso' (p. 38, 7, 7); *together*, 'insieme' (p. 45, 21, 2); *vice*, 'vizio' (p. 46, 24, 1); *will*, 'volontà' (p. 46, 23, 7).

The only typographical error that I have noted is *egla* for *egli* on p. 12.

2. Dr. Ford has shown excellent judgment in selecting a play so bright and entertaining as the one before us. It is a pleasure to call attention to this praiseworthy and highly successful attempt to provide the English-Italian student with an annotated copy of one of the standard works of modern Italian literature. This pure and charming little production of the great Italian dramatist will, no doubt, be welcomed with great satisfaction by those for whose use it is intended. *Un Curioso Accidente* is one of those plays of which an edition for college students was an imperative need, and it is but just to the editor to say that he has fulfilled his task in a reasonably satisfactory manner.

There are five pages in the Introduction. The first two pages are devoted to a brief sketch of the author's life, dealing especially

with the literary history. The three remaining pages consist of a few general comments on Goldoni's literary style and writings, with special reference to his work in ridding the Italian stage of the *Commedia dell' arte*.

The Notes are free from that over-annotation which has become such a hindrance in many of our modern text-books. In some cases the editor has even failed to give a note where an explanation might have been useful to the student. P. 10, l. 25: since *vo'* (=voglio)⁴ was explained in the Notes, it would have been well to give a note on *rimangiate*. This is an old subjunctive form. The modern form is *rimangiate*. P. 18, l. 2: *anderò* is also antiquated; the ordinary form is *andrò*. P. 53, l. 31: *tai* is the poetic form of *tale*. P. 55, l. 19: the use of *fa* should be explained.

Two of the notes are wrongly placed. If the notes are to be helpful to the student they should be given where the difficulty first occurs. P. 11, l. 11: note 5 to page 39, should come here. P. 11, l. 28: put note 3 to page 66 here.

The following typographical errors have been noted: P. vii, l. 18, read *become* for *became*; p. 9, l. 15, for *piu* read *più*; p. 69, note 1 to page 1, read *pud*.

Dr. Ford's edition of *Un Curioso Accidente* shows careful and scholarly preparation, and will certainly be of great service to the student of Italian literature.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Schiller's Maria Stuart. Ein Trauerspiel. With Introduction and Notes by HERMANN SCHOENFELD, Ph. D. New York: Macmillan Co., 1899. 8vo, lvii, 322 pp.

THIS newest edition of *Maria Stuart* appears just a hundred years after the play was written and is the most elaborate one offered to English students. The editor has

"sought to add . . . the best results of recent historical investigation and literary criticism, and to contribute such independent research

³ Cf. Grandgent, *Italian Grammar*. Boston, 1891, § 48.

⁴ Cf. p. 39, note 5.

as might aid, by fuller elucidation, to bring (?) the classic nearer the hearts of the many students of Schiller."

The book is an honest effort to carry out this purpose, and shows broad scholarship, sensible criticism, and very great care in the preparation of the elaborate commentary.

The Introduction devotes fifty-seven pages to a discussion of the position of *Maria Stuart* among Schiller's dramas, of the composition, the historical questions, and the metrical form of the play. In the comparison of this with Schiller's other plays, the editor almost forgets his real purpose, and does little more than give the theme of *Die Räuber*, *Fiesco*, *Kabale und Liebe*, and *Don Carlos*, and point out the "tragic element" in *Wallenstein*, *Maria Stuart*, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, *Die Braut von Messina*, and *Tell*. The treatment of the "dramatic guilt or *Schuld*" in *Tell* is a little confusing. Schoenfeld thinks "it is strange that this manifest tragedy has not been noticed." Surely he does not mean to say that others have failed to see "the guilt of the House of Habsburg." That would be "strange" indeed. It may be that others have seen the essential difference between the retribution that overtakes the 'villain' in this, and the "tragic guilt" of the hero in other plays. Schiller saw it, too, when he called this "a drama" and others "tragedies."

The account of the composition of the play is carefully written, but very long. Many extracts from Schiller's letters show the progress of the work from month to month, or from week to week. Such detail may be welcome to teachers, as convenient for reference, but students would find greater interest and profit in a shorter, general statement. In view of Boxberger's work on Brantôme as one of Schiller's sources, it is hardly enough to say that "the fifth act seems to indicate . . . that Schiller had read Brantôme."

The discussion of the historical questions involved shows the same careful, critical detail, but is too exhaustive and exhausting for students. The critical inquiry into the genuineness of the "casket letters" and of the Babington letters, does not belong in an edition of this kind. On the other hand, the sketch would

gain in clearness if Elizabeth's part were more fully presented.

In the section on Metrical Form, two or three pages which the student would *read* would have been more useful than the eight pages of minute detail which he may not read. The foreign plurals "dactyli" and "trochaei" look strange by the side of the English form "anapests."

The text is based on Goedeke's *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*; the "orthography and punctuation have been modernized but *sparingly* according to present requirements."

The Notes are very elaborate and scholarly, and are carefully written. Opinion may differ as to their pedagogical value. They fill one hundred and seven pages, Act I, forty-seven pages of text, receiving forty-eight pages of notes, while the first one hundred lines get over eleven pages! The reviewer was reminded of the opinion of Goethe's *Theater-Direktor* :—

Die Masse Könn't ihr nur durch Masse zwingen,
Ein jeder sucht sich endlich selbst was aus.
Wer vieles bringt, wird manchem etwas bringen;
Und jeder geht zufrieden aus dem Haus.

In spite of the wealth of information in these notes, I fear the American student, for whom they were written, may often turn from them very *unzufrieden*, when he finds so much explanation he does not need, and so much learned, philological matter he does not want. Several characteristics of these notes seem likely to lessen, very materially, their real usefulness.

First, there are many apparently unnecessary notes. Students of *Maria Stuart* are not beginners, and rarely need such notes as those on lines 1, 2, 5, 18, 32, 54, 63, 73, 96, 114, 130, 133-4, 141, which fall within the first scene only; further on are many others of the same kind.

Again, the editor has put in a great deal of etymology—sometimes incidentally, but often for the sake of the etymology alone. Sometimes the proportion is excessive; of eleven notes on ll. 1077-1091, for instance, eight are etymological. These etymologies include Latin, Greek, Anglo-Saxon, Gothic, Norse, Old and Middle High German, Alemannic, Low German, Old and Modern French, Italian, Spanish, and even Hungarian and Arabic. However interesting and important etymology

may be, in its proper place, and however helpful an occasional use of it may be in explaining some old or unusual meaning, surely so many etymological notes to a play like this are out of place, for students either do not read them, or if they do, are only led away from more important things. This is not the way "to bring this classic nearer to the hearts of students of Schiller."

In explaining grammatical points, the editor often heaps up examples of the same or similar points, occurring elsewhere in Schiller or in other authors. Thus in the note to l. 39 Schoenfeld explains that *des Spiegels kleine Notdurft* means *der notdürftige kleine Spiegel*, and prints in full twenty-two other examples of the use of such abstracts from *Der Graf von Habsburg*, *Maria Stuart*, and *Tell*; in the note to l. 59: *wenn ihre zarte Jugend sich verging*, instead of *wenn sie in ihrer zarten Jugend* etc., thirteen other examples of the same (every day) use of the abstract for the concrete are cited in full, and all the poetry is taken out of the passage; in the note to l. 210 it takes eleven lines of print and twelve examples to explain the omission of the neuter adjective ending *-es* in *geängstigt fürchtend Herz*, which every student of the play recognizes at once. Compare also the notes to ll. 33, 49, 85, 226, all within the first scene, and many others further on. These examples are also often used to remind us of some similar sentiment in some other author. Some of these references will not be clear to the student; cf. notes to ll. 62, 750, 1172, 1648, 3200. In ll. 3835-36, the "curious reminiscence of Horace" is unintelligible, unless we assume a misprint for 3855-56, and even then the comparison is very far-fetched.

Idioms are not only explained, but explained away. Thus:—l. 142, "*den Christus in der Hand*, absolute accusative with *haltend* understood" (absolute acc. and direct object at the same time!); l. 590, "*wo man hinaus will*, idiom. use, with the omission of a verb *kommen* with the auxiliary *will*;" l. 905, "*warum mir verweigern*, supply *wollt ihr*;" l. 1886 "*Bube genug*, here treated like an adjective, *büßisch genug*." Apart from the contradictions involved in such statements, as a matter of fact these words are not *understood* or to be *snp-*

plied, not even in English. These expressions are idioms, and idiom is the very soul of language, and should be emphasized, not destroyed, especially when the student uses the same idiom in his own speech.

In some cases the very technical terms employed will make the note useless to the student. To say that phrases are "asyndetically joined" (86 ff, 104), or to refer to a construction as an example of "Chiasmus, *χιασμός*" (794-6), or "anacolouthon" (86-97), or "anadiplosis" (923, 924, 2201), or "hendiadys" (949), or "oxymoron" (197-8), or "cacophony" (1772), or "prolepsis (*προλήψις*), i. e. anticipation (*Vorwegnahme*)" (271-72), will not materially help, but will materially *aggravate* the young reader.

Misprints are few:— *arrivedat* (49), *spie* (212), *Rhoades* (786), *Lal.* (289), *morning* (1149), *Ettersbury*, *Introd.* note to iii, 1. In note to l. 806 read *Vor granen Jahren lebt* (not *wohnt ein Mann im Osten*).

Two appendices give variant readings and a very useful bibliography. The mechanical execution of the book is excellent, and there are half a dozen good pictures.

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FRENCH TEXT-BOOKS.

Le Gendre de M. Poirier, par EMILE AUGIER et JULES SANDEAU. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. STUART SYMINGTON, Ph. D. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1899.

Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard, par ANATOLE FRANCE. With Introduction and Notes, by C. H. C. WRIGHT. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1899.

WHY are there so few French text-books that introduce us into an academic atmosphere? This is a question that presents itself to almost every teacher of advanced courses; and yet there is certainly no lack of publications of French texts. The present writer must confess that among the dozens of new editions that are run through an indulgent press, he is able to find few that are worthy of full commendation.

The introductions are either taken for the most part from some encyclopedia, or else contain a treatise on the subject in hand, writ-

ten in such an "æsthetic" style, that we look in vain for facts and for a clear presentation of the material. The notes are often mere translations, or simply copies of those found in other editions, under a disguised form; and the text is miserable, at least in many cases. The average edition would seem to have been prepared, as it were, over-night. And yet, we notice favorable reviews of these same editions, with elaborate lists of their inaccuracies and misprints.

In all this indifferent editing we are gratified to find a few texts that show a thorough familiarity with the subject, broad reading, and scholarly work. Among these we have selected the two texts mentioned above.

In his Introduction Dr. Symington has presented the student with a clear, concise idea 1. of Augier's dramatic work; 2. of his standing among French dramatists; 3. of the variance of opinion of French critics concerning the merit of his work in general and of the production in question; 4. of his style and his *don du théâtre*. More than this, the student receives in this Introduction a clear notion of the nature of the modern French drama. In reading it one feels that the editor has a firm footing, and has read enough in French literature to warrant an opinion of his own; and we are ready to accept it; as, for example, on page eighteen.

Every phase of French literature has been treated so thoroughly and by so many different critics, that it becomes necessary to consult a large body of critical literature. In the opinion of the present reviewer the scarcity of genuine scholarly work in modern French literature is due to the fact that there is so much ground to cover that few have found the time necessary for this original work. It is certainly a pleasure to read introductions that show this broad reading, and yet retain enough independence and thoroughness to be called an addition to what we already have. The two books indicated above possess this rare quality.

In the notes the student has enough to guide him and help him over those points which he cannot be expected to know. They are not elaborate, but they are amply sufficient.

The Introduction of Mr. Wright is quite different in character, composition and form, from

that of the work just noted. While the former shows soberness, care, conservatism in statements, accuracy and precision, we notice in the latter a spirit of the valedictorian, of indefiniteness, of too much generalization. In fact, these two works are contrasts, and show the atmosphere of the products of two entirely different systems: the first, solid, plain-fact, analytical, rigid specialism; the second, broad, general, cosmopolitan, æsthetic culture. Yet both, in this case, reach the same goal—the academic spirit.

The Introduction to M. Anatole France leaves a clear, definite idea 1. of certain tendencies in modern French literature and those which M. France has followed; 2. of his character and work; 3. of the position he holds in modern French literature.

The notes are adequate; at times we meet explanations that seem unnecessary; for example, p. 244, *parle pour ne rien dire, paléographie*; p. 264, Rousseau; it is probable a second year student will know these. In general, this part of the book is excellent and shows careful, scholarly work.

Mention might here be made of an edition of part of *Sylvestre Bonnard* by Prof. Magill, in his *Modern French Series*, Christopher Sower Company, Philadelphia. This edition contains a Biographical Notice and a series of elaborate notes, many of which we find in Mr. Wright's text.

It is the opinion of the present reviewer that if the editing of French texts were confined to teachers of French, and if these would limit themselves to editing in certain definite fields only and to fewer texts, the standard of our text-books would be immediately raised.

HUGO P. THIEME.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The Seege of Troye. Edited from MS. Harl. 525. With Introduction, Notes, and Glossaries by C. H. A. WAGER, Ph. D. (Yale.) McIlvaine Professor of the English Language and Literature, Kenyon College. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899. 12mo, pp. cxv, 126.

As we already have a diplomatic reproduction of the Middle English version of the *Seege of*

Troye—a very indifferent résumé, in less than two thousand lines, of the narrative of some twenty thousand lines, in the *Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Sainte-More—the only justification for its re-impression would be in an edition which contributes some new and definite information upon its language, date, and sources.

The present editor announces (p. lxxxvi) that in his linguistic treatment he only wishes to "throw light upon the dialect in which the version is written," and adds nothing to strengthen its generally accepted attribution to an author of Southern origin. Certain statements in the section, treating of the metrical structure, would have been qualified, if attention had been called to conclusions brought out in the more recent contributions on Middle English prosody; and the date assigned, 1390-1420 (pp. xxv, xlii), although it has the merit of affording a wide margin for possible error, is too indefinite to be discussed.

Dr. Wager's final conclusion that the immediate source of the work was an expanded recension of the *Roman de Troie*, because certain episodes are not found in "the poem of Benoît with which we are familiar" (p. lxxviii, cf. pp. lxxv, xix), falls to the ground in view of what Constans has stated as to the inferiority and incompleteness of the manuscripts, upon which Joly based his edition. To be sure, the fact that the treatment in the English poem, of the strife of the three goddesses for the golden apple, and the judgment of Paris, has a close analogue in the story as found in the *Énéas*,¹ which is different from that given in the *Roman de Troie*,² seems to support a thesis which cannot be definitely determined until the publication of the complete poem.

The statement (p. lx) "Archeley, Harl. 729; is more easily derived from the Archelaus of Dares G. (Chap. xiv) than from Benoît's Archelax" is not very convincing when one considers that *-ax* is the most common *graphie* for *-aus*. The suggestion (p. xxii) that Boccaccio, humanist, and translator of French fab-

¹ V. 99-182, edition of Salverda de Grave. Cf. *Introd.*, pp. viii, xxix, lxiv.

² V. 385 ff. Cf. Constans. *Revue des Universités du Midi*, vol. iv, p. 69. One version of story in the *Chide Moralisé*. Cf. G. Paris, *Hist. Litt.*, vol. xxix, p. 518. A. Thomas. *Romania*, vol. xxii, p. 271.

leaux, needed to have resort to the Italian versions of Guido and Benoît in writing his *Filostrato*, is hardly a happy one.

As to the ultimate sources of the poem the existence of the Greek original of Dictys was put beyond a doubt by the quite independent investigations of Patzig and Noack, some years ago, and yet there is no indication of an acquaintance with these most important contributions. And there is absolutely no evidence upon which to base the statement that Dares—that impudent forgery, of a date not earlier than the fifth century, of which the only purpose seems to be, to out-Dictys—is an abridgement of a translation from the Greek made in the first century (p. xvii).

Warton's *History of English Poetry* is cited, and Mongitore's *Bibliotheca Sicula* is listed in the bibliography, but there is no mention of Monaci's or Cesareo's notes upon Guido delle Colonne, and Koeppe's and Schick's papers on Lydgate are considered of too little importance to be referred to. The works of Bugge and Krause might have been mentioned when speaking of the Troy legend in Scandanavian mythology; information a little more definite about "Nennius of whom nothing is certainly known" (p. xii), might have been gained from the contributions of Zimmer—the title of whose book is given in the bibliography—Thurneysen and Mommsen; recent publications on the Irish versions of the Troy matter might have been noted,—and why does one think of dusty folios when he meets such names as "Fredegarius Scholasticus" (p. xi) and Ptolemæus Ægyptus" (p. xx)?

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Scènes de voyage de Victor Hugo. Edited with introduction and notes by THOMAS BERTRAND BRONSON, A. M. Vol. I. *De Paris à Aix-la-Chapelle*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1899. Narrow 16mo, buckram, pp. xvi+277.

UNDER the above title the editor has grouped a series of sketches or letters taken from *le Rhin*, a work which Hugo published in two volumes in January, 1842. At that date the

poet was courting political power. The desire to play a rôle in politics had manifested itself the year before, if not earlier. From the moment of his reception into the French Academy in June, 1841, Hugo had apparently been anxious to prove himself a statesman, and had begun at once to write upon France's foreign policy and the political conditions of Europe. Two powers were, according to him, threatening the independence of Europe; these were England and Russia. Against these two France was to form an alliance with Germany; England was to be pushed into the ocean, and Russia into Asia. France was to aid Prussia in extending and unifying her power, and in return the left bank of the Rhine was to be restored to France. Hugo's discussion of this scheme was incorporated in *le Rhin* under the caption: *Conclusion*. It constitutes the third and political part of the work. Evidently also it was for the author the significant part of the work. The earlier "lettres de voyage," from which the present selections are taken, were evidently only intended to introduce or lead up to the political discussion at the close.

A marked political bearing is also noticeable in the author's preface, which is included in the present edition. While Hugo touches upon his reasons for the publication of letters which had been written to a friend a few years before, the question of the Rhine, considered politically, is the most significant feature. This preface, though illustrating here and there the author's inveterate tendency to wordiness, and though containing some needlessly long sentences, offers the student interesting and not difficult reading. Hugo states two or three times that he is publishing his work in two volumes; attention might have been called to the fact that it now appears in three.

In the letters which the editor has given, Hugo reaches Aix-la-Chapelle and has time to discourse at some length, and in an interesting way, upon Charlemagne, relics and reliquaries. The cathedral itself he naturally does not neglect. Hugo has a passion for churches, and gives some detailed descriptions of them in these sketches. He takes pains to mention the names of all the churches in a given town. He not only visits faithfully the churches of the towns where he stops, but also stops to visit any along the road between towns, and men-

tions having spent two hours in one of these latter. At Liège he laments that, on account of the heavy rain, he was able to visit only four churches. The spire is always noted, even if only in the distance. These letters also contain some delightful descriptions of route, river and landscape. Details are at times given touching the inn at which he stops. And proper names, of course, could not be absent. In the use of these Hugo is, in this part of his work, somewhat moderate, at least as compared with letter xxv. later on, with its four hundred and sixty proper names. And yet some pages of the editor's volume are quite full of them, so that the text seems at times overburdened. The notes are occupied largely with the explanation of these proper names, and an alphabetical list, which is appended, shows some two hundred and fifty of them. Hugo had started out with his Vergil and his Tacitus, and he gives his letters a generous sprinkling of Latin quotations (not always from these authors). These also, I think, burden the text at times, and their number might possibly have been reduced somewhat in a classroom aid of this kind. From the standpoint of the class-room, too, it may be said that a couple of passages are retained in the text, which perhaps might better have been cut out or cut down.

The editor's introduction is, to my mind, inadequate. In his estimate of Hugo he appears to have followed the verdict of Barbou, certainly not that of Edmond Biré. Hugo's manly aggressiveness and devotion to principle are praised; his colossal vanity and posing for effect are left untouched. His erudition is emphasized, but the degree to which this erudition may be open to suspicion is not stated. The editor passes over 1830 with the statement that everyone is familiar with the history of Hugo's connection with the Romantic movement. This is perhaps assuming too much, if the introduction is addressed to the ordinary student. The sentence beginning: "He lost his only daughter soon after her marriage," needs correction.

A map accompanies the selections, which are attractively printed. A second volume, entitled *le Rhin et les Alpes*, is to follow.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, April, 1900.

A METHOD OF TEACHING METRICS.

ONE great difficulty in teaching metrics is that the pupils are too often ignorant of the simplest rules of scansion and almost always insensitive to the æsthetic effectiveness of different verse forms. The first object of any teaching of metrics ought to be, therefore, to develop an intelligent appreciation of what the verse contributes to the general excellence of the whole.

Unfortunately, there is, so far, no text book on English Versification which systematically points out the rhetorical reasons which underlie metrical effectiveness. In the absence of a satisfactory text-book I have pieced together a method which I wish briefly to describe, and as far as may be, to justify.

The first, and perhaps the only principle of English verse which has not been questioned or rejected is that accent, or stress, is at least predominant. The notation which most clearly recognizes this is one in which unaccented syllables are marked by an *x*, and accented syllables either by an *a*, or preferably by a mark of accent. The strong point of this notation is that it attempts to mark only stress; the fault of other notations is that they attempt too much. The familiar ∪ - of Classic prosody either assumes that "long" means "stressed" and "short" means "unstressed," and inevitably suggests an equivalence of ancient and modern principles, or it follows Classic rules, which is obviously absurd. The musical notation of Sidney Lanier assumes equivalence of feet and length of line,—assumptions which clearly break down in hundreds of special cases. (Cf. Milton's "Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death.")

The most frequent and apparently the most natural English foot is the Iambus, which consists of two syllables, the second of which receives the stress. This is the measure of all English blank verse, of the sonnet, of the heroic couplet, of the ballad measure, of more than three-fourths of our English lyrics—in short, of at least nine-tenths of the bulk of our verse. Of this enormous quantity of iambic

verse, all the blank verse, all the heroic couplets, all the sonnets, are in the five-foot measure called the iambic pentameter. We may therefore safely assume this five-foot iambic line to be the standard English measure.

Because it is so common, therefore, I begin with blank verse, and because it is possible easily to compare its rhetoric with that of prose without having to account for the effects of rime either upon the structure of the verse, or upon the senses of the reader. Tennyson's blank verse seems best to begin with for several reasons: it is well-known, is uniformly of careful workmanship, in it the word-accent always coincides with the metrical accent, and, since it is practically contemporary, needs for its thorough understanding no study of archaic forms and pronunciations. To begin with, the class takes a hundred lines from one of the *Idylls*, and proceeds to mark the scansion. They are told beforehand only what an iambic pentameter is. At the first recitation, they are shown that in blank verse so good as Tennyson's, the syntax need not be materially different from that of good prose, so that the rhythm seems perfectly natural. As soon as they grasp this idea, they see that variation from the normal is the obvious way to secure emphasis. They find that the omission or the distribution of a metrical accent, and the insertion of extra syllables, do not materially affect the swing of the verse. They find, too, that since there is naturally a pause at the end of each line, even a trochee (the reverse of the iambus) in the first foot does not violently disturb the movement of the line. But they see at once that a trochee after the first foot is likely to bring two accented syllables together, and that the shock to the movement of the line must be justified by a corresponding need for the emphasis; as in *Geraint and Enid*:

"The prince's blood spirted upon the scarf
Dyeing it."

Or this, from *Enoch Arden*:

"Long lines of cliff, breaking, have left a chasm."

In short they see that any variation from the normal order attracts attention, and if the variation is solely for variety and not justified by a demand for emphasis in the sense, the expres-

sion is clearly not adapted to the idea and the verse is faulty.

As soon as the students grow so used to scanning that they notice at once a variation from the normal, it is time to show them that a great many lines may be divided into feet in more than one way. For example, a line from the *Morte D'Arthur*:

"Watch what thou seest, and lightly bring me word,"

may be scanned in at least four ways. The choice, however, is solely one of division into feet, and not of what syllables to accent. The fault is with our notation.

Thus far the students have studied only feet; they next take up the other unit of blank verse—the line. A pause at the end of a five-foot line is not only very natural, but, in the normal line, almost unavoidable, for sheer lack of breath. But a series of five-foot lines with the pause always and only at the ends would prove as monotonous as a long succession of purely iambic feet. The students find, therefore, that in good blank verse there are often pauses within the line and often no pause at the end of the line. They find, too, that the line-emphasis is lessened by feminine endings and polysyllables accented on the antepenult. The distribution of pauses depends not on any demands of the verse but is governed, as in prose, by the effect in view. For example, in Tennyson's *Ulysses*, the short sentences and the frequent pauses within the line lend themselves admirably to the old hero's intense staccato discontent. In *Tithonus*, however, the mood is dreamy and is reflected in the long sentences and smoothly flowing lines whose rhythm is subdued to an undertone.

Next the students learn that five-foot lines have a tendency to break into two or more parts, and that this cutting of the line is called the *cæsura*. They find that *cæsuras* come most naturally after the fourth or sixth syllables, but may come after any syllable, coming least often after the first and ninth. Where there is punctuation within the line, or a pronounced division into syntactical groups, the position of the *cæsura* is usually clear. But in a great many cases, the position or even the presence of the *cæsura* is altogether a matter of elocution.

After a half-dozen lessons the students begin

to see that the very monotony and lack of salient features make blank verse so infinitely adaptable. They see that the mechanical rhythm of foot and line is, and must be, overlaid with a broader, more varied sense-rhythm, and that it is this larger rhythm which marks the difference between the blank verse of the mere versifier and that of the masters.

Of course the students will be very far from a real appreciation of the best blank verse, but they will be so accustomed to a measure marked chiefly by metre that they will be moderately sensitive to the effects produced by rime. So, when the class next takes up the heroic couplet, they hardly need to be told that the rime binds the lines together and tends to limit the expression of a thought to two lines. They see that the rime emphasizes the line-unit, and makes strong pauses within the line less easy than in blank verse. They see, too, that the rime-words, for the very reason that they rime, are more emphatic than other words in the line, and that if the ideas expressed in them do not deserve their emphasis, the verse will seem cheap. But this very compactness, they see, is what made the heroic couplet so exquisitely adapted to Pope's rapier-epigrams. So far as technique is concerned, Pope seems to have realized the heroic couplet's utmost possibilities of pointed brevity. Chaucer, on the other hand, seems to have achieved a marvelous *tour de force* in making the couplet-rime contribute to the easy fluency of his narrative. That Chaucer's feat was marvelous seems tolerably clear from the fact that no other English poet has thus far written in heroic couplets narrative comparable to Chaucer's.

At this point in the course, I have found it profitable to have the class turn a paragraph of narrative blank verse into heroic couplets, and also a series of heroic couplets into blank verse. In order that a comparison of results may be at all fair, it is well to choose paragraphs that are not conspicuously good, for otherwise the class cannot avoid the feeling that they are comparing first-rate work with the students' degrading of it. If, however, the students are made to change ordinarily good passages from one form to the other they will hardly fail to see and to feel the difference in effect.

The class next takes up the four-beat poems,

Il Penseroso and *L'Allegro*, *Marmion*, *Christabel*, *The Ancient Mariner*, and Tennyson's *St. Agnes' Eve* and *Day Dream*. In *Il Penseroso* the paragraphing and the regularity of the feet closely resemble blank verse. In *L'Allegro*, the numerous seven-syllable lines give certain passages a pronounced trochaic effect. In *Marmion*, the substitutions of feet are more irregular, there are occasional three-beat lines, and the paragraphs approach stanza-form. In *Christabel*, the substitutions are still more irregular, and some passages are clearly anapaestic. In the *Ancient Mariner* we find for the first time a definite stanza structure, although Coleridge does not keep to it rigidly. In *Day Dream* and *St. Agnes' Eve*, Tennyson has made use of the chief characteristics of the four-beat measure to reach two almost opposite effects. The fact that the measure has normally only eight syllables makes it necessary to insert numerous extra syllables, or, as in the ballads, to make the rapidly recurring rimes suit a quick hurried movement, or to take advantage of the scanty space of the line to express deep but restrained emotion. The shortness of the line tempts either to unusual fullness or to marked compactness of expression. In *Day Dream*, the swing of the measure is marked and adds vivacity, but in *St. Agnes' Eve* the severe restraint of the measure, increased by the alternate three-beat lines, adds very considerably to the austerity of thought.

In both poems just mentioned the rimes are alternate, so the number of lines in a stanza is likely to be some multiple of four, but with that exception the form is not rigid. In *Palace of Art*, however, and in *To The Daisy*, *To F. D. Maurice*, and *In Memoriam*, we find perfectly definite unvarying stanza structures, which the students should now be able to appreciate, both in their limitations and in their advantages. All the poems mentioned, it will be noticed, have a compact and rather scanty stanza which requires clear cut, restrained workmanship. My students were able to find out for themselves that in *Palace of Art*, for example, the short fourth line, with its rime coming before it is expected, makes the stanza admirably suited to the cameo-like pictures Tennyson puts into it, but that the

very fact that the rime comes before it is expected makes it comparatively easy for Tennyson to link stanzas together by simply softening the last rime and getting you fairly started on the next stanza before you realize it.

In the poems *To The Daisy* and *To the Reverend F. D. Maurice*, the riming of the first, second, and fourth lines, the extra syllable after the last accent of the third line, and the lilt of the fourth line, all serve to enforce their cheery playfulness.

In *In Memoriam*, however, we have a seriousness of theme and a sustained dignity of treatment not found in any of the poems thus far mentioned. This sober loftiness of tone is, of course, primarily in the subject and in the poet's treatment of it, but the metrics of the verse contributes to the general effect. In the first place, the rime-scheme, as Professor Corson has pointed out, binds the stanza together, and yet, because the rime-emphasis of the fourth line is less than that of the second and third, the stanzas follow each other easily, without abrupt breaks. That the stanza structure is distinct appears from the fact that of the six hundred and twenty-four stanzas only ninety-five are run-on. Moreover, in four hundred and eighteen stanzas the emphatic rimes of the second and third lines are softened by run-on lines, the third line being most often the one without a pause. In the second place, the rimes are all masculine. Out of the twelve hundred and forty-eight rimes, there are only twelve cases that could possibly be feminine—*higher, fire*, for example—and all of them can be and usually are monosyllabic. That is to say, Tennyson has here chosen to use rime chiefly to mark line-rhythm and not at all, as elsewhere, for decorative purposes.

After the four-beat measures, the class takes up the shorter ones, and finds that with rare exceptions, they are used for comic or lyric effects, and always in comparatively short compositions.

Since lyrics are more likely than other poems to make the musical element prominent, and since at least a part of the musical effect is due to sound recurrence, I have treated alliteration as a part of metrics, and have found this point in the course a convenient place for its study. Swinburne, so far as I know, uses both alliter-

ation and sound-recurrence most noticeably, so my class at first studies at least five hundred lines of his *Atalanta in Calydon*. They note not only cases of clear alliteration (that is, of repetition of consonant sounds at the beginning of syllables), but the much subtler repetition where only one of the sounds is initial. Then, after the students have a tolerably clear notion of how subtle and yet how inevitably effective this sound recurrence is, they take up, each one, some poem notable for its melody, and see how far they can analyze the adaptation of sound to sense. They are at least sure of realizing more clearly than ever before how wonderfully and surely thought and expression adapt themselves organically, and in the best literature are so fused that it seems that the idea in question can have no other fit expression.

In the lyric poems are also found most of the anapæstic, trochaic, and dactylic measures, although in Palgrave's *Golden Treasury of English Songs and Lyrics* more than three-fourths of the poems are in iambics. This very fact that anapæstic, trochaic and dactylic measures seem a bit foreign makes it easy for the class to see their characteristics, especially after spending so much time on iambic measures.

If we turn now rather abruptly from the short lines to the very long six- seven- or eight-beat measures, the main characteristics of the long lines will appear at once, and the students do not need to be shown that the long lines are likely to be cumbrous unless they have a very strong swing, and that they have an almost inevitable tendency to break near the middle in a strong cæsure. They find clearly-marked stanza forms and involved rime-schemes rare, and they find, too, that rimes tend to occur in the middle of the line.

After a few lessons on the long lines, the class goes back to the five-foot measures, and takes up the *ottava rima* of Byron's *Don Juan*, and finds it a roomy stanza with a rime-scheme that tempts to double, triple, and comic rhymes. If the students turn this stanza into blank verse (as they did Pope's couplets), they find that the point of the line gravitates naturally and almost irresistibly to the rime-words, and especially to those of the final couplet.

Next to the sonnet, the Spenserian stanza is our most important verse-form. Its rime is more involved than that of the *ottava rima*, and makes a more closely bound stanza, for the quatrains are linked by making the second rime of the first quatrain the first rime of the second quatrain. In the *ottava rima*, it will be remembered, the stanza closed with a rimed couplet; the Spenserian stanza closes with an Alexandrine riming with the preceding line, the last of the second quatrain. The length of the stanza and the sweep of the final Alexandrine tempt to fullness and richness of phrase and suit either emotional narrative, as in *Childe Harold*, or decorative description, as in Keats's *Eve of St. Agnes*. As in the case of blank verse, it seems better in treating the Spenserian stanza to begin with modern poets, reserving Spenser until the students are sufficiently familiar with the stanza not to be bothered by Spenser's archaic language.

The rimes of the Spenserian stanza, more clearly than in the other forms we have considered, are very largely decorative. In order to show this plainly it is necessary only to read some stanza of Keats' *Eve of St. Agnes*, in which simple arrangement of phrases, without destroying the cadence, leaves out the rimes. The effect is striking. If the students, however, still doubt the decorative purpose of the rimes, let them contrast Keats's poem with Tennyson's.

The sonnet, which we have left to the last because it is the most complicated of our acclimated verse-forms, is acknowledged to be at once most tempting and most difficult. Much as has been written about it, however, I have never seen any other reason explicitly given for its difficulty, except its scantiness. And yet the rhetorical reason does not seem far to seek. Not only does its shortness preclude a very great many subjects, but its arbitrary division into octave and sestet and its involved rime-scheme make it almost impossible to find subjects which seem to justify the form into which the sonnet forces them. Most sonnets lack inevitableness; you say: Yes, these are poetic thoughts, poetically expressed, but after all they might about as well be fourteen-line poems on some other less arbitrary rime-scheme. Shakspeare's sonnets have sometimes been criticized for departing from the strict

Italian form, and yet rhetorically they justify themselves, for they consist of three quatrains with a couplet conclusion, and the rime-scheme fits the logical division. In other words, as Prof. Corson is so fond of saying, the verse-form is organic, and you cannot substitute another rime-scheme that will be so appropriate.

After as much study of the sonnet as time permits, the class should return to blank verse and take it up historically, for they have now enough knowledge of technique to make a historical method profitable. Moreover, a return to blank verse after a long course in rimed measures, impresses them forcibly with the reasons why blank verse is so superbly adaptable to the expression of so many moods.

If there is no time for this historical study in class, the teacher can assign topics in it for outside work, to be reported on privately or before the class.

The course thus outlined is meant for a class that meets once a week throughout the year, but it can be cut down or expanded to suit different conditions. I have had in mind one main purpose,—to show my students as far as might be the effectiveness of different verse-forms. By taking blank verse first, the students are unable to apply any preconceived notions about poetry, and have to fall back on plain rhetoric. Once fairly started, however, they can study rimed measures and long and short verses from a rhetorical standpoint, without much danger of going far astray. I have chosen always poems of recognized worth, and so far as possible, poems in which some one metrical effect is either prominent or clearly traceable.

The essential features of my plan are the beginning with blank verse and the sharp contrast of different measures and effects. I am not sure that it makes much difference whether we take first the long measures or the short ones, or whether or not we finish up the study of verse-lengths before we take up stanza-structure.

By the end of the course students should not only see, but feel and understand that one definite problem of versification is always the effect of the verse on sentence-structure and of this latter in softening or enforcing metrical struc-

ture. In some verse-forms, as in blank verse, the verse-structure is as unobtrusive as may be; in others, as in the heroic couplet, the verse-form almost compels sententious sentences. In short, they should see that the versification of good poetry is not an arbitrary ornament, but an essential, organic part of the whole.

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MOLIÈRE'S *L'AVARE* AND *LE DRAME BOURGEOIS*.

THE article on the "Source of *L'Avare*" in the January number of the NOTES suggested the timeliness of calling attention to one of the influences which that play exerted on eighteenth century drama, an influence which does not seem to have been placed to its credit by the writers who have especially treated of the history of the French theater. For it would appear that *L'Avare* furnished one of the elements which contributed to the development of La Chaussée's *Comédie larmoyante* and the modern *drame*. The connection between Molière and La Chaussée is made by Destouches in this case, a fact which may have occasioned the oversight of the critics. Lanson, for instance, who does ample justice to the new tone and sentiments of Destouches' *le Glorieux* (see his doctor's dissertation on *Nivelle de la Chaussée*, Paris 1887, pp. 122-125), fails to mention where Destouches found an important part of his material. It was in *L'Avare*.

We remember that *le Glorieux* is a mixture of the comedy of character and the comedy of manners. The comedy of character consists in the portraiture of *le Glorieux*, his love affair with Isabelle forming the plot. In this part of the play there is no essential variation from the serious comedy of the seventeenth century. The comedy of manners consists in the love of the son of the house, Valère, for his sister's attendant, Lisette, who is made her suitor's social equal by the arrival of her long-lost father, Lycandre. This sub-plot contains the novelty of the play. It has pathetic scenes, abounds in virtuous sentiments, and affirms the inherent goodness of human nature, all leading features of La Chaussée's comedies which began

the year following the staging of *le Glorieux*.

A comparison of the sub-plot of *le Glorieux* with the minor plot of *l'Avare* will show the connection between the two. In Molière's play Élise, Harpagon's daughter, is in love with his domestic, Valère. She knows that he has taken service out of love for her, as Valère in *le Glorieux* is probably aware that Lisette was his sister's schoolmate. Both are poor, however, and anticipate the objections which the parents of their true loves would make to their marriage (*l'Avare* i, 1; *le Glorieux* i, 8). The solution of the intrigue is brought about in *l'Avare*, as it will be in *le Glorieux*, by the arrival of the servant's father and his recognition of his child. This father is also the father of the heroine in *l'Avare*, and of the hero in *le Glorieux*—the heroine and hero of the principal plots,—and the relationship thus disclosed accounts for the instinctive sympathy felt by Marianne for Valère (*l'Avare* v. 5), and by Lisette for le Glorieux (*le Glorieux* i. 2, etc.).

Destouches in no way disguises his indebtedness. An avowed follower of Molière, in the preface to *le Glorieux* he expresses the hope that "par quelque route nouvelle, nous pouvons nous rendre supportables après lui!" In the subordinate plot of *le Glorieux* he has merely reversed the condition of his characters. Valère, the domestic in Molière, becomes the son of the house in Destouches, while Élise, the daughter of the family with the former, changes to the maid, Lisette, with the latter. The story of the wandering father, Anselme or Lycandre, is differently told by the two authors, but it is romanesque, novelistic in both. The details of the two actions are also unlike. Still there is little alteration in the thought, notwithstanding Destouches' words: "Toute la gloire dont je puisse me flatter, c'est d'avoir pris un ton qui a paru nouveau." He does not claim that his tone was really "new," and indeed the present fashion of acting *l'Avare*, which makes the play border closely on the *drame*, would justify Destouches' mental reservation. In his day, however, *le Glorieux* with its lack of comic situation and dialogue did seem new, and its author should have the credit of the novelty.

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WORDSWORTH'S REALISM.

II.

ON turning to seek for realism in the descriptive poetry a not unlike result is obtained. The early descriptive poems do not show much realism, and little of the transcendental idealism that afterwards appears as Wordsworth's peculiar characteristic. The tone of these and to a large extent the material are of the mixed pseudo-classic and romantic type traditional in the eighteenth century from Thomson to Cowper. The descriptions of the cock and of the swans in *An Evening Walk* are instances of this, realistic in subject, but on the whole classical in manner. The most noteworthy thing in these early poems is a passage found in *Lines written as a school exercise*. The Power of Education is supposed to be speaking and declares it to be her delight

"to teach the curious soul

To roam from heaven to heaven, from pole to pole,
From thence to search the mystic cause of things
And follow Nature to her secret springs."

Wordsworth thus expresses at the early age of fourteen what becomes his lifelong object,—to trace the hidden springs of nature and to follow things back to their mystic source in the Mind of the universe. If he attains this object at all, he attains it in those transcendent experiences recorded in his most idealistic poetry. In *An Evening Walk*, besides the bits of realism in the poem itself, there are in the introductory note two striking remarks.

"There is not an image in it," he says, "which I have not observed; and now, in my seventy-third year, I recollect the time and the place where most of them were noticed." Further on he declares "that the plan of it has not been confined to a particular walk or an individual place,—a proof (of which I was unconscious at the time) of my unwillingness to submit the poetic spirit to the chains of fact and real circumstance."

Thus there were written within a year of each other two poems that clearly betray, even though unconsciously, two dominant habits of Wordsworth's mind. There is always a loving observation of facts (and an astonishing memory of them), but there is also an even stronger tendency to soar far above the facts of sense into the recesses of the mind where "man's

unfolding intellect "10 reveals things hid from the outer eye.

Imaginative modification of nature assumes in Wordsworth a peculiar form. Besides the usual heightening by rejection or emphasis of details, and the transmutation of a bit of nature into a symbol of human life—both of which are of course common in all imaginative writers—Wordsworth perceives in nature a passion that is like human passion and that mingles with it to create a new thing. This is in no sense an instance of the 'pathetic fallacy,' but a faith as calm as belief in his own existence. He holds that the interaction of these two passions creates a new world, and it is this world of the Imagination, as he calls it, that he wishes particularly to portray. It is the world created in his mind by the perception of the workings of the 'Spirit that rolls through all things.'¹¹ He has somewhat fully analyzed this peculiar mystical union of man's mind and nature in the early part of the fourteenth book of *The Prelude*, and has admirably imaged it in the magnificent description of the domination of the moon over the "silent sea of heavy mist" on the mountainside. This feeling towards nature so far transcends realism that it could scarcely be properly mentioned in this paper, were it not for the contrast thus afforded with truly realistic material. It is difficult to say which of his actual descriptions Wordsworth would himself choose as portraying "the creation which the external World and the Mind with blended might accomplish."¹² Indeed, this creation seems to show itself even to him only in "visionary gleams," and, despite his occasionally sublime elevation of style, one must conclude that at times of great emotional exaltation facts and 'words are in truth but underagents in his soul.'¹³ If, however, it is true that this creation manifests itself less in his nature-description than in his accounts of psychological states, it is also clear that much of his highly imaginative description has a vividness and an accuracy by no means unrealistic. Take, for example, the familiar picture of London in the early morning.

"This City now doth, like a garment, wear
The beauty of the morning; silent, bare,

¹⁰ *The Prelude*, Bk. 12.

¹¹ *Lines Composed above Tintern Abbey*.

¹² *Recluse*.

¹³ *The Prelude*, Bk. 13.

Ships, towers, domes, theatres, and temples lie
Open unto the fields, and to the sky;
All bright and glittering in the smokeless air."¹⁴

Or this description of the sunrise,

"Magnificent

The morning rose, in memorable pomp,
Glorious as e'er I had beheld—in front,
The sea lay laughing at a distance; near,
The solid mountains shone, bright as the clouds,
Grain-tinctured, drenched in empyrean light;
And in the meadows and the lower grounds
Was all the sweetness of a common dawn—
Dews, vapours, and the melody of birds,
And laborers going forth to till the fields."¹⁵

The realism in such description as this lies somewhat in the main subject, but chiefly in the fine precision of word, in the number and character of the details, and in the vivid truth of the whole picture. The idealism lies in the sweep of imagination, the exalted style, and the atmosphere of sublime emotion. As to the question of generalization of description, this is not much found even in the imaginative examples. The two passages cited are obviously portrayal of single experiences; and very slight investigation shows that while *The Prelude* and *The Excursion* contain a great deal of mixed and generalized narrative and description, Wordsworth nevertheless constantly stops to describe a single scene, and no matter how much typical value it may have for him, it is still given individual treatment.

On a plane considerably lower, regarded as poetry, than such description as that quoted, stands a group of poems in part description and in part reflection and application to life. Among these are the poems on the celandine, the daisy, the butterfly, and the cuckoo. These are the 'unassuming Commonplaces of Nature, with homely faces,'¹⁶ and in the mere choice of them as poetic material Wordsworth is at once realistic. His purpose, however, is precisely the same as in his choice of the poor and the humble among men,—not to paint them as they seem merely, but to reveal their hidden spiritual beauty, to lift them into emotional sympathy, and to derive from them their lesson of humility, patience, and ceaseless striving. Hence he throws over them the same "coloring of imagination" that he gives to lowly humanity, and seeks to show them in similar

¹⁴ *Composed upon Westminster Bridge*.

¹⁵ *The Prelude*, Bk. 4.

¹⁶ *To the same Flower (Daisy)*.

"unusual aspects."¹⁷ These poems are nearly all generalized; it is not a daisy that claims the attention so much as *the* daisy. Some, however, are individualized, as are in part at least the first poem to the cuckoo; also the two in praise of the skylark; while in the third poem on the celandine there is not only a record of an individual experience, but there is something dramatic in the way the habit of the flower throws a sudden half-tragic light on human life. One of the most pleasing of this class is *The Kitten and Falling Leaves*; full of dainty observation and hinted reflection, it has a certain degree of realism in both subject and treatment. There seem to be fewer failures among these simple descriptions than among the corresponding class of narratives. The subjects are of course slighter, they demand no dramatic power, and if they are pathetic, are so delicately so that the half-concrete half-indefinite style in which they are clad renders them still sufficiently vivid. The result is that Wordsworth often seems in these poems to have acquired a new grace of touch and tenderness of feeling in speaking to the motionless little butterfly, taking pleasure in the celandine's "arch and wily ways,"¹⁸ or meeting the daisy "like a pleasant thought, when such are wanted."¹⁹

The discussion thus far has been chiefly concerned with the question of direct and individualistic portraiture of humble life and of nature. Brief treatment must be given, however, to several other ways in which Wordsworth's material may show realistic traits.

The wish to keep well within the range of ordinary human life in the choice of conditions is a mark of the modern realist. The circumstances he chooses are usual and familiar; men are seen combatting them, and frequently failing to control others or sinking under their own passions. Wordsworth's narratives show to some extent all these characteristics. It is true that the rustic life in the English lake district cannot be said to have been that of large classes of people, or even to have been much known in Wordsworth's day. In a sense this material was truly romantic because it was new to literature, as was also the mountain scenery.

¹⁷ Preface, 1800.

¹⁸ *To the Same Flower* (Celandine).

¹⁹ *To the Daisy*.

Nevertheless, the more Wordsworth's material is studied, and his purpose in choosing it, the stronger grows the conviction that the romanticism of it is accidental. Wordsworth was not seeking *romance*, the gala of the world,—indeed he expressly disclaimed it,—nor was he transported as Scott was by the fantastic rugged charm of mountain life. He was seeking for deep spiritual truths, he was essentially a moralist; and he found these truths best revealed as he thought in the shepherd life he had loved from childhood. Thus, while it remains true that Wordsworth's realism in the choice of subjects is incidental and subordinated to distinct ethical effects, it is likewise true that his romanticism in subject is, as regards his intention, accidental, and belongs to his time rather than to himself. There is left, springing from himself alone and transcending both the realism and the romance, his principal purpose: to set forth and to illustrate the primary laws of human nature acting under vivid excitement. For this he did indeed choose material true to external fact; and material new, fresh, hence in a large technical sense romantic; but these qualities were in his view presupposed or accessory. Wordsworth was not accustomed, as we are, to think that he belonged to the 'romantic movement;' and he was still less aware that he might be classed with realists. Though himself a literary theorist, his practice of these particular theories was somewhat unintentional and unconscious. Accordingly, while we cannot say that the peasant life pictured by Wordsworth offered or offers in any large sense familiar and ordinary conditions, yet to himself these conditions were the best known, and therefore, the most real and ordinary. It is interesting to notice, however, that in his choice of materials from these conditions, he was governed by his idealistic or his ethical tendency, and therefore sometimes selected and even emphasized the extraordinary rather than the commonplace. Thus here again there is the peculiar blending of realism and idealism that exists everywhere in Wordsworth's literary product.

The subjection of men to circumstances and their own passions naturally leads in realistic art to a considerable degree of vice and crime. A frequent theme in Wordsworth's narratives

is the struggle of a human being against adverse conditions or against the effects of a crime, committed, however, usually by another. The American and the French revolutions gave him abundant material for portraying the loss of property, of means of livelihood, and of hope among the poor. Desolated cottages and deserted wives make many appeals to his sympathies and afford many examples of patient resignation or of pitiful despair. One of the most pathetic and artistic of these narratives is the tale of Margaret related in the first book of *The Excursion*. Margaret is the victim of her circumstances, and the poem is a study of the slow decay of mind caused by exhausting sorrow and racking uncertainty. Detailed suggestive description, especially of the cottage and garden, is the means employed to portray this. Nowhere does Wordsworth use more subtle touches in objectifying mental conditions. At first the difference is shown only by the

'honeysuckle hanging in heavier tufts, and the stonecrop growing along the window's edge. The garden lags behind the season, the borders are broken and the flowers need support; the cornerstones of the porch are stuck o'er with tufts and hairs of wool from the sheep that feed on the common.'

But later,

'the house bespeaks the sleepy hand of negligence, the floor is neither dry nor neat, the hearth comfortless, and books with straggling leaves lie scattered here and there open or shut. In the garden weeds deface the hardened soil, the herbs and flowers seem gnawed away, and the bark of a young apple tree nibbled by truant sheep.'

How markedly this minute study of grief contrasts with the brief tragic close of *Michael*! The realism in the class of poems of which the story of Margaret is typical, consists first, in the representation of the personages as suffering after the manner of living beings, instead of standing heroically superior to aches and griefs, in allowing them to lament and complain of the bitterness of their fate even while they may struggle against it; and also, in the presentation of their stories with details that would almost certainly escape a writer less carefully observant than Wordsworth. Nevertheless, Wordsworth's use of crime as distinguished from misfortune cannot be said to be

realistic. It is employed either, as in *Guilt and Sorrow* and *Peter Bell*, to show a repentance; or, as in *Ruth*, to serve as a background for the sufferings of an innocent victim. Actual criminals are not frequent in Wordsworth's poetry, and even the few presented have no particular vitality. Critics admit that Wordsworth shows but a limited understanding of human nature. A few great elementary emotions he knows better, perhaps, than any other English poet; but he has no humor, little passion, and his interest in human character is moral only. He does not understand such a fickle heady youth as he sketches in the poem *Ruth*. Nor does he comprehend such a transformation as Peter Bell is supposed to undergo. Wordsworth was never struck from his own base of uprightness, thus learning of vice from experience, and he had not the dramatic human imagination that gives vicarious instruction. Consequently he misses in *Peter Bell*, *The Last of the Flock* and elsewhere the conflict between good and evil purposes in which the psychological realist revels. He is enough of a psychologist to record the conflict, but as realistic material it slips through his fingers and leaves the bare story. A similar limitation has often been remarked in his treatment of nature. He shows no perception of the cruelty of nature; and though he occasionally pays tribute to the power and majestic beauty of storms, these seem to arouse him less than the sublime aspects of nature in calmness. The irregularity, caprice, and treachery of angry nature or of stormy human passion receive no recognition in his poetry. Nor are his pictures of crime and criminals impersonal and impassive as the modern realist wishes his to be. For this he is not sufficiently realistic in theory, his feelings are too keen, and he is too active a moralist. In fact, nowhere in his work does he exhibit the realist's impassivity, few English writers being more subjective than he.

The tendency manifested by modern realism to study close personal ties, as for example those of the family, is not much found in Wordsworth. Though he undoubtedly presents, often forcibly, the ties of the home, the "primary affections,"²⁰ yet these show in his

²⁰ Matthew Arnold, *Essays in Criticism*, "Wordsworth."

treatment only familiar general phases, and he makes no such minute social studies as are found in recent realistic narrative.

As for city and street life, Wordsworth's poetry is so largely concerned with the country and the individual that one is not surprised to find in his pictures of London in the seventh book of *The Prelude* little conception of the corporate activity of men, and little recognition or enjoyment of characteristic street scenes. Nowhere are his undramatic temper and his ponderous seriousness more clearly displayed than in his representations of city life. To him it is one interminable, inextricable, "blank confusion."²¹ He describes London as Thomson describes nature—in general terms; and the few particular things he selects for comment, as the father holding his sick child in the sun, are such as would strike him anywhere. Yet in spite of this, there is a reality, possibly even slight realism, in the broad effects of these descriptions; in the impression of hurried ceaseless activity, of individuality swallowed up, and of desolation in the midst of a crowd.

Before passing on to a study of realism in Wordsworth's style, a kind of material that is neither personage, incident, nor nature-observation, must be briefly considered. It consists in reflection and comment on the workings of the poet's own mind. In introspection, after all, lie Wordsworth's greatest originality and his chief power. And it might be difficult to deny that therein lies also his greatest degree of realism. Certain it is that in this field more than elsewhere is found the scientific passion for tracing causes and effects. He succeeds here, far more than his special limitations permit in his treatment of men, in 'searching out the mystic cause of things.'²² His self-study is much deeper, more subtly penetrative than his studies of human life, and even than his studies of nature. Wordsworth is a natural psychologist,—not indeed by training, but by the structure and habit of his mind. Despite his untechnical emotionalized vocabulary, and his ethical purpose, superimposed, as it were, his deepest interest is in his own mental life. That it is a life unusually enriched in some directions by poetic sensibility, is but an added source of interest. To him the most real things

are the things of his own mind. In this introspective observation he is as much concerned with the lower elements, the sense-basis, as in the outer world he is careful to observe even unimportant objects, and just as certain also to pass beyond the sensation into complex intellectualized emotion. His procedure is the same in each case.

"I looked for universal things, perused
The common countenance of earth and sky; . .
I called on both to teach me what they might;
Or, turning the mind in upon herself,
Pored, watched, expected, listened, spread my thoughts
And spread them with a wider creeping; felt
Incumbencies more awful, visitings
Of the Upholder of the tranquil soul, . . .
. . . Whate'er of Terror or of Love

Or beauty, Nature's daily face put on
From transitory passion, unto this
I was as sensitive as waters are
To the sky's influence in a kindred mood
Of passion; was obedient as a lute
That waits upon the touches of the wind."

Yet,

"a plastic power
Abode with me, a forming hand,"
and thus,

"I had a world about me—'twas my own;
I made it, for it only lived to me, . .
It was no madness, for the bodily eye
Amid my strongest workings evermore
Was searching out the lines of difference
As they lie hid in all external forms,
Near or remote, minute or vast, an eye
Which . . .
Could find no surface where its power might sleep;
Which spake perpetual logic to my soul,
And by an unrelenting agency
Did bind my feelings even as in a chain."

In this way was created

"that interminable building reared
By observation of affinities
In objects where no brotherhood exists
To passive minds."²³

In these higher emotions here suggested, and claimed by lovers of Wordsworth as his peculiar domain, he seems so far to transcend the fact of sense that it is almost as if it had not been. He himself declares that in his perception of

"a motion and a Spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things,"

he has found "abundant recompense" for the joys felt when nature "haunted him like a passion" and "had no need of any interest unborrowed from the eye."²⁴

²¹ *The Prelude*, Bk. 7.

²² Lines written as a school exercise.

²³ *The Prelude*, Bks. 2 and 3.

²⁴ Lines Composed above Tintern Abbey.

The actual "building," the mental state, resulting from these highly complex processes has already been put outside realistic categories and used for the purposes of contrast. Nevertheless, a consideration of these states leads directly to a study of Wordsworth's realism in method. These psychological pictures, if they may be called so, are first of all emotional; all the poet's ideas are steeped in feeling at once rapturous and contemplative; ecstatic, yet "wide-spreading, steady, calm."²⁵ In the method of describing these conditions of mind, however, lies the point of interest here. Any emotional state must as yet be suggested rather than scientifically analyzed; but whatever science may do, art will probably always confine itself somewhat strictly to the picture method. When the word analysis is applied, for example, to a realistic novelist's treatment of a bit of life, it refers to the minuteness with which the author notes and represents the elements of the experience, their interaction, the changes in intensity and duration, and the outward manifestations of all these. In other words, such analysis is a process of observing, recording, and representing. Psychological fiction is full of this kind of analysis, though it is sometimes cramped by the demands of the work as a story. Wordsworth, in the mental history recorded in *The Prelude* and *The Excursion*, labors under little such restriction, and he repeatedly traces the growth and change of mental states—analyzes them. His method of doing so is detailed and presentative, picturing; though usually employing terms of feeling and less detailed in manner, possibly, it is as searching and investigative of causes and relations as the method of any psychological realist. Perhaps the best instance of a prolonged exercise of this analytical power is the account of his mental transformations during the early years of the French revolution.²⁶ How patiently and unsparingly he seeks for all the movements of mind, their causes and their results!

From all the foregoing it should be evident that this investigative accurately recording mode of work, found with its fullest best results in his reflective poetry, really affects everything Wordsworth wrote; and that his

method, in the large sense, consists just in this.

On turning to a consideration of style in the narrower sense, and of structure, one becomes aware of several ways in which Wordsworth's practice seems to be that of recent realism. The first that suggests itself is the poet's declaration that he means to use the real language of men. His purpose in this has already been explained. All that need be done here is to remark that in several prefatory notes, for example, on *Simon Lee* and on *Resolution and Independence*, he states that he has transcribed the language of the speaker. The simplicity of his style in such poems also as *Her Eyes Are Wild* is due in part no doubt to the desire to reproduce actual speech; but in general it may be said that Wordsworth makes little claim to copy precisely, as the realist does, the language of the person or the class portrayed. The source of the peculiar and labored simplicity in the style of many of his narratives has been correctly indicated by M. Legouis in his study of Wordsworth.²⁷ It is due, he says, to the opinion the poet held of truth and beauty of manner as found in the ballad poetry of Percy's *Reliques*. The tone of Wordsworth's ballad narratives is in almost every case distinctly lower than that of similar narratives told in blank verse. The failure of *Peter Bell* is due chiefly to its metre and form, even though the subject is not one altogether fitted to Wordsworth. The material being obviously capable of better effects, he would unquestionably have produced more of these, had he chosen some other form. In the setting, however, are suggestions of a gleeman's tale, and in manner the poem suggests some of the *Ingoldsby Legends*. This serio-comic air degrades the mysterious influences that startle Peter—"Spirits of the Mind," Wordsworth wishes them to be—into tricks of overheated fancy. The reader feels no sense of mystery, and is inclined to regard what the personage feels as a hoax. Wordsworth's narratives are nearly all dramas of the soul, having little outward action, and he could scarcely have chosen a less suitable metre for psychological studies than the ballad metre. Yet, though given this form, *Peter Bell*, *The Thorn*, and others, lack many of the essential traits of a good ballad.

²⁵ *The Prelude*, Bk. 4.

²⁶ *The Prelude*, Bk. 9 ff.

²⁷ Legouis, *La Jeunesse de Wordsworth*, Paris, 1896.

Their style, instead of being distinguished by swift easy flow, dramatic directness, and brief pregnant expression, is diffuse, heavily charged with details, and of an almost puerile simplicity. Though the author's aim in such poems may have been to present truth and fact, their effect cannot honestly be called realistic, or even true. Realism, in the choice of details, there certainly is in all these poems, as when we learn that the Thorn is

"Not five yards from the mountain path,
And to the left three yards beyond
You see a little muddy pond
Of water."

Or again when it is related (first edition) that Goody Blake dwelt in Dorsetshire

"And in that country coals are dear,
For they come far by wind and tide."

Trifling, or unnecessary details, are thus used by Wordsworth for the same reason as they appear in the work of systematic realists; namely, to give veracity and life-likeness; but their presence is due also, and more, to a lack of humor, and even to a lack of taste. They disappear from his work whenever he is swayed by powerful feeling. His eye, then, is still sufficiently observant, and his mind discriminates, as it never does otherwise, between triviality and vigorous poetical truth. The evidence furnished, not only by the poems but by the notes, of his belief in the value of even the slightest information concerning his work, is at times critically ludicrous; yet it has worth, too, as indicating once more the self-analytical character of Wordsworth's mind.

Again, in looseness of structure, disregard for plot and story-interest, and in lack of formal, occasionally even logical, coherence, Wordsworth once more seems to show traits of realism. But it must not be forgotten that he was never theoretically a realist in the modern sense. As to these particular points, they are not the result of the realist's desire to reproduce the confusion of crude actuality. They are due more to carelessness, and to a thoughtful widely-comprehensive rather than a polishing habit of mind. Some of the notes testify to the attempt to reach unity, and most of the short poems have in general both unity and coherence.

Nothing is more evident, indeed, than that it is most easy to exaggerate the realistic tenden-

cies and effects in Wordsworth's work, especially if the critic undertakes to regard these as consciously and intentionally realistic. Many are due, undoubtedly, to his express belief in the value of the actual concrete fact; others arise from personal peculiarities. To pronounce absolute judgment on individual cases thus becomes difficult if not impossible; and it has been the chief object of this paper to show that while in sub-structure and in method Wordsworth's work may be regarded as truly realistic and analytical, what he builds on this realistic foundation is as clearly personal and idealistic. Aside from his method, we estimate his realism rather by his defects than by his excellences.

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THE 'EVIL SPIRIT' IN GOETHE'S FAUST I.

THE opinion has been ably defended in these columns that the 'Böse Geist' in the cathedral scene represents the voice of Gretchen's conscience, and in support of this view Prof. Wilson quotes Gretchen's exclamation: *Ach wir ich der Gedanken los*, etc. It is always best, and really the only safe way, to rely on the poet's own language. Hence we need go no farther, and accept the passage as conclusive. What the *Böse Geist* says is Gretchen's own thought.

The question may, however, be raised: was it the poet's intention to represent only her conscience? It would seem that the *Böse Geist* is an impersonation in the same sense that the *Erdegeist* is. We must, therefore, attribute to him a certain character. As the equivalent of Gretchen's conscience the conception would be merely allegorical. But Goethe shuns allegories as frigid,—with him everything becomes concrete, plastic, tangible. He is anything but a mystic,—his artistic sense, and also his scientific way of thinking, preserved him from this tendency. Of sentimental vamping there is no trace in him, even the powerfully emotional features in his works start from, and rest on, a realistic basis. Hence no poet may be taken more completely *au pied de la lettre*, provided only it is done with due respect for the poetic form and intention.

I believe it is the more general view that the

Evil Spirit personifies Gretchen's conscience, and it is, in a sense, a correct view. But Gretchen's thoughts are not merely dictated by the sense of her own failings—this would be conscience; they reflect also the religious views that her education had inculcated in her. The dark side of these views is embodied in the Evil Spirit, and the latter is so far a poetic production in the same sense, though not in the same degree, as Mephistopheles. He is the 'tormentor' believed in by the church, therefore a reality for Gretchen. It may be argued that the unhappy girl does not recognise him as such, and that her exclamation *Ach wär ich der Gedanken los* disposes of the theory of an outside agency personified in the form of the Evil Spirit. It seems to me, however, that, inasmuch as the Spirit only expresses the thoughts of Gretchen, and does so as a distinct person, it must have been the purpose of the poet to represent him, if not as the original cause of these thoughts, at least as the present instigator or suggester of the same. It is through him that these thoughts assume such a religious coloring as we find in these significant lines:

Grimm fasst dich!
Die Posaune tönt!
Die Gräber beben!
Und dein Herz,
Aus Aschenruh
Zu Flammenqualen
Wieder aufgeschaffen,
Bebt auf!

The voice of conscience conjures up the wrong the person has done, presents it in its most terrible aspects, and leads to remorse. It is clearly expressed in the opening lines 3776-3793. But here we see something that is quite different, quite distinct from the reproaches of conscience, a threat of terrible meaning which has nothing to do with remorse.

If Goethe intended the Evil Spirit in this scene *only* as the voice of conscience, it would seem he committed an artistic mistake. The voice of conscience is loudest in privacy. How much more impressive would the self-accusations of Gretchen have sounded in her humble room, in the privacy of her bed-chamber? But the poet takes us to the Cathedral. The organ peals forth its majestic tones, the solemn and terrible *Dies iræ* resounds through the echoe-

ing vault, the altar, with its priest and acolytes, is before her, neighbors right and left, a multitude of things and persons that perplex and bewilder, while they fill the humble soul with awe and perhaps with terror.

This is the situation. It is not one favorable to hear the 'still small voice,' but one eminently proper to call up before the mind the visions of heaven and hell, of the glory and of the torment in the world to come.

The thoughts that now overcome Gretchen are exactly such as the surroundings could not help suggesting to a simple mind like hers. Without understanding the language, she feels the effect of that terrible:

Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvat sæclum in favilla.

Now the organ strikes in and the Evil Spirit tells her of the fiery torments which await her on the day of judgment. The organ takes away her breath (l. 3810), the chant melts her heart in its lowest depths, and now rings forth:

Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet apparebit,
Nil inultum remanebit.

Gretchen's anguish increases, but the Tormentor does not cease his cruel work, and the chant breaks in:

Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?
Quem patronum rogaturus?
Cum vix justus sit securus.

Once more the evil spirit raises his voice:

Ihr Antlitz wenden
Verklärte von dir ab,
Die Hände dir zu reichen
Schauert's den Reinen,
Weh!

And the chorus for the last time:

Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?

Is it possible to believe that the poet introduced all these effects for no other purpose than to impersonate Gretchen's conscience?

The scene would be impressive without the Evil Spirit; it becomes dramatic by his presence.

In Gretchen's belief the Evil spirit is a reality, though we are not, perhaps, expected to think that she knows he is near her. Her belief is the typical one of the middle ages. In that belief a human transgression is a *sin*, and a sin has a theological significance: it was inspired, and will finally be punished, by the 'Temptor,' who will then be the 'Tormentor.'

Bet'st du für deiner Mutter Seele, die
Durch dich zur langen, langen Pein hinüberschlief?
Auf deiner Schwelle wessen Blut? etc.

Gretchen is praying for her mother, but her mother had died without a final confession, consequently in sin. What a fearful idea for the poor girl, suggested and fostered by the Church, and quite distinct from the bitterness of remorse. There is only one way to escape the dire consequences of sin: the absolution of sins granted by the Church. If this absolution has not been obtained, the guilty one becomes forever the victim of the 'Evil one,' subject to never-ending torture of the most appalling kind. If we put ourselves into the mental attitude of Gretchen, what do we see? The prospect of an everlasting punishment in the torments of hell for her mother. For this is the great sin of Gretchen: to have caused her mother to die without the absolution of the church. By her belief she cannot doubt what the evil spirit tells her. Her mother "slept into" (*hinüberschlief*) the long, eternal torment. The other sin is her brother's death caused by her culpable love for Faust. He too died without absolution. These thoughts weigh upon her, and in so far as are in her conscience, but they come originally to her from without, from the associations and teachings of the church, from the awful chant which she hears, and which awakens in her mind the lessons taught her when she, an innocent girl, prattled her prayers, *Gebete lallte*, and only carelessly listened to the awful doctrine.

Und ihr Verbrechen war ein guter Wahn says Faust, and so say we who no longer share the beliefs of the medieval church. But Gretchen, as the consequences of her delusion come home to her with awful distinctness, cannot say so. The more she feels the significance of what she has done, the more intensely appear before her inner eye the terrible menaces of the church. All this the poet impersonates in the 'Evil Spirit,' exactly as he impersonated in Mephistopheles all that is negative, sceptical, indifferent, and flippant in human nature. Our pity for Gretchen grows infinite when we ponder over the incredible misery which must invade her soul, precisely because she is an unsophisticated, artless, and utterly unsceptical believer in the infallibility of the doctrines of the church.

In her belief it is the Devil that threatens and torments her in that scene so heart-rending in its bottomless pathos.

There is a curious parallelism between the "Evil Spirit" of this scene and the "furies" of the Greeks. These furies also may be said to represent the conscience of the tormented person, but they are nevertheless poetic creations, and they are a representation not only of the conscience, but of the entirety of the *belief* of their victim. Therein lies the great difference between a mere abstraction and a concrete form for that abstraction, the visible realization of a conception. Schiller felt this when he advised Goethe to make the furies appear bodily on the stage, in the third act of his *Iphigenie auf Tauris*. I have shown in the Introduction to my edition of this drama that Goethe could not do so, because the entire conception of this work rested upon the poet's absolute disregard for the Greek idea of redemption and expiation, though, at the same time, he makes the most skilful use of the ancient beliefs as *motifs* for his characters. But in the case of Faust the immensity of his fault, which consists in his frivolous treatment of Gretchen, largely appears in the latter's child-like faith in the teachings of her religion. This faith makes her resist the proffered help in the last act. She dies because she feels that there can be no forgiveness for her in any other way, and we are made to feel that she is saved, in the sense of her own belief, because she had the strength to resist this last temptation. But even this resistance is due to an outward cause, the fear of the 'evil one,' as lines 4455-4459 show. Goethe evidently felt that he needed to give an outward form to the imaginary 'fiend' or 'tormentor,' at least in one scene. He chose that most impressive one in the Cathedral. Here, where all the surroundings call up early associations, the tremendous weight of the doctrine of a personal devil who will torment the evil-doer forever and ever falls upon her and crushes her. We may not *see* the evil one, and, probably, a visible impersonation would not add anything to the unparalleled impressiveness of the scene, but, at all events, we *hear* what is whispered into Gretchen's ear: hence there is a distinct outside action which must proceed from a person, and this person is the creation of

religious faith, the 'fiend,' the 'evil one' in whose existence Gretchen believes as firmly as she does in the existence of God.

The scene in the Cathedral stands in the closest relation to the scene in the dungeon. Gretchen, the beloved of Faust, whom she still loves with every fibre of her heart, resists resolutely the offer of freedom and of whatever happiness a life with the beloved man might yet have in store for her. It is true she is crazed, and her instinctive horror of Mephistopheles drives her into a frenzy, but all this is the result of the despairing thoughts that possess her mind. She has learned—her confessor must have told her so—that she cannot gain any hope of forgiveness in the world to come, unless she offers her own life in expiation. Who does not feel the misery of this stricken soul as she writhes in her anguish! But she must resist—she must give up freedom, life, every trace of earthly happiness! We feel that she must, precisely because her faith is implicit, artless, absolute. I believe it is only necessary to consider this, in order to recognize the poetic appropriateness of the *Böse Geist* in the Cathedral scene. It does not follow, and I feel compelled to state this here to escape misinterpretation, that Gretchen is not moved and tormented also in other ways. The poem tells this plainly and powerfully.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

- A. *Six Jolis Contes*, avec préface et notes par ALPHONSE N. VAN DAELL. Boston: Publié par *L'Echo de la Semaine*. 8vo, pp. 56.
- B. *French Reading for Beginners*, with notes and vocabulary by OSCAR KUHN. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1899. 12mo, pp. 310.
- C. *Contes fantastiques* by ERCKMANN-CHATRIAN, edited with brief notes and vocabulary by EDWARD S. JOYNES. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1899. 8vo, pp. xii+172.
- D. *Episodes from "Sans Famille"* by HECTOR MALOT, edited with notes and vocabulary by I. H. B. SPIERS. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1899. 12mo, pp. 167.
- E. *Molière's "Les Précieuses Ridicules,"* edited with introduction and notes by WALTER DALLAM TAY. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1899. 12mo, pp. xv+62.
- F. "*Scènes de la Révolution française*" from the "*Histoire des Girondins*" by ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE, selected and edited with notes by O. B. SUPER. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1900. 12mo, pp. vi+157.

A. It is with a distinct sense of bereavement, with a deep feeling of sorrow, that this collection of stories is reviewed. In his preface, the editor states that he purposes to "continue the publication of volumes of the same size." With what pleasure, with what confidence would texts prepared by this able teacher and editor have been welcomed!

The following paragraph is from the preface:

"No grammatical explanations seemed needed which a competent teacher could not readily give, and therefore it would have been a waste of space to offer them in the notes."

This view of the uselessness of grammatical annotation would be correct, if such annotation were an end in itself and not a means to the better appreciation of the text. Grammatical explanations are given, not with the idea of teaching a rule for the sake of teaching a rule, but with the object of explaining the construction of a phrase or sentence, so that the meaning of that and future similar phrases and sentences may be more accurately grasped. In other words, a student knows his grammar, not when he can repeat all the rules by heart, but when he can apply them with precision. For the pupil to wait until the teacher gives the needed grammatical explanation, means that he must prepare his lessons privately without an accurate knowledge of the various constructions he meets. And, further, every teacher knows how likely is a student to remember a grammatical explanation given orally by the instructor to the whole class. This discussion, however, need not proceed further now. The question, of course, remains of how full this grammatical annotation should be. It would seem that it all depends on the class of students

for whom the text is prepared, and upon the acquaintance these have with the language.

The following corrections would be desirable if a new edition of this text be required, as most probably will be the case. 20: for *toute entière* read *tout entière*. 24: insert comma between *assis* and *debout*. 35: the expressions *comme un fondeur de cloches* and *être la mer à boire* might be explained. 36: the reference in the last two lines of this page had better be explained.

As for the notes, it does not seem necessary to number them for each page, unless the corresponding numbers appear in the text. 52: insert "*polisson* or" before "street-boy," so as to indicate fully the composition of *polissonner*. 53: explain what is understood in *à la prussienne*. The end of the note on *si* is somewhat confused. Notice that *té* is explained further on (p. 54). *pardi* might be followed by "—French *pardieu*." 55: correct the note on *canne-pliant*: "a cane that is used as a folding chair;" there has been here some confusion with the term *un siège pliant* or, simply, *un pliant*. It might be useful to explain the composition of *étrenner*.

B. The editor of *French Reading for Beginners* has shown remarkable ability in the grading of his prose selections, which very gradually, and consistently, increase in difficulty, from the first simple anecdotes to the final story by Erckmann-Chatriaux. As the editor writes in his preface, these selections are "unhackneyed," the only old acquaintances being Daudet's *La dernière classe* and *Le siège de Berlin*.

This is perhaps all that can be said in commendation of this reader. The few poetical selections do scant justice to French poetry. They represent by no means the best poetry that could be read with beginners, even with very young beginners. The notes seem to have been prepared without much system, and quite regardless of the fact that a vocabulary follows, many common words and expressions being translated identically in both these parts of the reader. It would seem that the editor had endeavored, by his notes, to spare the student every possible difficulty, or anxiety as to the meaning of any expression, and then, not deeming this annotation sufficient, had added

a vocabulary in which most of these explanations are repeated. There may possibly be found in our American institutions some pupils who would need such assistance.

The following changes should be made in the text. 20: 2, for *mauvais* read *mauvaise*. 23: 29, for *récit* read *récit*. 24: 9, for *le* read *la*. 25: 29, for *échangèrent* read *échangèrent*. 26: 15, for *ça* read *çà*. 31: 8, for *puis qu'* read *puisque*. 46: 8, insert dash at beginning of line, also for 51: 25. 55: 19, *fond-rières* should be divided *fon-drières*. 60: 27, explain the expression *mettre cinq pieds de terre entre eux*. 63: 23, for *côtès* read *côtés*. 70: 9, insert hyphen between *eux* and *mêmes*, also between *là* and *dessus* (71: 10). 72: 22, for *étouffes*, read *étouffés*. 72: 29, for *était* read *était*. 73: 18, insert dash at beginning of line, 73: 30, for *soulevè* read *soulevé*. 74: 24, for *étais* read *étais*. 74: 25, for *opérais* read *opérais*. 75: 27, for *un* read *une*. 80: 5, for *la* read *là*. 83: 14, for *grandmère* read *grand'mère*. 90: 26, insert hyphen between *demande* and *à-il*. 100: 11, delete hyphen in *très-en*. 103: 17, for *rappeer* read *appeler*. 103: 18, correct *direct out*. 104 (note), for *cléf* read *clé*. 107: 20, omit hyphen between *très* and *grand*, as is generally done in this reader, or explain this older spelling. 109: 29, same remark for *très-fier*. 113: 10, the hyphen is not desirable at the end of the line between *jusqu'* and *alors*, for such separation is avoided; it had better be *jus-qu'alors*. 114: 5, for *descend-ant* read *descendant*. 114: 21, for *qui* read *qu'*. 124: 14, for *pèlerinage* read *pèlerinage*. 131: 2, for *inquiètes* read *inquiètes*. 132: 10, for *établissaient* read *établissaient*. 132: 23, for *helas* read *hélas*. 137: 4, for *eveilla* read *éveilla*. 147: 24, insert dash at beginning of line. 152: 16, for *très-sombre* see remark on 107: 20. 159: 28, see remark on 107: 20, also for 174: 18 and 26. 176: 1, for *vo vous-* read *vous vo-*. 176: 12, for *déjà* read *déjà*. These frequent errors of accent should be noted. An editor should not make those very mistakes that teachers have to correct so often and so carefully in the exercises of American students.

As illustrations of useless and actually harmful annotation, especially in a text accompanied by a vocabulary, may be mentioned the following, the remarks in parenthesis being by the

reviewer. 199: *ayant soif*, being thirsty; *lurent*, pret. of *lire* (see vocabulary under *lurent*!); *je voudrais bien savoir*, I should like very much to know; *il y a*, there is (see vocabulary under *avoir* and *il*! *y* is not given at all in vocabulary!); *là-dessous*, under there (see voc. under *dessous* and *là*!); *se mit*, began (see voc. under *mettre*!); *aux environs*, in the neighborhood. 200: *se met en route*, starts out (see voc. under *mettre*!); *chansons*, nonsense (see voc. under *chansons*!); *en invoquant*, by invoking; *ce que*, what, literally=that which (see voc. under *ce*!); *te voilà*, here you are (see voc. under *voilà*, where *te voilà* is translated "there you are"!); *bien*, good; 201: *grille*, iron railing (translated "iron gate" in vocabulary!); *n' . . . que*, only (see voc. under *que*, *ne* not being given at all!); *d'apr's*, according to (see voc. under *après*!); *je te chasserai*, I will discharge you ("hunt, drive away, dismiss" being given in voc. under *chasser*!); *se raréfiaient*, grew rarer (translated "become rarified" in vocabulary!); *avançaient toujours*, kept on advancing; *en chœur*, in a chorus (translated "in chorus" in vocabulary!). Twelve such notes are found on page 202, and so on up to page 237. 208: for *ça* read *çà*. 220: for "revieille" read "veille." 221: *à grande eau* does not mean "with fresh water." 222: no explanation follows *grand peur*. 230: "I don't care for anything else" is not a good translation of *tout le reste ne me regarde pas*; and "stop a moment" is a poor rendering of *tenez*. 235: *que* is not equivalent to *lorsque*, but is used to avoid its repetition.

The vocabulary is itself rather carelessly prepared. Two general mistakes should be mentioned. First, the feminine of the adjectives should be indicated by placing a hyphen, in the masculine form, before that part of the ending which changes; for example, *heureux-x*, -se, not *heureux-se*. Otherwise the student may be confused by such forms as the following, taken from the vocabulary: *abondant-e*, *blanc-che*, *public-que*, *grec-que*, *heureux-se*, *sérieux-use*, *doux*, *douce*, *persécuter-trice*, *rêveur-use*, *receveur-ense*. Consistency should surely be found in a vocabulary. Secondly, most past participles are given as adjectives in the vocabulary. That a past participle is used as an adjective, does not make it one. But this

mistake is not consistently followed. *Assiégé* and a few other forms are called participles, but the following are given as adjectives: *cloué*, *coiffé*, *compté*, *confondu*, *défendu*, *défoncé*, *dégrossi*, *démantelé*, etc., etc. The same remark applies to some present participles, which are erroneously given as adjectives.

The following changes should be made in the vocabulary. *s'acheminer*: dele "towards." *agir*: insert *de* after *s'*—. *aïeul*: for *aïeux* read *aïeux*. *Allemand*: dele "a." *Anglais*: dele "an." For *appréhension* read *appréhension*. *appuyer*: dele "on" after "rely." *armorié*: "on" had better be omitted. Why translate *les assiégés*? *au delà*, *au-dessous*, *au-dessus*, *au-devant* and *autour* are not prepositions unless followed by *de*. *autant*: dele second "as." For *blessé* read *blessé*. For *bleuté* read *bleuté*. For *ça* read *çà*, and insert "*ça*, contraction for *cela*." *complet*: for *-ête* read *-ête*. *compte*: insert *de* after *tenir*— and *se rendre*—. For *concierge* read *concierge*. *connaissance*: insert *de* after *avoir*—. *côté*: insert *de* after *du*—. *coucher*: insert "at" after "take aim." Insert *de* after *se débarrasser*. *défaire*: insert *de* after *se*—. *dégager*: insert *de* after *se*— if "come from" be given as a possible rendering. For *déjà* read *déjà*. For *démenti* read *démenti*. *demi*: why give *à demi mort* and *à demi pâmé* when *à demi* is translated? and for *pâmé* read *pâmé*, also insert hyphen before *heure*. Insert *de* after *se départir*. For *désagréable* read *désagréable*. *détour*: the mention of "stream" is confusing; insert "of a," or "in a." For *dévouement* read *dévouement*. For *dévouer* read *dévouer*. *diriger*: dele "towards" and "to." *drapeau*: what sort of "band" is meant? *écarter*: insert *de* after *s'*—. *égard*: insert *de* after *à l'*—. For *égoïsme* read *égoïsme*. For *égoïste* read *égoïste*. *elle*: insert hyphen before *même*. *s'empreser*: dele "to." *enfance* means "childhood" rather than "infancy," which may be rendered by *première enfance*. *envie*: insert *de* after *avoir*—, and *à* after *porter*—. *essuyer*: place "one's face, hands" in parenthesis. For *éteindre* read *éteindre*. *étonner*: dele "at." *étude*: insert *de* after *faire*—. For *exténue* read *exténué*. *façon*: insert *de* after *à la*—. *fauve*: does *bête fauve* mean "deer" when in the singular? *file*: insert *de* after *se*

faire une—. *fondre*: insert "into" before "tears." *funèbre* is not explained, but doubtless *funereal* should be its rendering as this latter is not a French word. *garder*: insert *de* after *se*—, and "from" after second "keep." *gens*: "people" should not be in italics. *grâce*: insert *à* or *de* after *faire*—, and read *de* for *des* in *action des*—s. *grand'-mère* and *grand-messe*: delete either the hyphen or the apostrophe. *grimace*: insert *la, une* or *des* after *faire*. For *hélas* read *hélas*. For *héroïque* read *héroïque*. For *inestimable* read *inestimable*. For *inévitabile* read *inévitabile*. Insert *t* in *installer*. *instar*: insert *de* after *à l'*—. *intérieur* is a noun as well as an adjective. Insert *e* in *interpeller*. For *irréprochable* read *irréprochable*. *joue*: insert "at" after "take aim." *jour*: insert the expression *de jour en jour* found under *de*. *jusque*: "even" is not a good translation of *jusqu'à ce que*. *là*: insert hyphen before *dessous* and *dessus*. Insert *de* after *le long*. *marcher*: insert *mar*che instead of dash after *ça*. Insert *n* in *matin*. For *mèche* read *mèche*. For *menage* read *ménage*. *mettre*: insert *à* after *se*—. Insert *v* in *observation*. For *ouïe* read *ouïe*. Insert the word *pâmé* translated under *de*. *paysan* is a noun, not an adjective. For *pêcheur* ("sinner") read *pêcheur*. *politique*: why insert *la*. *prêchi-prêcha* had better read *prêchi, prêcha*. *prodigalité* is not translated. Insert *s* after *quatre-vingt*. *quoi*: "something" is not the best rendering of *de quoi*. For *recueilli* read *recueilli*. For *rèhabilitation* read *réhabilitation*. Insert the word *rempailler*. For *rampart* read *rempart*. For *reparti* read *réparti*. *repartir*: "answer, say in reply" is *répartir*; "set out again" is a correct rendering of *repartir*. *semblant*: insert *de* after *faire*—. Insert *t* in *serviteur*. In what connection does *tabatière* mean "skylight, flat roof?" *tirer*: insert *de* after *se*—. Insert *m*. after *travers*. Insert (4) after *tressaillir*. *usage*: insert *de* after *à l'*—. *volée* is not best translated by "shower."

The irregular verbs in the vocabulary are referred by number to a list of irregular verbs printed at the end of this text.

It is a pity that the editor should have allowed this reader to appear in its present shape. He has not done himself justice, as those must acknowledge who examine carefully his most

recent text, and are acquainted with his previous work.

C. The *Contes fantastiques* of Erckmann-Chatrian present most fascinating reading, and are a welcome addition to the texts already in existence. This particular edition contains several errors that might have been avoided. The notes are placed at the foot of the pages, an advantage in sight-reading, but a disadvantage in regular class-room work, since most instructors will acknowledge that expressions explained in notes are generally soon forgotten by students, and that a learner's memory will not be benefited by having the notes before his eyes. This disadvantage would be felt especially in texts prepared for beginners. It is also a pity that the editor should have omitted passages without stating where these omissions are made.

The Introduction gives a very good idea of the lives and partnership of the two authors. The following changes should be made in the text and in the notes. 4 (note on *florin*): the expression "are best left untranslated" is ambiguous. 6: why translate *hétéroclites* when this word is given in the vocabulary? *à force d'être vrai* need not be explained. 8: the Dutch *van* does not generally denote noble descent. 12: *à double tour* refers to the action of turning the key twice, and therefore "locked and bolted" is not the best rendering. *remis en verve* need not be translated. 15: note the spelling "calaboose" in first note, but "caboose" under *violon* in the vocabulary, the former being the correct term. *Garnies de hottes* need not be translated; rather give *hotte* in vocabulary. 16: why state that *résolument* is used ironically? 25: *fond* had better be given in vocabulary as meaning "background." 27: *a pu me voir* need not be translated. 38: *je l'ai fait viser* need not be translated, but give *viser* in vocabulary. 39: the rendering "it is the best we can do" is ambiguous; "thing" might be inserted after "best." 42: 9, read 3 for 4. 43: why translate *sur la table*? 45: *à l'œil exercé* need not be translated, and so with the following notes: *que je dus faire, au secours! à l'assassin, assujettir, finirent par s'éteindre, qu'on s'imagine, râpés, s'il nous faut, en conséquence, se gardèrent bien de parler, bon enfant, ne se serait guère douté,*

devait. . *m'en vouloir*, *mis à la chaîne*, etc., etc. Most of these notes are translations of words or phrases which should be worked out by the student with the aid only of the vocabulary. These further changes suggest themselves. 49: 2, for *he* read *hé*. 55: does *le troisième* mean strictly "the third floor?" 73: 17, *prêtant l'oreille* might be explained. 74: to translate *coquelicot* by "crimson" gives a wrong idea of the meaning of this word. 78: 5, *par trois fois* might be explained. 85: *la grande rue* had better be explained. 87: 14, explain the exact rendering of *quinze jours*. 95: 4, for *alliers* read *haliars* or *allées*; if the former, then insert the corresponding rendering in the vocabulary. 103: 26, explain *je ne me suis pas encore senti de rien*. 108: 12, explain *un beau matin*. 109: 14, for *laperau* read *lapereau*. 122: 3, explain *sur ce*. 130: 6, insert hyphen between *dis* and *je*. 131: 22, for *descendimes* read *descendîmes*. 133: 26, explain *écriture très-courante*. In the note, "indicate" had better be "suggest."

The vocabulary is not faultless. The parts of speech are not indicated; only the genders of the nouns are given. *accomplir*: dele second *accomplir*. *accroire*: it might be stated that this verb is used only in the infinitive and always in connection with *faire*. *accroupir* (s'): the reflexive pronoun had better precede the verb in this and all similar cases. The sequence of words should be maintained, and therefore *de*, for example, should follow immediately *il s'agit* under *s'agir*, as otherwise confusion might arise. Compare *arrière* (en), *autour* (de) and *auprès* . . (de). For *affût* read *affût*. *aigle*: is the feminine used only in the sense of "(female) eagle" in this text? Insert *de* after *apercevoir*. *après*: insert hyphen before *midi*. Does *avant* mean "in front of?" *avenir*: why insert "the?" For *cors* read *cor*. For *débarrasser* read *débarrasser*. For *decrépit* read *décérépît*. *diable*: insert comma after "devil." *douter*: insert *de* after *se*—. Insert *i* in *effroi*. *empêcher*: insert *de* after *s*—. *eu*: why a dash before "it?" For *événement* read *événement*. *faire*: insert "say" as one of the meanings; the reference under *fit* is not sufficient. For *fiancailles* read *fiançailles*. For *fumée* read *fumée*. For *geolier* read *géolier*. For *grédin* read *gredin*. *intéresser*: dele

apostrophe. For *lumière* read *lumière*. *mettre*: insert *à* after *se*—. *mieux*: "do rather" is not clear. For *noeud* read *nœud*. *nouvelle*: "novel" had better be qualified by "short." *où*: use of dash is not clear. *petit*: insert —e before —*filles*. Insert *quinze* to explain expression *quinze jours*. *recherche*: insert *de* after *à la*—. *remonter*: use of dash is not clear. *résoudre*: insert *à* after *se*—. *rumeur*: for "tumult" read "tumult." For *secrétaire* read *secrétaire*. Insert *de* after (se) *souvenir* and *tâcher*. *tenir*: insert *à* after *s'en*—. *tirer*: insert *de* after *se*—. *vapeur* is masculine when it means "steam-boat." *violon*: for "caboose" read "calaboose."

This text would seem to be a labor of love on the part of its editor. One can imagine its being prepared at odd moments, for the sake of recreation, and because of the intrinsic worth of these tales. This is not necessarily adverse criticism. Enthusiasm is as essential as scholarship in the preparation of texts, as in every other endeavor. The very best results will, however, come only from the union of these two qualities. The present editor is enthusiastic, perhaps it would be better to say that he is in love with the text he is preparing, the tales themselves form fascinating reading, and these are sufficient reasons for introducing this edition in our schools, even in our colleges.

D. This is an excellent edition of *Sans Famille*, a story that always proves attractive to its readers. The preface contains a short notice of Malot, which might be somewhat fuller, though, after all, the introduction is perhaps the least important part of a text prepared distinctly for beginners. The actual mistakes in the text are not numerous. 5: 15, for *revolter* read *révolter*. 9: 16, *aussi tôt* is usually spelled *aussitôt*, though, in this case the separated form would seem preferable. 21: 17, *à la fin* might be explained. 36: 24, insert hyphen between *dît* and *il*. 50: 32, for *ladite* read *la-dite*. 57: 24, attention might be called to the form *restes-y*. 93: 9, *je me doutais* . . *que* might be explained, since the vocabulary has only the form *se douter de*.

The notes are carefully prepared. 121: *qu'est-ce que .c'est que* is not necessarily "strongly" emphatic. 122: the expression "elegant uses" of the subjunctives, though

common, is not quite accurate, and really does not mean much of anything. "Now" need not be introduced into the literal translation of *je n'avais plus qu'à*. The note on *en* is confusing. 123: *autres* is frequently used after *nous* and *vous*, but *eux autres* is not employed to mean "they with a stress on the word." 125: it is not best to translate *il fait*, when referring to weather, etc., by "the weather is." The literal translation of *il ne faisait pas du vent* should be "it was not making any wind," rather than "the weather was: not a breath of wind." How awkwardly would it sound, and actually how inaccurate would it be, to translate literally *il faisait nuit* (100: 32) by "the weather was: night," and, however, this is the literal rendering the editor would evidently have the student give, judging from his note on p. 127. 126: is "glimmerings of dawn" the most accurate translation of *éclaircies*? 127: "honest" need not be introduced in the literal translation of *couleur de notre argent*, since there exists in English an expression similar to this French phrase.

In the vocabulary it would be better to print, for example, *heureux-se* as follows: *heureux-x, -se*, and so with all similar adjectives. The meaning of *avoir affaire à* might be given. *archet*: place "fiddle-" in parenthesis. *cambrer*: "the head" might advantageously be substituted for "the shoulders," and is this verb not used reflexively in the text? *ce*: is *ce que* not found in the text? A *centime* is not the "tenth part of a *sou* or *cent*, therefore=2 mills (*sic!*);" a *sou* or *cent* is worth only five *centimes*; the term *gros sou* is however frequently applied to a ten-centime piece. *découpage* and *découpure* could mean "carving" in some cases. Such rendering, though doubtless correct for this particular text, shows the disadvantage of a special vocabulary. In this case, "carving" is only a special meaning, is not the most common translation, of these French words. This observation is in no wise a slur on the care with which this particular vocabulary has been prepared, but it does suggest wherein lies the danger of special vocabularies, now such common features of modern language texts. See, for example, *français*, rendered "French language." *gendarme*: the rendering "(armed) policeman" conveys a

wrong idea, except so far as the etymology of *gendarme* is concerned. *ladite* had better be *la-dite*, and *ledit, le-dit*. *matamore*: since the etymology of this word is given, it might be well to state that this term comes originally from the Spanish. *même*: insert *de* after *il en est de*—. Is *plein* ever best translated "mid" when not preceded by *en*? (*se*) *prélasser*: "to strut" would seem a better rendering than "to ride grandly." *printemps*: why the capital letter in "Spring?" *propre*: a distinction should be made in the renderings "clean, proper, own." For *reflexion* read *réflexion*. *rétif*: "rebellious" is not the best translation. Insert (*se*) before *taire*. "Cooling draught" is not the best rendering for *tisane*.

The editor of *Sans famille* has done his work well, but a criticism of this text should not end without giving the publishers their due. The texts published under the title "Heath's Modern Language Series" are attractive in every way. Students will find the size of these texts very convenient; the printing is excellent, and the proof-reading is done with great care.

E. Its clear typography is a distinctive feature of this edition of *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, another text in "Heath's Modern Language Series." In the present case, this quality is doubtless rendered the more prominent by contrast with other editions of the French classics, marvels of scholarship in introductions and notes, but so closely printed that the eyes of both teacher and student must suffer. In Heath's edition, the print is clear and of good size, and the spacing is generous.

The editor's share of the work is well in keeping with the publishers'. The Introduction is interestingly written, though it is not even. The second part, on *La Société Précieuse*, is better than the part that deals with Molière himself, for the style of the latter tends to be heavy. On p. vii, the statement "nor can French literature in general produce any name more distinguished than his" forms a weak ending to this part. What is meant, in this particular connection, by French literature "in general?" At the bottom of p. vii, it is not evident whether it is "strange" that a "tendency toward measure, smoothness and refinement is natural to the French," or whether it is "strange" that such a tendency should be

accompanied by "the frank vivacity of *l'esprit ganlois*."

1: 27, *qu'on ne laisserait pas de faire sans moi* might be explained. 5: why print "*Acte I*" on this and the following pages? 12: 17, explain *la bonne faiseuse*, as also *la bonne ouvrière* (33: 13). 15: 9, explain the term *filosfe*, and also *prud'homie* (21: 5). 33: 1, how is it possible to know to what *celle-là* refers, and to understand the joke contained in the next line, if (*Il donne à sentir les cheveux poudrés de riz*) be omitted? 43: 3, for *querir* read *quérir*.

The notes are prepared for the use of students who do not intend to make a very critical study of Molière. 54: *de sorte que* is an incorrect rendering of *que* in *que je les vois*. 56: *dame* is also explained as standing for *Notre Dame*, and thus being an invocation to the Virgin Mary. 57: for *Qui-da* read *Oui-da*. 60: under *chaussettes*, the wording "at present, 'socks'" is not sufficiently clear. 61: refer to p. 14: 1, in note on *il ne fait que sortir*. 62: "homely," in note on p. 41: 1, is good; is it to be understood with the English or the American meaning?

This edition, though not being so scholarly as, for instance, that of Fasnacht's, is prepared with all necessary care, and will be welcomed by those teachers who do not intend to make use of the lengthy introductions and exhaustive annotations usual in Macmillan's Foreign School Classics. Which edition is most desirable for any particular class, must be decided by the teacher himself. There is a call for both, and the simpler annotation and less pretentious introduction of the American edition answers a need felt by many instructors and private readers.

F. The *Scènes de la Révolution française* is still another of "Heath's Modern Language Series." Many passages in Lamartine's *Histoire des Girondins* have been omitted in this edition, but these omissions are not indicated in the text. The Biographical Sketch is not wonderfully inspiring; it contains too many bare facts and dates. The first chapter, from p. 1 to p. 8, seems to be written in an entirely different style from the remainder of the text. It is not well composed, and even contains some sentences which are faulty in construc-

tion. Is Lamartine responsible for this part? Or is this the "introductory chapter" "condensed chiefly from Mignet's *History of the French Revolution*," which the editor mentions in his preface?

4: 1, insert comma after *promena*. 4: 12, *le lendemain* 13 is badly expressed, and so is *et porta toutes ses armes en triomphe* (5: 1). 5: 11, does *armés* qualify *pelotons* or *on*? 5: 14, is *un jour de guerre* a common expression? 7: 10-24, this passage might be improved, as also the next paragraph. 8: 24, *toute cette nuit* sounds strangely. 28: 31, *veto* had better be spelled *vêto* throughout the text, as it is on p. 147. 38: 32, for *tant des* read *tant de*. 68: 4, for *émailles* read *émailés*. 69: 20, for *souveraineté* read *souveraineté*. 118: 1, for *élève* read *élevé*. 120: 6, is not *l'importe sur* a mistake for *l'emporte sur*, in spite of the note on p. 155? The small number of misprints in this text speaks well for the care given to the proof-reading.

Many notes are unnecessary, such as *faire part de, corps de garde, faire feu, allait croissant, relais de poste, laucès, émotion, une fois le pont franchi, d'un coup d'œil, c'en est fait de moi, par cela même, à l'étranger, s'engouffrent, impose à, qu'il s'en coiffe*, etc., etc. 145: is the note on p. 26: 14 correct? *de plus près* means "nearer," with apparently the sense of "closer to the king;" that is, the king formerly had been spared this expression of the people's anger, but now he feels it all around him and close at hand. 147: for *Carroussel* read *Carrousel*. 151: the note on *maison de Montrenil* (85: 10) is omitted; therefore add this note and read 2 for 1 before *retours*.

The principal fault of this edition lies in the large number of translations of simple words and phrases given in the notes. The text itself, dealing as it does with an important period in French history, should prove interesting and instructive to students.

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

The Metaphor: A Study in the Psychology of Rhetoric. By GERTRUDE BUCK, Ph. D. The Inland Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Contributions to Rhetorical Theory, ed. Fred Newton Scott, v. 78 pp.

THE present study will repay the careful at-

tention of all who are interested in the term 'metaphor.' Doubtless many teachers of rhetoric and composition have been troubled at the looseness of the definitions of this and of other rhetorical terms in general use, yet have not been able to work out better definitions with the time and the mind at their disposal. To such teachers, the study will prove a grateful addition; the author proposes and defends a new and, I think, entirely adequate definition of the term 'metaphor.'

The subject is taken up from five sides, as follows: i. *Genesis: The Radical Metaphor*; ii. *Genesis: The Poetic Metaphor*; iii. *The Evolution into Plain Statement*; iv. *The Æsthetics of Metaphor*; v. *Pathological Forms of Metaphor*. The first three chapters, however, contain the body of argument that will prove of most interest, and I shall endeavor to state the main points of these chapters only.

The traditional definitions of metaphor are first outlined and classified. According to these definitions, metaphors are of two classes, radical and poetic, the division being made on a basis of difference in origin. Radical metaphor arose when a new perception entered the primitive mind and found there no name corresponding to it. In consequence, the mind was compelled to stretch an old term so as to make it cover both a new and an old perception. An old term being thus borrowed for a new idea, the metaphor finally was caused by a paucity of vocabulary. Poetic metaphor, according to the traditional definitions, had its origin in a conscious effort to beautify the language or to make it more energetic. The change here was voluntary, not compulsory; a noun or verb already assigned to a definite object or action was transferred poetically to another object or action.

The present writer first discards the traditional theory of the origin of metaphor, though the division into radical and poetic metaphor is accepted and made the basis of further investigation. Radical metaphor, the author says, owes its origin rather to paucity of thought than to paucity of vocabulary. The mental process of the origin of radical metaphor is repeated in the life of the child. Just as the child uses the same word to designate a

rail-way engine, a steaming coffee-pot, or anything that hisses, or smokes, or makes a noise, because its perceptions of the various objects are yet homogeneous and undeveloped, so primitive man applied the same word to a group of undeveloped, un-differentiated, homogeneous, perceptions. An instance is the word "spirit." Between our present sense of the word and the primitive meaning "breath," there was at first no distinction of thought. To the primitive mind the word "spirit" meant those characteristics of breath and of life which both had in common; there was yet no differentiation into physical and spiritual.

A necessary inference from this statement is that radical metaphor was not originally metaphorical; its metaphorical value came only with the final differentiation of the various perceptions designated by the one term. The author concludes accordingly, with regard to radical metaphor, that it is

"psychologically a survival from a primitive stage of perception, a vestige of the early homogeneous consciousness. It represents a state of mind which does not now exist in relation to these same objects or situations" (p. 15).

The author's theory of the origin of poetic metaphor is based on the theory of the origin of radical metaphor. Poetic metaphor is not the result of a conscious effort, made either with the purpose of pleasing the maker, or in order to astonish or move the hearer or reader by the originality, or force, or beauty, of the invention. It is granted that metaphors are thus made, and interesting examples are adduced from modern verse; but the false feeling of such poetical or oratorical manufactures is made very evident. The true poetic metaphor, says the author, arises in an unconscious manner as does the radical metaphor. In fact it is the exact process of the radical metaphor repeated. Civilization has shortened the process, not done away with it. The poet in himself revives the early stage of civilization, for one brief moment sees two things as one, the heterogeneous as homogeneous. Of course the impression with the poet is a very fleeting one. It may occupy but the

"fraction of a second, instead of the years or ages needed for the slower-moving mind of the

savage, and the months required by the undeveloped intelligence of the child. But in all these cases the process is the same. The sophisticated modern, when he gives utterance to perception before it has developed out of the homogeneous stage, is making radical metaphor just as truly as does the savage or the child" (p. 33).

The evolution into plain statement is the third and last step in the development of metaphor. Metaphor when expressed in conscious statement becomes simile. The mind recognizes the likenesses and unlikenesses of two objects, and selects certain characteristics for comparison. The basis of this comparison may be merely one of general resemblance; or it may be limited to a particular quality or characteristic common to both objects, for example, white as chalk. Beyond this there is only one step further, in the development of metaphor—the step to perfectly plain, that is abstract, statement of fact, for example, the cloud is white. This is the final reach of language, and it is only through the metaphor-process that such abstract ideas come into existence.

The chapter on the æsthetics of metaphor bases pleasure in metaphor on the theory that "it incites the reader to reconstruct the mental process by which it came into being" (p. 69). The last chapter, on pathological forms of metaphor, treats of conceit and mixed metaphor.

The study merits a word of special commendation for the perfect clearness and the amplitude with which it is presented. Perhaps the germs of many of the main ideas are to be found in Gerber; but to compare the present orderly statement with Gerber's chaos is to bring out most emphatically the best qualities of the study.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Goethe's Egmont, together with Schiller's essays *Des Grafen Lamoral von Egmont Leben und Tod* and *Über Egmont, Trauerspiel von Goethe*. Edited with introduction and notes by MAX WINKLER, Ph. D. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1898. 12mo, li, 276 pp.

THIS text-book is designed for advanced stu-

dents of German who wish to study the drama as a classic. Such a plan is in accord with the recommendations of the Committee on Modern Languages, who name Goethe's *Egmont* in their selection of books for the *Advanced Course* in German (see *Report*, section ix c).

It was a happy idea to add to the text of the drama Schiller's essay *Des Grafen Lamoral von Egmont Leben und Tod*, which contains a lifelike portrait of the historical Egmont, a fitting pendant to that of the dramatic hero. Schiller's vivid delineation is a masterpiece of German prose, and in certain scenes, such as the execution of Egmont and Horn, he becomes more effective, by his tragic brevity, than Motley, who occasionally betrays a bias toward fine writing by the use of an unessential adjective or bit of heightened color.

Professor Winkler ably defends Goethe's *Egmont* against the harsh criticism of Schiller, yet the editor gives proof of his fairness by including in his volume the essay *Über Egmont, Trauerspiel von Goethe*, where Schiller presents his views with all the fascination of his clear and vigorous style. With a wider acquaintance and deeper sympathy with the facts of history, Schiller fails to see where Goethe, in spite of his extraordinary license, has ennobled the character of the historical Egmont, or even increased the interest in his subject, which ends alone, Schiller thinks, can justify a poet in disregarding historical truth. Yet is Schiller therefore lacking in appreciation? Is not his so-called narrow view a sound one? Let us but understand him. He has spent his days and nights in the study of that remarkable epoch, the revolt of the Dutch Republic, and he is more deeply impressed by the motivation, the heroism, and the unflinching justice of actual history, than by the beautifully human fiction of Goethe's genius, the *Sturm und Drang Egmont*, who is impelled by the "demonic" element within him to lead the life that he must. In spite of all that can be said in defence of Goethe's tragedy, the fact remains that the historical picture is more effective dramatically. Its truth has more power to purify us through terror and pity than the beauty of the humane life-lover, the popular idol, that Goethe has created. The great poet

has failed in competition with the drama written on Clio's tablets.

The character of Klärchen, like that of Gretchen, does not appeal to all American college students alike, especially where co-education honors the ideal of equality. Nevertheless the type of unintellectual, pure and devoted womanhood has ever strongly attracted the masculine mind, as the lives of men of genius will remind us. Again, where class distinctions are not severe, it is difficult to understand the fascinating power of gentle manners in the man over woman of a lower social station. Gretchen says

"Er sah gewiss recht wacker aus
Und ist aus einem edlen Haus;
Das konnt' ich ihm an der Stirne lesen—
Er wär' auch sonst nicht so keck gewesen."

Points of view gained by the broadening study of *Kulturgeschichte* will frequently weaken prejudices and aid literary appreciation.

Professor Winkler's book is not shy of literary questions, but opens up their very kernel. The notes are within a few pages equal in bulk to those of the Buchheim edition (Clarendon Press, Macmillan and Co.). The common fault of the veteran editor's admirable series of German classics, namely, too frequent translations and annotations, has not been repeated; its place has been taken by copiousness of a different sort, but just as much a blemish. I refer to the length of the historical notes, their detail and encyclopedic character. For an illustration we may take the note to page 10, l. 10 (p. 183). This note, containing more than five hundred words, is written under the name *Oranien*. But is the Prince of Orange alone the subject of the note? No, the League of the *Gueux*, the whole epoch is discussed, matters which are not totally irrelevant, but which would have found a better place in an historical introduction, where the materials of the numerous historical notes might have appeared consecutively. Your average student will not read page after page of notes, he wishes to read the German play. The time at his disposal, after all, is limited, and there is great pressure upon it from many departments of college work.

In the note on *Margarete von Parma*, page

7, l. 19 (p. 179), what are the essential facts? That the regent was the natural daughter of Charles V, that after a first unhappy marriage she became the wife of young Farnese, subsequently Duke of Parma, that she was schooled in Machiavellian politics, a zealous Catholic, disciple of Loyola, a huntress in taste, and masculine in feature (*horribile dictu!* "famous for her moustache"). Yet the editor uses three hundred and fifty words in his note.

Another feature by which the Notes have been needlessly expanded is the introduction, at the end of each scene, of a summary of the action that has gone before, sometimes with critical remarks added. These summaries in a manner take the place of the "arguments" in the Buchheim edition, placed in the body of the text in advance of each act of the play. The announcer who steps before the curtain to increase our expectation ceases to be welcome after his first appearance; but picture to yourself the reception of the bold man who would attempt to repeat and explain all that has just passed! You may say that post-mortems are a necessary part of thorough instruction; very well, then let the student do the work with his own hands and eyes and brain, and ask him questions about it. If you tell him all that he is expected to see, he will close his eyes, repeat what you have told him, and let his hands and brain remain idle.

Teachers will always differ to some extent as to which words or constructions need explanation and which not, but serious omissions are not evident in this carefully prepared edition. Possibly a note would have been helpful at p. 9, l. 23, *heruntrommeln*; p. 9, l. 25, *von der Leber weg*=*frisch* (or *frei*) *von der Leber weg*; p. 21, l. 21, *ich habe Unrecht gegen ihn*; p. 134, l. 12, the construction *jedes Sklave*=*Sklave eines jeden*, etc. Another interpretation is possible at p. 37, l. 16, of *hielt ich's besser*, namely: 'I should prefer,' 'I should like it better.' At p. 51, l. 12, *Die Könige thun nichts Niedriges*, the meaning seems to me to be: Kings are incapable of a mean act, in the eyes of the world, because of their exalted position, they are unimpeachable.

At page 59, l. 17, the literal interpretation of *fasst sich selbst in seine Arme* is not 'takes

himself into his own arms' but 'takes hold of his own arms,' the right hand grasping the left arm, and the left hand seizing the right arm; the ultimate meaning is the same, namely: 'to cross the arms' (cf. *unter das Kinn fassen, in den Arm kneifen*).

Professor Winkler's comments on the violent changes which Schiller made in his revision of Goethe's *Egmont* for the Weimar stage are very properly placed in the Notes just where they are needed. The frequent exact references to standard historical works, the map and bibliography are very convenient and useful. The publishers have furnished the volume with an agreeable variety of type, clear print and a tasteful exterior, but the attractive qualities within are the more worthy of commendation.

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ENGLISCHE TEXTBIBLIOTHEK.

Keats' Hyperion mit Einleitung herausgegeben von JOHANNES HOOPS, Prof. an der Universität Heidelberg. Berlin: Emil Felber, 1899. Pp. xlv, 103.

THE *Englische Textbibliothek*, now being edited by Prof. Johannes Hoops, of the University of Heidelberg, will present, in neat, critical editions, the important works of English literature, and more especially, the poetic masterpieces that have appeared since the sixteenth century. Among the contributors are numbered almost all the leading instructors of English in the German universities.

Prof. Hoops' edition of Keats' *Hyperion* forms the third number of the series. In the first chapter of his Introduction, may be found all desirable information in regard to the composition of the poem. Keats seems to have gone earnestly to work on *Hyperion* in Dec., 1818, shortly after the death of his brother Tom. "It was then he wrote *Hyperion*," says Brown, the friend with whom Keats was then living. It must have been finished by April, 1819, since the transcript made at that time by Woodhouse contains nearly the same number of lines that one finds in the piece as published in 1820. It

has come down to us a fragment. Keats, the poet of *Isabella*, the *Eve of St. Agnes*, the *Eve of St. Mark*, and *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, had cooled, as time went on, in his admiration for Milton. Writing to Reynolds in Sept., 1819, he says:

"I have given up *Hyperion*—there were too many Miltonic inversions in it—Miltonic verse cannot be written but in an artful, or, rather, artist's humour."¹

Again, in a letter to his brother George, he writes:

"The *Paradise Lost*, though so fine in itself, is a corruption of language. It should be kept as it is, unique, a curiosity, a beautiful and grand curiosity, the most remarkable production of the world; a northern dialect accommodating itself to Greek and Latin inversions and intonations. The purest English, I think—or what ought to be the purest—is Chatterton's . . . I prefer the native music of it to Milton's, cut by feet. I have but lately stood on my guard against Milton. Life to him would be death to me. Miltonic verse cannot be written, but is the verse of art. I wish to devote myself to another verse alone."²

It is clear that Keats labored in *Hyperion* under the oppressive feeling of conscious imitation of *Paradise Lost*.

The second chapter of the Introduction is given to a *résumé* of the best criticism that has been made on the poem. It may suffice to note here that the editor agrees with the majority of Keats' critics in considering *Hyperion* one of the grandest creations of modern English poetry. At the same time, it should not be overlooked that the poet himself was little pleased with the work; and that his romantic masterpieces, such as the *Eve of St. Agnes*, and *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, have left far deeper traces on Victorian literature than has the epic fragment.

The editor next takes up (cap. iii) the historic position³ of the work in English literature. While the influence of Spenser (so important

¹ *The Letters of John Keats*, Ed. by H. Buxton Forman. London: Reeves & Turner, 1895, p. 380.

² *Ibid.*, p. 418 ff.

³ Cf. here Mr. W. T. Arnold's interesting remarks in the introduction of his edition: *The Poetical Works of John Keats*, ed. by William T. Arnold. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1888.

in the poet's earlier productions) amounts to little or nothing, that of Milton is in *Hyperion* all-powerful. From him⁴ Keats borrowed the words *argent* (*Hyper.* l. 284), *colure* (l. 274), *essence* (l. 232; 2, 331; 3, 104), *gurge* (2, 28), *inlet* (l. 211), *lucent* (l. 239), *oozy* (2, 170), *orbed* (l. 166; also found in Shakspeare), *osier* (3, 34), *reluctant* (l. 61), *slope* (l. 204), *souvan* (3, 115), and *unsceptred* (l. 19; *sceptred* occurs several times in Milton).

Milton's influence is also seen in Keats' fondness for adjectives formed from substantives by means of the ending *-ed*. *Dungeon'd* (2, 23), *mountain'd* world (2, 123), *neighbour'd* (2, 74), *pedestal'd* (l. 32)—such are a few among the many to be met with in *Hyperion*.

Next in importance to Milton's influence stands that of Chapman, whose translation of Homer called forth Keats' well-known sonnet. To this source may be ascribed Keats' usage of the verb *sphere* (l. 117), and possibly, of *proclaim* (l. 130) as a substantive, while his tendency to employ rare adjectives in *-y* may have been caught either from Chapman or Milton.

Hyperion furnishes some examples of new word-formations. Thus, *aspen-malady* (l. 94), found nowhere else in the language; *Aurorian* clouds (l. 181), imitated by Owen Meredith ("Aurean clouds"), and Swinburne ("Aurorean aureole of the sun"); *fever out* ("This passion . . . made . . . his eyes to fever out" l. 138); *portion'd* (l. 175), in the sense of *proportioned*; *realmless* ("his realmless eyes were closed" l. 19). *Wrinkling*, in "this wrinkling brow" (l. 100), does not belong here, however, as other examples of *wrinkles* as an intransitive may be found. Moreover, *outspreaded* in *Hyperion* (l. 287)—

And now, from forth the gloom their plumes immense
Rose, one by one, till all outspread were;

may be put side by side with *Paradise Lost* (l. 20)—

thou from the first
Wast present, and, with mighty wings outspread, etc.

The opening scene of *Hyperion* owes much of its grandeur to the impression made on

⁴ For the parallel passages in Milton, see Bradshaw's *Concordance to Milton*. New York: MacMillan & Co., 1894.

⁵ See the word in *Cent. Dict.*

Keats by his tour in the Scottish Highlands. Thus, the verse "Like natural sculpture in cathedral cavern" (l. 86) is evidently a reminiscence of his visit to Fingal's Cave. Passages in his letters also show that he must have found in Scottish scenery the inspiration for many of his noblest lines.

The interpretation (in cap. iv) of the allegory of *Hyperion a Vision*, is rather too long to admit of an outline here.

The last chapter of the Introduction is devoted to bibliographical notes. No original manuscript of *Hyperion* has been preserved. *Hyperion. A Fragment*, appeared in 1820 in the volume of Keats' poems entitled:

"Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes, and Other Poems. By John Keats, Author of *Endymion*. London: Printed for Taylor and Hessey, Fleet-Street. 1820."

In addition to this volume, there has come down to us a Commonplace book⁶ in which Woodhouse transcribed in 1819 many of Keats' poems at that time still unpublished. *Hyperion* occupies pp. 39-99 of the volume, but, unlike the majority of the transcripts, is not in Woodhouse's own hand, although showing marks of his supervision in the correction of numerous mistakes made by the copyist.

The text of Prof. Hoops' edition is an exact reprint of that of the volume of 1820. Keats' inconsistencies in spelling have been faithfully reproduced; another valuable feature is the appearance at the foot of the page of the variations of the Woodhouse version.

Hyperion, a Vision, has been shown by Mr. Sidney Colvin⁷ to be an attempt at a recast of the original *Hyperion*. The *Vision* was first published by Lord Houghton, in the *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society* (vol. iii, 1856-57), a new edition appearing ten years later (1867) in Lord Houghton's *Life and Letters of John Keats*. Prof. Hoops' text of the *Vision* follows that of the edition of 1867, except in a few instances where the reading of the earlier edition is manifestly to be preferred.

Prof. Hoops' *Hyperion* is, so far as I know,

⁶ Now in the possession of Mr. Sidney Colvin.

⁷ See his excellent biography of Keats (*Eng. Men of Letters*), p. 230 f.

the only separate edition⁸ which presents a complete, correct text, with the various readings of the original editions. Taken altogether, it is an extremely satisfactory piece of work, and places the editor among the number of Keats' most competent and sympathetic critics.

The printer's errors are few, the type is large and clear, and the price (M. l. 60) brings it within the reach of all.

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PROVENÇAL LITERATURE.

The Troubadours at Home: Their Lives and Personalities, their Songs and their World, by JUSTIN H. SMITH. Edited by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York: 1899. 2 vols.

THESE books are well printed in clear distinct type, on paper of good quality—two characteristics which recommend the volumes at once to the indulgence and affection of the reader. The intention of the author in writing is plainly expressed in the preface where he declares it to be his desire to place this literature before us somewhat as it originally appeared, and to represent the world of the troubadours, to place them in it as living persons, and to put into their mouths their poems as they made them—only in another language. Mr. Smith has spent some time in the South of France in order to make himself familiar with the haunts of this bygone age, fortifying his memory and later his book, with copious photographs. Besides this he has given abundant illustration of the mental topography of the troubadours by translating the original Provençal into English verse. The prime object of the whole work is to offer this body of poets to us endowed with a presentness, an actuality that shall be strong enough and fresh enough to overcome the musty smell that hovers over such collections as Raynouard's *Choix des Poésies des Troubadours*, and the various Chrestomathies.

⁸ The best complete edition of Keats' works is that of Forman: *The Poetical Works and other Writings of John Keats*. Edited, with notes and appendices, by H. Buxton Forman. In four volumes. London, Reeves & Turner, 1883. 8vo. Reissue, with additions and corrections, 1889.

The working scheme on which the book is constructed is a journey through the South of France, a plan which perhaps aids the author in his ambition to reach reality, as the birth-places of the various poets are described at length, as well as the cities famous in the lives and loves of these gallants.

In his preface, the author notes that his style has been most carefully adapted to the subject-matter which he treats, in order to assure an organic whole, and his zeal and enthusiasm for his protégés betray him at times into little extravagancies that I fear do not always produce the impression desired. He speaks of the Marquis riding into the market followed by a goodly plump of spears, which is rather a step backward, although it gives a certain touch to the narrative that is not anticipated and so arouses us to expectation. Speaking of Rambaut d'Aurenga, he places us on the most intimate of footings with him, and we feel that we have known the gentleman all our lives, when Mr. Smith informs us: "In short he was free to live a jolly old dog, and a jolly old dog lived he." This is one of the charms of the book. We realize that Mr. Smith is most chummy with his models, and that we reap the benefit without extra charge so we exclaim with him "The jolly old dog: well, well, it does one good to know him." And this, too, in spite of his appearing from Aurenga instead of Orange, and although the familiar Alfonso becomes Amfas, and Henry seems strange at first as Enric.

Mr. Smith's imagination is most inspiring, and his sense of personality is very keen, as seen from the following:

"It is the Lady Biatritz. Slender and petite, she added much of the light grace of a girl to the fuller beauty of a woman. Her face had no color save a slight olive tint, and her features were delicate, though drawn with firm lines. While almost all about her were of fair complexion, she like her mother, was very dark, with eyes as black as the thick wavy hair that shadowed her rather small forehead. Her voice had the color of Alban wine, with overtones like the gleams of light in the still velvety depths of the goblet, and when she smiled, it seemed as if she drew from a harp a slow deep chord in the mode of Aeolia."

The author says she was dark like her mother, but in reality she was just what her father made

her, and he was none of your Aimars, or Amfases, but just plain Smith, Professor of Modern History at Dartmouth College, and she should have been named Minerva for she leaped from his brain full-grown. Here is one of her brethren. His given name is Raimbaut d'Aurenga.

"His full round throat delivers the words fondly, as he would release a lady's hand. His well-filled body gives a sounding resonance to every tone. The bright pink of his plump cheeks deepens to an actual red, glowing warmly down into a soft brown beard. The hair, thick and short and set with rotary cowlicks all over his big head, seems waltzing electrically. And when each stanza is concluded he reinforces the interlude with amorous looks or jocund laugh, his bright eyes roving from side to side meanwhile to gather in the largess of smiles and applause."

The only information we have of the lady's appearance is taken from Raimbaut's songs, and he is as vague as a modern impressionist painting. We are informed solely that she is very beautiful and adorned with all manner of conventional graces. Of her lover, we learn in a delightfully suggestive manner that "at about fifty-five, he married a 'fair and noble lady'" and "devoted himself to gathering olive branches," at which congenial occupation we will leave him.

Another interesting feature of the book is the bits of information that we are constantly gleaning, which in each case causes a thrill of gratification. We learn that the Countess of Berlatz rode down to the city by the Orb, and became the mistress of castle and court two years before Raimbaut of Orange was gathered to his fathers, and three before the leaning tower of Pisa was begun. Speaking of Lombards he says: "The site is there still, but the castle has utterly vanished. When Plymouth colony was two years old (1622) the flames made an end of it, etc." Another homely illustration which helps to make Mr. Smith's style what it is can be found where the Tarn is mentioned near Albi.

"Three bridges cross the stream. In spite of the grand impressiveness of the scene I could not help thinking of the three bears in the story: and I called them the big bridge, the little bridge, and the middle-sized bridge."

At all times this manner may be said to catch the attention, and frequently lends a picturesque element that is not to be despised. Describing a castle near Bordeaux he says:

"A few miles from the town and the river lies an extensive estate called Benauges, and we journeyed into it by a coiled road like a spiral spring. When we began to be wound up closely toward the end of our drive, it seemed as if the spring must snap, but it did not for a large, but half-ruined castle, held the end of it fast."

Of course the metaphor would be harder to trace than the spiral spring road which did not snap because the end was fast to a castle, yet as color it is appreciable. The author describes the poetry of Bertran de Born.

"Born is not easy and serenely artistic, but impatient, forced, sometimes incorrect and frequently rough: his usual style is not sweet and unctuous, but rather dry and severe; and instead of flowing musically on, caressing flowery banks with lyric eddies and echoing the boughs of the forest and the blue of the heavens with lights and shadows even more profound and more significant, his verse rushes on like a torrent; always restless, often violent: grey, swift, fierce, tearing at its banks, boiling up the mud and gravel of its bed, and rolling great stones along its channel with many hoarse rumblings and many a hard shock."

We may be doubtful about the caress of an eddy, or about a stream echoing boughs and the blue sky, but have to admit the pictorial effect. Listen also to this.

"Why do the salmon hurry up the rivers? Because each individual salmon feels a new craving that nothing else will satisfy. Why did the chivalry of Europe rush to the sandy shores of Palestine? Was it because Urban preached and Peter the Hermit wept? No: but because a new spirit, a new life had sprung up in millions of individuals, and it found satisfaction in the idea of the crusade. . . . A full tide of energy surged up tumultuously into the faculties of emotion, and of thought everybody had a 'freshet in his head and felt so rich in life,' etc."

Which is certainly suggestive. Here is a picture: The author is speaking of Rocamadour.

"A valley without mountains a vast gash in the earth. Up from the bottom grows a precipice, out of the precipice one narrow street

full of houses, out of the houses a cliff, out of the cliff a cloud of chapels and sanctuaries, out of these a dizzy overhanging crag, and out of the crag, the walls and battlements and towers of a castle."

His description of the destruction of Beziers is also vivid, opening with *Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace good will to men*, and closing with *Glory to the devil and the pope*. At times we gather a pleasantly facetious bit as, speaking of Courthézon,

"Within the walls it is another of those old cities laid out with no thought of system, unless to make it as perplexing as possible to an enemy. Tourists fall under this head apparently; but there is the perpetual charm of unexpectedness in such a place, and this—to a Bostonian—is at least homelike. Happily the pavement has been rooted out, and a cousin of Mr. McAdam put in its place—a great advantage where one has to try four streets to find one."

The idea which Mr. Smith gives of the age is most convincing, yet, occasionally, I am led to question if perhaps he has not been overpersuaded by his enthusiasm for these representatives of a past century to retouch them so vividly as to mislead somewhat unless his method is explained. At the outset we find the statement that "troubadour poetry has no descendants but that all our modern literature may look to it as a parent." This he modifies by saying that their literature was the first which took form: it modified every other, and it was long entirely independent. We wonder curiously, what has become of the French Epic and the Chanson de Geste and the Miracle Play. Speaking of the troubadour influence on English, our author says in his picturesque way, "Chaucer's well drew from the Arno and the Arno rose in Provence," yet Chaucer's obligation to the troubadours is so faint as to be barely discernible. To Italy—yes both for matter and suggestion, as well as to North France, but Provence can claim little if any influence on English song, though the author of these volumes claims much; in fact I am tempted to believe that frequently the charm of an expression carries the pen beyond the intended limit. We find for instance: French was for centuries the upper-class language of England, and it was a French leavened with

troubadour poetry. He says, also, that "from their poetry Europe received a general indocination, and the sentiments and ideas of chivalric love became a part of modern life," a statement that leads us to infer that the age of chivalry was a direct outgrowth of the troubadour poetry, which is a novel idea.

Mr. Smith mentions the conventional reference to spring which is one of the characteristic features of this poetry, yet a little later we find the following:

"In the garden above Agen, in the very home of the troubadours, with the same breeze on our cheeks that they felt, looking at the hedge-rows of hawthorn as they saw them and listening as they listened to the melodies of the rossignol, we come to understand their songs: we know why the lyric was enough to content them, we know why they loved variety of form rather than solidity of thought: we feel that their poetry was evanescent only as the flowers are, and we realize how love and spring, the garden, the rose, and the nightingale, were to them themes ever fresh and ever delightful."

And yet we are told that these were conventional. He declares that Provençal poetry is called monotonous, and states that this is due to a lack of knowledge. The next page we notice an admission that there is much to excuse this criticism, and the next page we find that if we collect the pieces and study them all together we observe a sameness.

In fact there seem to be two spirits running through these volumes: one a spirit of renaissance for the troubadours, an insistency to recreate them as humans at any cost, even if it be necessary to add a few touches of the purest, brightest colored romance; and the other a spirit of conservatism, the result of study and tradition that is quite opposed to the former. The writer has decided to his satisfaction that the troubadours were anything but artificial, and that their work was the spontaneous outburst of a fresh and loving spirit.

"However ingenious the pattern, all the chief poets were agreed that no technical skill was of any value unless it had feeling behind it: and we may fairly look upon the intricacies of the best Provençal verse as not in any way akin to the spiritless artificiality of acrostics and the like, but as the natural embroidery of brands and leaf instinct with life and the vernal spirit, forced sometimes, but never falsified by hothouse conditions."

Yet if this is so, it will be a unique instance in which extreme artificiality of form was a covering for aught but stereotyped thought and iteration, as in the carefully studied lyrics preceding the Renaissance. However, on the following page the author declares

"the verse of the troubadours was indeed too artistic, for everything has the defects of its qualities, and its ardent devotion to form carried it on to artificiality and lifeless elaboration."

So we are agreed again.

We have a description of the lady of Arnaut of Maruelli which to my mind sounds strangely familiar.

"The fair blonde locks, the forehead whiter than lilies, the vair laughing eyes, changing color with her mood, the straight firm nose, the fresh face outvying the white and vermilion of flowers, the small mouth and white teeth, the chin and throat like snow or the wild rose, the fair white hands and the fingers both smooth and slender. By more spiritual traits, as well, we recognize the woman whose praise is the entire body of Arnaut's poetry."

This category is mentioned as the specific property of the lady Alazais, and yet does not every heroine described by the poets of old rise before us in quite the same envelope? It is, however, one of the pleasant features of this book that the personal element is so accentuated that we see the company plainly through Mr. Smith's glasses. Every character is made to take shape, willy nilly. The author speaks, moreover, most persuasively for the Platonic friendship as the most probable basis of the relation existing between lady and poet-lover, and yet incident after incident rises in the development of the lives before us which suggests a warmer throb at the bottom of the puzzle than that advocated by the calm conclusions of the Greek philosopher. We read moreover:

"Just then and just there loving another man's wife was in truth a means of grace and a hope of glory; it saved women from despair and ruin; and as men prize what they see prized by others, it had a tendency, besides its other good effects, to make them appreciate and love their own wives."—

Which is certainly a magnanimous thought but,

it seems to me, a little overdrawn for the days of the Rimini, Eleanor of Poitou and Sordello, who is characterized as, a bold unprincipled licentious, and unflinchingly practical adventurer, a description applicable to most of the knights of the period. Born is declared to be an unprincipled schemer, selling his talents for a price and ready to embark in any cause, no matter what the general results might be if it would fill his coffers.

They are all tagged: we have Raimbaut de Vaqueiras the knight, Arnaut de Maruelli the sentimental, and Sain Circ the Society man. Sordello the Adventurer, Vidal the Eccentric, Peire Ramon the Graceful, Miraval the Spark, Sain Leidier the Gentleman, Folquet the Fantastic, Faidit the Fleshly, etc., etc.

The author at times becomes almost epigrammatic, in such sentences as: "Provençal poetry as a life culminated in B. de Ventadorn, as a science in Arnaut Daniel, and as an art in Guiraut de Bornell:" or speaking of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras the author says;

"As a man he commands our admiration—sagacious, true, and brave, as a troubadour he embodied perfectly the ideas and feelings of the elite of his age, equally approved by men and women. Lord-service, lady-service, and God-service were the three great offices of the troubadour, and he was pre-eminent in each. Above all his mind, character and life were a symmetrical whole—his thoughts became deeds, his acts were poems."

To my mind the feature of the work are the illustrations furnished by the poetry of the troubadours translated, or rather reworked in, English verse preserving in every instance the original rhythm and rhyme-scheme as completely as possible. The entire poem chosen for presentation is seldom given, but enough is printed to convey an excellent idea of the general literary effect. In almost all cases the reworking in English is admirably done. Occasionally an awkward inversion or similar roughness is to be found, but this is inevitable in a language as analytic as English.

As adjuncts to the general story of the troubadours, the author gives a glance at the origins of lyric poetry, and a notion of the musical theory at the time.

Both volumes are provided with maps, and

a very full bibliography is added to the edition, as well as copious notes. The plan on which the book is constructed gives undoubtedly the impression of lack of unity, and this is exaggerated by the broadness of treatment of fact, which aims solely at pictorial effect, but the result is in a way a part of Mr. Smith's intention in writing, I should surmise. He has endeavored to furnish a succession of word-paintings, which pass before us with a vividness that is at times dramatic. If it is admitted at the outset that Mr. Smith has the correct perception of the period he is treating, the book can give only pleasure, and in any case would prove entertaining reading.

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LECTURES AT GRENOBLE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—As so many American students and teachers are planning to spend their vacation this year in France, your readers will perhaps be glad to have a brief account of the courses in French given during the summer at the University of Grenoble. I was one of the four or five Americans who attended these courses last year, out of more than a hundred persons from many different countries: and I am happy to testify to the exceptional advantages there offered for study and recreation,—advantages which, if better known, would tempt many persons who wish to spend their time profitably and their money economically after satisfying their curiosity at Paris. Grenoble, at the confluence of the Isère and the Drac, is the most beautifully situated city in France, surrounded by superb mountains, and a convenient centre for magnificent excursions of all kinds. The city is not rich in antiquities, but has a few of real interest, such as a church dating from the sixth century, and a Palais de Justice of the early Renaissance; while the museum is one of the best in France. The large municipal library contains many treasures; two of the

manuscripts are of especial interest,—Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* and the poems of Charles d'Orléans.

The "Cours de Vacances," lasting from July 1 to October 31, are given in the handsome modern Palais de l'Université by Professors from the Faculties of Letters, Law, and Medicine, and from the Lycée, and also by other prominent citizens of Grenoble. They include lectures on various topics, usually connected with literature, or with the history, institutions, and geography of the Dauphiné; and *cours pratiques*, which are exercises in reading, writing and speaking. Among the lecturers for the coming summer, I notice M. Brun, who will speak on a subject on which he is now the leading authority, Savinien de Cyrano-Bergerac. Students of French history will be interested in *Les débuts de la Révolution*, a lecture followed by a visit to the château of Vizille. A timely topic is *L'Impérialisme Anglo-Américain et le droit international*, by a Law Professor. Weekly lectures on the history of art are given by M. Marcel Reymond, well-known for his books on Italian sculpture, who is the president of the *Comité de Patronage des Étudiants Étrangers*, and the personal friend of every student. One of the pleasantest episodes last year was a breakfast at M. Reymond's country-house, followed by a delightful tramp over the hills. Mondays are given up to excursions of this nature, and one of the greatest advantages of Grenoble is the opportunity of meeting many interesting and charming residents. I remember with particular pleasure my instruction in the *jeu de boules*, a kind of bowling played by everybody in Grenoble on a broad esplanade outside the city. Experiences of this kind are as important as language-lessons to one who wishes to know France; and in some respects a provincial city like Grenoble is preferable to Paris, especially in the summer. Moreover, living is reasonable in price, and excellent; the fees for the courses are small. The weather was a little warm last August, and delightful in September.

In order to profit by these courses, one should be able to understand spoken French; ability to speak is of less importance at the beginning. Men and women are admitted on equal terms.

Certificates of study are given, be the stay long or short. Circulars and all information are courteously furnished by M. Reymond, 4 Place de la Constitution, Grenoble. So far as I am able, I shall be glad to answer questions as to the courses and the city.

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BRIEF MENTION.

The revised reprint of M. Louis P. Betz's bibliographical articles in the *Revue de philologie française et de la littérature*, which has just been published by Trübner of Strassburg under the title *La Littérature comparée: Essai bibliographique*, will be welcome to all workers in the field of comparative literature. M. Betz has collected together here the titles of not far short of three thousand books and articles dealing with the comparative aspect of literary study. He divides his materials into a dozen chapters, of which the first is devoted to "études théoriques," the remainder dealing with the literary relations of the different European literatures; an Appendix discusses, — very superficially, however, — "l'histoire dans la littérature." The value of such a bibliographical handbook hardly needs emphasizing; it is only unfortunate that M. Betz has not given us a little more and perhaps, at the same time, a little less. With what seems misplaced zeal to be complete at all costs, he has heaped together worthless programmes and review articles dealing with minute points in the relations of a single author to foreign literatures; while of the great landmarks in the growth of Comparative Literature as a science he has not a word to say. We look, for instance, in vain for Herder's name in the index to M. Betz's bibliography, although surely Herder's *Stimmen der Völker* alone is a monument of the first importance in the comparative study of literatures; even Goethe is not allowed to speak for himself. The Preface to Gervinus's *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* is ignored; so, too, is Carrière's *Kunst im Zusammenhang der Kulturentwicklung*; and even such pillars of the science of comparative literature as Taine's *Litté-*

rature anglaise, Hettner's *Achtzehntes Jahrhundert*, and Brandes' *Main Currents in the Literature of the Nineteenth Century*, find no place in M. Betz's scheme. His list of theoretical studies, which might have formed the most valuable part of the book, is exceedingly meager, embracing only twenty-seven items; M. Betz seems to be unaware of the excellent work on literary and critical theories which has been done in America in the course of the last two or three years: at least, the only American book he quotes is Brownell's *Essay on Comparative Criticism*. M. Joseph Texte, it remains to be noted, prefaces the work with a short introduction.

The *Bibliothek for Hjemme: Ugenkrift for dansk Literatur*, issued by Messrs. Gylden-dal of Copenhagen, is a new weekly publication the object of which is to popularize the masterpieces of Danish literature. In each number instalments of four different works are published simultaneously; each of these four works is paged separately, and provided with a title-page of its own, so that it may be ultimately separated and bound up alone. In this way four of Paludan-Müller's best poems have already appeared complete, as well as the "Jammers-Minde" of Leonora Christina, the unhappy daughter of Christian IV, who was imprisoned in the Blue Tower of Copenhagen from 1663 to 1685. The latter is a reprint of the annotated edition by Birket Smith, which was published in two volumes in 1879 and 1881. Ingemann's long novel "Landsbybørnene" and a collection of Fru Gyllembourg's stories are still in progress of publication, and since the New Year a selection of Christian Winter's short stories has been added. The subscription is only 50 öre a month, so that one may thus acquire a good, well-printed Danish library for the small outlay of less than two dollars a year.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, May, 1900.

SOME NOTES ON PNIOWER'S *Goethes Faust*.

OTTO PNIOWER'S *Goethes Faust, Zeugnisse und Excursus zu seiner Entstehungsgeschichte*, ranks in importance and usefulness next after the Weimar edition of the drama. It furnishes us with all the evidence upon the genesis of the work and Goethe's occupation with it that could be collected from his diaries, his correspondence, his conversations, his autobiographical writings, the correspondence of his friends, the *Ausleihejournal* of the Weimar library, and other sources. Instead of making an attempt to set forth the many excellencies and few shortcomings of the book, I offer some observations which, though prompted by points in which I felt obliged to disagree with Pniower, yet are not strictly confined to them.

THE INSUFFICIENCY OF THE DIARIES.

Pniower lays special stress upon the insufficiency of the diaries as a foundation of *Faust* chronology. The three instances of insufficiency cited in the preface (p. ix), however, are not happily chosen. The first relates to December 1797, a month for which, he thinks, the letters prove close occupation with *Faust*, while the diary has no entries whatever. A closer examination of the letters reveals, however, that they testify to thoughts and intentions concerning *Faust* rather than to actual work. That in fact no real work was done during that time is proved all but conclusively by a letter from the beginning of the following month; on Jan. 2, 1798, Goethe writes to Knebel: *Ich will nun nach und nach (!) wieder an irgend eine Arbeit gehen . . . Ich denke den Faust zuerst vorzunehmen.*¹ He, therefore, had not been engaged upon *Faust* or any other labor for a considerable length of time.

Pniower's second instance of supposed insufficiency of the diaries is found under June 18, 1830, the date of the scheme of the prologue of the third act. Yet under the same date we

¹ I am fully aware that some work on *Oberons und Titanus goldne Hochzeit* may have been done during that time, but this production had not been conceived as a part of *Faust*, and as late as Dec. 20 Goethe had not definitively decided to incorporate it.

read in the diary: *Fortsetzungen aller Art besorgt*, and hence we ask the question why these may not comprise a continuation of *Faust* as well as other continuations.

The third instance, finally, is that of May 16, 1831, the day when the long scheme of the fourth act was written. Here the diary of that particular day may indeed be silent, but an entry of the next day says: *Poetische Vorarbeiten* and, therefore, is exactly to the point. Whether this conflict of dates is due to an actual mistake on the part of Goethe or John, or whether Goethe did not consider the scheme finished till the seventeenth, the case involves at most an error of twenty-four hours.

While Pniower's warning should be heeded as far as the desultory records of Goethe's daily doings at certain times of the period when he was completing the First Part are concerned, my own experience has convinced me that, however insufficient the extracts from the diaries as published in Erich Schmidt's *Urfaust*² may have proved, the diaries themselves furnish a firm basis for the study of the gradual evolution of the Second Part between 1825 and 1831. Perhaps there may be a few more cases where work done on one day was recorded under the next, or where it may be necessary to decide from the connection as to whether a certain expression points to work on *Faust* or not, but upon the whole it may be safely said that whenever during those years there is no reference to *Faust*, there was no occupation with it worth recording. Just a few lines may now and then have been scribbled or some little *Mundiren* done at odd times without being chronicled.³

THE RESUMPTION OF THE WORK ON FAUST IN THE NINETIES.

It would seem that an unbiased reader of the references to the drama in Goethe's correspondence and diaries of 1797 and 1798 must admit that their whole tenor shows that 1797

² Erich Schmidt, *Goethes Faust in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, 3rd ed., 1894, shows over fifty omissions and a number of other errors within the space of the four years from 1827-1830. Pniower's extracts on the contrary are practically complete. Private advices say that the extracts from the diaries will not be republished in connection with the 4th edition of the *Urfaust*.

³ With regard to dating lines written on playbills or the like, compare *Americana Germanica* iii p. 213 f.

was the time when the work was resumed, and that this resumption took place after a long interruption. Indeed, if all other evidence were lost, the *Zueignung* alone should prove this. Nevertheless Pniower makes a long argument in favor of 1796. In the first place he quotes (p. 43) the statement in the *Annalen* for 1796: *... bei der entschiedenen Lust, das Theater kräftig zu beleben, ward ich angeregt, den Faust wieder hervorzunehmen.* But this is contradicted by a statement in the letter to Schiller of June 22, 1797: *Unser Balladenstudium hat mich wieder auf diesen Dunst- und Nebelweg (that is, Faust) gebracht.* The contemporary evidence naturally deserves more credence than the other, which is from twenty to thirty years later, and admittedly not over-particular in matters of chronology.

In the second place, Pniower (p. 44 ff.) calls attention to the influence which Joh. Friedrich Schink's dramatic sketch *Doktor Faust's Bund mit der Hölle* seems to have exercised upon Goethe, and argues that, since the production of Schink was quite insignificant, Goethe can only have made use of it immediately upon its appearance in the summer of 1796. But is it logical, we may ask, to maintain, on the one hand, that Schink's sketch made such an impression upon Goethe that he began the work on the corresponding parts of his own drama *angeregt durch die Lectüre der Schink'schen Dichtung* (p. 46), and then to presume on the other that it was so insignificant (*unbedeutend*) (p. 50) that he was not at all likely to have given it a second reading at a later time? Can such an argument overrule the contemporary evidence which is all in favor of 1797?⁴

Yet Pniower has still a third and more elaborate chain of reasoning. He asserts (pp. 51 ff.) that Goethe, having begun the composition of *Faust* 'ohne einen das ganze umfassende Plan,' was as late as 1795 prevented from resuming the work because he had not found *das künstlerische Band* and did not know how to fill *die grosse Lücke*. In 1797, however, expressions such as *Die Arbeit passt sich recht gut zu einer verworrenen Stimmung—Das Drama ist eine barbarische Composition*—and a designation of his work as *Possen* prove that he had found

⁴ Pniower (p. 50) also calls attention to Schink's *Prolog zu einem dramatischen Gedicht: Doktor Faust*, which appeared in 1795. Strange to say, Lessing's prologue is not mentioned.

the artistic connection and knew how to fill the gap. As the solution cannot have occurred to him in his restless state of mind in June 1797, it must have come to him some time between 1795 and 1797, that is, in 1796. Now a careful survey of the critical years and the genesis of *Faust* in general, with the aid of the Weimar edition and Pniower's own book, has led me to quite different results. Goethe tells us that he did have a skeleton plan from the very beginning.⁵ At least at the time of the *Fragment* he must have had in mind something in the nature of a contest, or a wager, between Faust and Mephistopheles, because Mephistopheles does not get possession of Faust by virtue of the compact, but is still merely hopeful of catching him after the compact has been made.⁶ Indeed, Luden reports that Goethe told him that the parts of the *Fragment* had been taken out of a whole.⁷ On the other hand, even in 1797, when, according to Pniower, the artistic connection had been found, this very connection was evidently somewhat loose. Goethe speaks of the plan as being *eigentlich nur eine Idee*; he threatens if he had time, *so sollte das Werk zu männiglicher Verwunderung und Entsetzen, wie eine grosse Schwammfamilie, aus der Erde wachsen*; and in contrast to Schiller, who lays so much stress upon the *poetischen Reif* and the philosophical part, he asserts that he is going to take it easier and that the whole will always remain a fragment.⁸ Where is there a trace of a special intuition with regard to the great gap and the artistic connection that had come to Goethe between August 1795 and June 1797, or any indication that 1796 was such an epoch-making year in the genesis of *Faust*?

Very fortunately Goethe himself has told

⁵ Goethe to Zelter, June 1, 1831:

Es ist keine Kleinigkeit, das was man im zwanzigsten Jahre concipirt hat, im zweyundachtzigsten ausser sich darzustellen, und ein solches inneres lebendiges Knochengeripp mit Sehnen Fleisch und Oberhaut zu bekleiden, auch wohl dem fertig hingestellten noch einige Mantelfalten umzuschlagen. Compare also the famous letter to Humboldt of March 17, 1832:

Es sind über sechzig Jahre, dass die Conception des Faust bei mir jugendlich von vorne herein (in a local sense) klar, die ganze Reihenfolge hin weniger ausführlich vorlag. Finally *Partipomenon* 63, which, though penned in 1836, surely in the main represents his plan as it existed in 1775.

⁶ *Fragment*, l. 1998 (Seuffert)—*Faust*, l. 3325: *Gelt! dass ich dich fange!* Compare also *Fragm.* ll. 339 ff.—*F.* l. 1860 ff.

⁷ Pniower, l. c. p. 95.

⁸ Goethe to Schiller, June 22, July 1; Schiller to Goethe, June 26; Goethe to Schiller, June 27, 1797.

us—the passages are in Pniower's book (pp. 63 and 43)—what in reality did prevent him for so long a time from resuming the work. It was not what Pniower alleges, but the difficulty of melting again the material that had become congealed, of dissolving again the powder that had formed a sediment. Says he in a letter to Schiller's wife, April 21, 1798:

'Was mich so lange Jahre abgehalten hat wieder daran (that is, an *Faust*) zu gehen war die Schwierigkeit den alten geronnenen Stoff wieder ins Schmelzen zu bringen. Ich . . . hoffe nun das Werk gehörig im Fluss zu erhalten—' and almost three years earlier in a letter to Schiller himself, Aug. 17, 1795:

'Mit diesem letzten (that is, *Faust*) geht mir's wie mit einem Pulver, das sich aus seiner Auflösung nun einmal niedergesetzt hat; so lange Sie dran rütteln, scheint es sich wieder zu vereinigen, sobald ich wieder für mich bin, setzt es sich nach und nach zu Boden.'

The expressions, furthermore, in which Pniower sees evidence of obstacles successfully overcome, have a very different meaning. Goethe speaks in them as a Grecian. Just as he designates *Faust* as *Possen* now, he had referred to the *Fragment* as *Tollheiten* eight years before and was to count Part First among *holzschnittartige(n) Spässe* eight years later.⁹ And what else could *Faust* be to a Grecian but a 'barbarous composition?' Only we should be careful to take 'barbarous' here in the Greek sense, not in its modern meaning. The *verworrene Stimmung*, finally, while it clearly unfitted Goethe for the sustained and objective effort which his epic plan required, still allowed him to hope that he might be able to make some headway with a work as subjective as *Faust* and to which he might apply himself at odd hours.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, to be sure, *Faust* also proved too hard a task under the circumstances, and ceased to progress after little more than the *Zueignung* and an *Ausführlicheres Schema* had been completed.¹¹

Between the end of June 1797 and the early part of April 1798 we hear only of interest in the work and intentions and concern about it. Not till May 5, 1798, does Goethe report that he has really carried out the intentions ex-

pressed in the letter of June 22, 1797. Only then the old manuscript has been copied, and the separate parts of it have been arranged in in fascicles according to the numbers *eines ausführlichen Schemas*. Here Pniower fails to realize the identity of this scheme with the one noted in the diary under June 23, 1797. Consequently a reference to May 5, 1798, is wanting in the latter place, and a reference to the imaginary *Schema vom 5. Mai 1798* is made under Aug. 3, 1815. Indeed it almost seems as if he considered the various *Paralipomena* which contain *ad* followed by some number not as classified according to the scheme, but as parts of it, since he says (p. 65): *Mit Sicherheit darf man auch die Paralipomena 93-95 zu dem alten Schema rechnen*. A scheme is of course always in prose.

THE DOG-SHAPE OF MEPHISTOPHELES.

In the course of an interesting discussion of the time when Goethe composed the lines that speak of the trail of fire which follows the poodle, Pniower (pp. 132 ff.) decides in favor of the time of the *Fragment*, and against the Frankfurt period, because he regards the lines of the *Urfaust*, p. 80, ll. 15 ff.:

wandle den Wurm wieder in die Hundsgestalt in der er sich nächtlicher Weile oft gefiel vor mir herzutrotten, dem harmlosen Wanderer vor die Füße zu kollern . . . Wand! ihm wieder in seine Lieblingsbildung

as evidence of a different plan. He, therefore, probably supposes them to imply that before assuming human form Mephistopheles was associated with Faust for a considerable period in the shape of a dog. I will not undertake to point out at any great length that such prolonged mute association between the two principal characters is contrary to the Faust legend and would have proved most unsatisfactory, if not unmanageable, from a dramatic point of view; I will simply state what the real meaning of the lines appears to be.

'Change the worm again into the dog-shape in which he by night (not at other times) often (not always) was pleased (in the past, no longer now) to divert me! Change him again into his favorite shape!' (Cf. also Schröer.)

That is, we are given to understand that Mephistopheles had not lost the faculty of assuming the shape in which he first introduced himself to Faust, and which in that case he had donned

⁹ Letters of Nov. 5, 1789 and Sept. 30, 1805.

¹⁰ Letters of June 20 and June 22, 1797.

¹¹ The Eckermann-Kiemer *Faust* chronology assigns the *Prolog im Himmel* to 1797, we do not know upon what authority. If this should be correct, it was perhaps composed during the same few days in June.

at will, but that, as long as Faust had been in a mood to enjoy such diversions, he had often reassumed it on their nightly walks when his services were not otherwise needed, and naturally had been pleased to do so because it was the shape he preferred to any other. Faust had been able to constrain him to assume human form, but he had no power to convert him into a dog again. If the lines had contained evidence of an abandoned plan, nothing would have been easier for Goethe, had he been so minded, than to adjust them to the new circumstances when he revised them for publication between 1798 and 1806. But instead of making a considerable change, as he did in a few other places of the scene, he confined himself to writing *in seine Hundsgestalt, wie er sich oft nächtlicher Weile gefiel* instead of *in die Hundsgestalt in der er sich nächtlicher Weile oft gefiel*. On this trait of the harmlessness of Faust's and Mephistopheles' earlier intercourse, which stands out with such bright effect in the midst of the fearful sombreness of the scene which had defied the poet's efforts to give it metrical form, learned *Faust* criticism, so often bent upon ferretting out incongruities instead of giving explanations that are obvious, has reared a whole edifice of hypotheses concerning an earlier plan, until some who could not imagine that Mephistopheles in his capacity as a spirit might well know all about Faust's intention of taking his own life, without having been present in some corporeal shape, have gone so far as seriously to believe that originally the poodle occupied the place of the Easter bells, an idea which indeed is more worthy of a critic than of a poet. Whoever, on the other hand, can accept the straight and plain interpretation of the lines as given above, is also at liberty to admit that the passage about the trail of fire which follows the poodle may belong to the Frankfurt period, an assumption which, all things considered, appears most likely from the way in which Goethe speaks of that optical illusion in his essay on *Physiologie Farben*.¹²

THE SCHEMES OF THE 'ANTECEDENZIIEN' OF
THE HELENA DRAMA FROM NOV. 9 TO
DEC. 18, 1826.

In Pniower's opinion (pp. 164 ff.) the evolu-

¹² Pniower, l. c., states, p. 134, that the essay seems to have been written in 1820. *Faust* ll. 3270 f. refer to l. 1571.

tion and interrelation of the schemes of November and December 1826 is in substance as follows. On Nov. 8, Goethe turned his attention to the old *Paralipomenon* No. 63. On the next two days he continued this *Paralipomenon*, but *nach vorn*. The first part of this continuation, covering Nos. 1-6, was lost. The second has been preserved in the draft of Nov. 9 and *Paralipomenon* No. 99, which belongs to Nov. 10. Between Dec. 15 and 18, Goethe went to work to enlarge this *Paralipomenon* No. 99. The enlarged scheme which in the diary is termed *Antecedenzien zu Faust*, Dec. 15, and *Einleitung zur Helena*, Dec. 16 and 18, is *Paralipomenon* No. 123, although this bears the date of Dec. 17. The *Schema zu den Antecedenzien der Helena* mentioned in the diary under Dec. 17 is once more *Paralipomenon* No. 99, and this was concluded on that day. While I am glad to see Pniower agree with me in assigning *Paralipomenon* No. 99 to Nov. 10, I have to take exception to a number of other points. *Paralipomenon* No. 63 was not continued (*fortgeführt*) *nach vorn* but in the middle. Nos. 1-6 were probably not lost but left blank, because Goethe was then only concerned about the immediate *Antecedenzien* of Helena. If they had actually been written, it would be a strange coincidence that the schemes of Nov. 9 and 10 (*Paralip.* No. 99) should both begin at the same point. The *Antecedenzien zu Faust* of Dec. 15 do not refer to *Paralipomenon* No. 123 but to its draft of Dec. 15, a document which seems to have escaped Pniower's notice altogether, while the *Einleitung zur Helena*, on the other hand, is surely identical with that *Paralipomenon*. It then remains to explain what is meant by the *Schema zu den Antecedenzien der Helena* of Dec. 17, and why the *Einleitung zur Helena* bears the date of Dec. 17, though, according to the diary, it was not finished till the eighteenth. In this rather perplexing question one thing is perfectly certain, namely that the *Schema zu den Antecedenzien* cannot refer to *Paralipomenon* No. 99, as Pniower maintains, because it would have been to no purpose to finish an old scheme after it had just been superseded by a new one many times as full as it and extending beyond it. The expression *Schema zu den Antecedenzien der Helena* might refer both to the draft of Dec. 15 and to *Paralipomenon* No. 123, for

either calls itself: *Schema . . . die Antecedentien bekannt zu machen*.¹³ The draft of Dec. 15 does not consist of four folio pages, as I stated in MOD. LANG. NOTES, Vol. xiv, col. 209, misled by the somewhat indefinite statement in the Weimar edition,—but of eight and a slip of paper, and *Paralipomenon* No. 123 does not fill seven folio pages, but fifteen and a number of slips.

In conclusion I wish to call attention to a very curious similarity which seems to exist between *Paralipomenon* No. 123, ll. 244–256, and a passage in Dante's *Inferno* ix, 55–60. After having saved Faust from the head of Gorgo, which comes to meet them on their way to Proserpina, Manto says:

'Das Gorgonenhaupt nämlich sey ihnen . . . entgegen gezogen . . . hätte Faust darauf geblicket so wär er gleich vernichtet worden, (so dass weder von Leib noch Geist im Universum jemals wieder etwas von ihm wäre zu finden gewesen).'

When the three Furies on the flaming tower of the city of Dis cry *Venga Medusa*, Vergil says:

Volgiti indietro, e tien lo viso chiuso:
Chè se'l Gorgon si mostra, e tu il vedessi,
Nulla sarebbe del tornar mai suso.

Again with Goethe we read:

'Auf einmal deckt Manto ihren Beschützten mit dem Schleyer und drängt ihn vom Wege ab gegen die Felsenwände, (so dass er zu ersticken und zu vergehen fürchtet).'

while Dante continues:

Così disse 'l Maestro: ed egli stessi
Mi volse, e non si tenne alle mie mani,
Che con le sue ancor non mi chiudessi.

In either case, therefore, the guide protects the traveller in the lower world from the head of Gorgo, Manto by pushing Faust off the road and covering him with her veil, Vergil by turning Dante and closing his eyes with his hands. Both with Goethe and Dante the protector especially states to the *protégé* that he would never have returned to the upper world again if he had beheld the head, only that Goethe intimates as thorough a destruction as Dante could hardly have conceived. Since we know, moreover, that Goethe was much interested in Karl Streckfuss' Dante translation and that he derived the *Flammenschild*, l. 11647, from the preceding canto, it seems almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that the passage in the *Inferno*

¹³ Weimar Edit. xv. 2. *Paralipomenon* 123, ll. 285 ff., and variants below. The former is also printed with Pniower, l. c. p. 174.

influenced, if it did not suggest, the meeting with the head of Gorgo in the *Paralipomenon*.

THE PLEA BEFORE PROSERPINA.

Pniower (p. 179) contends that Eckermann's statement of Jan. 15, 1827, that Faust was to make the plea before Proserpina may possibly be correct and may thus disclose an older plan. I must consider this absolutely improbable, if not impossible, for certainly when Goethe composed the last part of *Helena*, and probably even considerably before that time, he intended that Manto should manage Helena's return to life. That is what is hinted at in the words *Der alt-thessalischen Vettel wüsten Geisteszwang*. To say that this refers to Mephistopheles, whom the chorus itself had only a little while before addressed as *Creta's Erzeugte*, seems rather arbitrary. Mephistopheles does not even enter Hades, much less constrain the women to appear on earth. He only takes charge of them some time after they have arrived there. In perfect harmony with this idea the first introduction to *Helena*, which was written June 10, 1826, just after the preliminary completion of the drama, says in so many words that Helena could not be obtained through Mephistopheles, but that *dämonische(n) Sibyllen in den Bergklüften Thessaliens* bring it about through *merkwürdige Verhandlungen* that Proserpina allows Helena to return to life. In accordance with this, again, the schemes of Dec. 15 and 17, which were elaborated only four weeks before Eckermann's conversation, have not Faust but Manto make the plea before Proserpina, and the same is true regarding the three schemes of 1830, the last of which closes with the significant words *Manto ist die Einleitung überlassen*. In the face of all this evidence it does not seem possible to avoid the conclusion that Eckermann made a mistake in his report, as he seems also to have done in another case, to which we shall come presently.

SOME POINTS IN THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE FIFTH ACT.

Eckermann's statement that in December 1830 Goethe devoted his whole interest to the fourth act of *Faust* and the fourth volume of *Wahrheit und Dichtung* is allowed by Pniower (pp. 253 f.) to pass unchallenged. It seems,

however, that 'the *fourth* volume' caused Eckermann to write 'the *fourth* act' instead of the *fifth*; for, as a matter of fact, the fourth act was not begun till February 11 or 12, or even May 4, 1831, May 16 being the date of the main scheme, while the fifth act was completed during that very month of December.¹⁴ It has not yet been determined how much was added during this month, because it is not exactly known how the fifth act closed after the work that had been done on it in 1825. One might feel inclined to think that the state in which this act was left in 1825 is represented by VH2 and that, therefore, Mephistopheles' complaint about the loss of Faust's soul (11825-11831) followed by *Abkündigung* and *Abschied* at that time formed the conclusion.¹⁵ The description of the course of the action as leading *Vom Himmel durch die Welt zur Hölle* in the conversation with Eckermann of May 6, 1827, would favor such a supposition if the occurrence of the statement *dass ein aus schweren Verirrungen immerfort zum Bessern aufstrebender Mensch zu erlösen sei* did not point rather strongly to the existence of lines 11936 f.:

"Wer immer strebend sich bemüht
Den können wir erlösen."

In another place (p. 294 f.) Pniower holds that in the points in which the fragment of the *Achilleis* of 1799 agrees with the fifth act of *Faust*, the former draws on the latter and not vice versa. However true this may be of the rest, it is not correct as far as the expression *Wimmeln von neuem Volk* is concerned, because the line *Solch ein Gewimmel möcht'ich sehn* is later than VH2, where the last words of Faust are much shorter and do not yet contain that expression. On the other hand the lines

Es kann die Spur von meinen Erdetagen
Nicht in Äonen untergehn.—

which according to a writer in MOD. LANG. NOTES, of last December, col. 476, were written by Goethe *wenige Wochen vor seinem Tode* are found in VH2 and, therefore, belong at least to the year 1825, if indeed they do not date back to the time of his communion with Schiller.

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¹⁴ Diary, Dec. 13, 1830: *Weitere Ergänzung des Faust*: Dec. 17: *Abschluss von Faust und Mundum desselben. Ich gab ihm [Eckermann] den Abschluss von Faust mit.*

¹⁵ *Paralipomenon* 203 would probably have been inserted before 11825. The greater part of VH2 may go back to the time of Schiller.

VALTEGER, "HENGES" AND THE MAYOR OF QUEENBOROUGH.

In the old account book which Philip Henslowe kept from 1591 to 1609, which Collier printed unsatisfactorily in 1845 for the Shakespeare Society and called "Henslowe's Diary," there are nearly a score of entries concerning a play variously entitled "Valteger," "Vortiger" or (in one case) "Vortemar." These entries disclose that this play was performed for the first time December 4, 1596, and five times more within that month, thrice in January 1597, and once in each of the following three months, with a possible further performance in the following June.¹ In "The Enventary of all the aparell for my Lord Admiralles men tacken the 10 of marche 1598" occurs the "Item, j payer of hosse, and a gerken for Valteger," and in a further inventory for the same company taken three days later we find: "Item, Vartemar sewtte" and "Valteger robe of rich tafitie."² Lastly, Henslowe records:

"Pd at the apoyntment of the companye, unto my sonne, E. Alleyn, for a Boocke called Vortiger, the 20 of novmbr 1601 the some of xxxxs."³

This entry points to the revival of the play at that date. I have mentioned the entry of June 1597 as possibly referring to the same play, although in that entry Vortiger is not mentioned, but "Henges." In a note to that passage Collier writes: "The proper title was probably "Hengist," and there is still an existing MS. play called *Hengist, King of Kent*."⁴

If we turn now to Mr. Fleay's list of anonymous plays we find the following passage: "Valteger (Vortigern), 4th Dec. The same play as Hengist, 22nd June 1597, which was not a new play; beyond doubt Middleton's *Mayor of Queenborough*."⁵

This last named play takes its title from the underplot which concerns the humors of a personage named Simon the Tanner. The main story is that of the usurper Vortigern (called Vorteger in the text), who having de-throned his lawful sovereign, the saintly Constantius, seeks the aid of the Saxon princes Hengist and Horsus and is finally overthrown, with his foreign allies, by the rightful heirs, Aurelius and his brother Uter Pendragon. The story is ultimately referable to Geoffrey of Mon-

¹ Henslowe, pp. 83-86 and 89 under "Henges."

² *Ibid.* pp. 273, 274.

³ *Ibid.* p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 89.

⁵ *Chronicle of the English Drama*, 2, 305.

mouth,⁶ although the immediate source is unquestionably John de Trevisa's translation of Ralph Higden's *Polychronicon*, which had been published by Caxton in 1482, and remains even to the present day the least rare of Caxton's printings.⁷

The theory of Mr. Fleay as to the identity of the three plays *Valteger*, "*Henges*" and *The Mayor of Queenborough* is altogether probable from the important rôles played by the usurper and the Saxon chief in *The Mayor*. From the following circumstance we may consider the identification as certain.

In 1846 Collier printed for the Shakespeare Society the interlude *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*, to which he added certain "Early Illustrations of Shakespeare and the English Drama." The second of these "illustrations" is entitled "Curious Dramatic Manuscript," and runs in part as follows:

"Understanding that there existed in the library of an ancient family in the East of England an early MS. containing plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, I made further inquiries, and was favored with a sight of the volume. It is of no great antiquity, but may furnish important readings."⁸

Five plays are then mentioned which do not concern us here. The sixth is *Hengist King of Kent* and fortunately for us Collier took the trouble to transcribe the prologue, which runs as follows:

Ray[nulph]. What Raynulp Munk of Chester can
 Raise from his Polichronicon,
 That raised him, as works doe men,
 (To see light so long parted with agen)
 That best may please this round faire ring 5
 With sparkleing judgments circled in
 Shall produce, if all my power[s]
 Can wyn the grace of too poore howres:
 Well apaide I goe to rest,
 Ancient storyes have bene best, 10
 Fashions that are now called ner
 Have bene worne by more then you:
 Elder times have us'd ye same,
 Though these new ones get ye name,
 So in story whats now told 15
 That takes not part with days of old?
 Then to prove times mutuall glorye
 Ioyne new times love to old times storye, *Exit*.

These eighteen lines, save for a few trifling variants, form the prologue to *The Mayor of*

⁶ *Historia Regum Britanniae*, translation ed. Giles, 1842, p. 111 ff.

⁷ The Story of Vortigern is told at some length in the *Polychronicon* Book v. *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain*, Higden, 5, 255-277.

⁸ *Shakespeare Society Publications*, 1846, p. 85.

Queenborough as printed in the works of Middleton, a fact of which Collier was evidently unaware, and which apparently Mr. Bullen did not know in editing his—the latest—edition of Middleton. As the variants are several of them such as to require the transcription of more than one line, I also transcribe the prologue in the version of Mr. Bullen's edition.

Ray. What Raynulp, monk of Chester can
 Raise from his Polychronicon,
 That raiseth him, as works do men,
 To see long-parted light agen,
 That best may please this round fair ring,
 With sparkling diamonds circled in,
 I shall produce. If all my powers
 Can win the grace of two poor hours,
 Well apaid I go to rest.
 Ancient stories have been best;
 Fashions, that are now call'd new,
 Have been worn by more than you;
 Elder times have used the same,
 Though these new ones get the name:
 So in story what now told
 That takes not part with days of old?
 Then to approve time's mutual glory,
 Join new time's love to old time's story.⁹

The italics indicate variants from the text given by Collier and are, as they stand, sufficient to show that Mr. Bullen's is a later version. It would be interesting to learn what has become of the manuscript, the whereabouts of which Collier so vaguely indicated, as it contained besides two well known plays of Fletcher's Sir William Barclay's *The Lost Lady*, published in 1638, *The Inconstant Lady* by Arthur Wilson, who died in 1652, and *The Lovers' Hospital*, of which I can find no mention elsewhere. It may be added that Mr. Fleay says that Wilson's play was published in 1814, although a MS. of it is supposed to have been destroyed by Warburton's cook.¹⁰

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THE OLDEST SCENES IN GOETHE'S FAUST.

I.

In its general outlines, the evolution of Goethe's *Faust*—from those early days when, as the poet recalls in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, "die Puppenspielfabel klang und summte gar vieltönig in mir wieder," to the closing months of his life, when he put the last touches to the Second

⁹ Bullen's *Middleton*, 2, 5.

¹⁰ *Chronicle of the English Drama*, 2, 278.

Part—has long been familiar to us, but it is only within recent years that the first chapter of the history of *Faust*, namely that on its origin and earliest stages, has had something more than hypotheses to deal with. Attempts to establish a chronology for Goethe's work on *Faust* in the period before he left Frankfort for Weimar towards the end of 1775, date virtually from Wilhelm Scherer's papers in *Aus Goethes Frühzeit (Quellen und Forschungen*, 34, Strassburg 1879), and the same critic's *Betrachtungen über Goethes Faust* (*Goethe-Jahrb.* 6 [1885], 231 ff., reprinted in *Aufsätze über Goethe*, Berlin 1886, 293 ff.)—papers which for long were held up as warning examples of the abuse of the philological method. The tendency, however, of recent criticism of *Faust* is to go back to Scherer, or, at least, to show a better appreciation for the valuable side of Scherer's work on *Faust*.¹ A new basis for the whole subject was afforded by E. Schmidt's important discovery in 1887 of the Göchhausen MS. of the pre-Weimarian *Faust*, the so-called *Urf Faust* (*Goethes Faust in ursprünglicher Gestalt, nach der Göchhausenschen Abschrift herausgegeben von E. Schmidt*. 1-4. Abdruck. Weimar 1887-99). On this new basis the most important, or at least, the most voluminous contribution to the study of *Faust* is J. Collin's *Goethes Faust in seiner ältesten Gestalt* (Frankfurt a. M., 1896). The chronological deductions of Collin's work are unfortunately its weakest side; they are too obviously based on an *a priori* theory that *Faust* in its first stage was wholly written in 1774 and 1775:

der älteste Faust ist anzusehen als das Produkt einer nach jahrelanger innerer Arbeit rasch und kräftig hervorbrechenden dichterischen Tätigkeit (p. 122).

Cf. O. Pniower's review in the *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, 24 (1898), 382 ff., and a paper comparing Collin's standpoint with Scherer's by S. W. Cutting in *MOD. LANG. NOTES*, 10 (1895), 464 ff. Among the ablest and most penetrating critics of the *Urf Faust* is Otto Pniower, to whose numerous contributions repeated reference will be made in the following pages; the most important of these is the volume which he published a few months ago

¹ Cp. Prof. Calvin Thomas's paper on *Scherer's Methods as a Critic of Faust* in the *Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America*, 2 (1887), 92 ff.

under the title *Goethes Faust: Zeugnisse und Excursus zu seiner Entstehungsgeschichte* (Berlin: 1899), an indispensable handbook for every student of *Faust*. In 1897 J. Niejahr came forward in partial support of Scherer's standpoint with an article in *Enphorion*, which in turn called forth a new philological investigation of the opening monologue by F. Saran in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*. Saran also supports in the main Scherer's conclusions with regard to the construction of this monologue. These papers, to which I shall have occasion to add several others in the course of the present article, give a general idea of the attitude of recent *Faust-Forschung* to the question of the "oldest *Faust*." A summary of the whole controversy is to be found in the introduction to Schmidt's edition of the Göchhausen MS., which in the two last editions has become a veritable introduction to the entire subject of *Faust* Philology. Prof. Schmidt's own standpoint is in the main a conservative one; as far as chronology is concerned, it is summed up in the words: *Faust-dichtung vor 1773 oder erst 1774 ist wiederum nur im Bereiche der Gedanken, nicht der gestaltenden Ausführung zu suchen* (p. xiii). The object of the present paper is, on the basis of these recent developments of *Faust* criticism, to suggest some kind of working hypothesis of the actual beginnings of Goethe's masterpiece.

II.

Prof. Schmidt's view is virtually that to which we are led by the direct evidence bearing on the origin of Goethe's *Faust*. Leaving aside all evidence which only proves in a general way that Goethe was engaged on the poem in 1775—a fact which was, of course, established by the discovery of the Göchhausen *Faust*—we might conveniently arrange the remaining evidence in three groups.

I. Contemporary Evidence. a. Gotter's lines to Goethe (in Pniower's list [*Goethes Faust*, Berlin 1899] No. 7):

Schick mir dafür den Doktor Faust,
Sobald Dein Kopf ihn ausgebraust!

which point to the date Summer 1773. This date is corroborated by the letter in the *Italienische Reise*, dated March 1, 1788 (Pniower, No. 56), in which Goethe refers to his plan of writing *Faust* fifteen years before. b. Boie's

statement of October 15, 1774 (Pniower, No. 12): *Sein Dr. Faust ist fast fertig, und scheint mir das grösste und eigenthümlichste von Allem.* c. Knebel's letter of December 23, 1774, to Bertuch (Pniower, No. 13): *Ich habe einen Haufen Fragmente von ihm, unter andern zu einem Doctor Faust, wo ganz ausnehmend herrliche Scenen sind.*

II. The second group of evidence dates from the years 1811-13: it is that of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* and of the plans and sketches connected with that work. a. In Book ten of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (*Werke*, 27, 320) Goethe connects the origin of *Faust* with his friendship with Herder in Strassburg (September 1770-April 1771), but at the same time states that nothing was written then (Pniower, No. 3). b. In a sketch of the contents of Books 9-11 (probably dictated April 2, 1811) are the words, referring to the latter part of his sojourn in Strassburg, (Pniower, No. 4): *Fortsetzung der übrigen Natur- und Medicinischen Studien. Unendliche Zerstreuung. Vorbild zum Schüler in Faust* (*Werke*, 28, 360). c. In Book twelve (*Werke*, 28, 98) Goethe discusses his visit to Darmstadt in the spring of 1772 and refers to *Faust* as being then in an advanced condition (see, however, Pniower, No. 5). To this group of evidence might be added; d. Jacobi's letter to Goethe of April 12, 1791 (Pniower, No. 79): *Von Faust kannte ich beynahe schon alles . . . Wie ich vor sechzehn Jahren fühlte . . .* Jacobi was a guest of the Goethe family in January, and again at the beginning of March, 1774.

III. The third, and naturally least trustworthy group of evidence, is that of Goethe's correspondence and conversations in the last years of his life. a. In a letter to Zelter of May 11, 1820 Goethe associates the composition of an important part of *Faust* with *Satyros* and *Prometheus* (Pniower, N. 326). b. In a conversation with Eckermann (February 10, 1829) he connected *Faust* with *Werther* (Pniower, No. 692), and again c. in the *Annalen* it is mentioned along with the *Puppenspiele* and the *Prolog zu Bahrdr* (Pniower, No. 2). To these items has also to be added d. the statement, doubtless based on some authority, of Eckermann and Riemer, ascribing *die ältesten Scenen des Faust* to the years 1773-74 (Pniower, No. 9). In later life Goethe was thus clearly

inclined to date the origin of the poem earlier than our direct evidence justifies us in dating it. This is also seen in e. the letter to Zelter of June 1, 1831, in which he speaks of having conceived *Faust* in his twentieth year (that is, 1769) (Pniower, No. 874), and again, f. in the letter to W. von Humboldt of March 17, 1832, in which he speaks of his occupation with *Faust* extending over more than sixty years (that is, at least to 1771).

Of internal evidence, the influence of Herder's *Älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* (published at Easter, 1774) on ll. 72 ff. of the *Urfaust* (Pniower, No. 10) is the only fact sufficiently well established to afford a date for any part of the poem earlier than 1775. Thus, as far as actual proofs are concerned, we are forced to the conclusion that *Faust* may have been begun in 1773, but that we have complete certainty only for the years 1774 and 1775.

III.

The question as to when Goethe began *Faust*, and what are the oldest scenes in the drama, is, however, by no means so easily disposed of. Even if we ignore completely—which we are hardly justified in doing—the second and third groups of evidence, the poem is still of too composite a nature to have been written off, as it stands in the Göchhausen MS., between 1773 and 1775. That MS. certainly does not represent the earliest form of the *Faust* poem any more than it contains all of the poem that Goethe brought with him to Weimar (see O. Pniower, *Zwei Probleme des Urfaust*, in *Vierteljahrsschrift f. Littgesch.*, 2 [1889], 146 ff. and R. Kögel, *Der vorweimarische Faust*, in the same volume, 545 ff.). Evidence such as that which Collin (*loc. cit.*) brings forward to support his theory that the *Urfaust* was written off as it stands, in 1774-75, proves no more than that Goethe was too good a poet not to weave his older plans and materials skillfully into the new whole.

There can hardly be any question that the oldest part of Goethe's *Faust* is the opening monologue; here, if anywhere, must have been the beginning of the drama (cf. E. Schmidt, *Urfaust*, p. xxxv). B. Senffert (*Die älteste Scene im Faust* in the *Vjs. f. Littg.* 4 [1891], 339 ff.) attempted to claim the "Mephistopheles Student" scene as a parody written in

Leipzig. But just as there could have been no Faust without the opening monologue, so there could have been no Mephistopheles without Faust. And this opening monologue, as Scherer first suggested, and as has recently received confirmation from J. Niejahr (*Kritische Untersuchungen zu Goethes Faust: I. Älteste Gestalt*, in *Euphorion*, 4 (1897), 272 ff.) and F. Saran (*Die Einheit des ersten Faustmonologs* in the *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.* 30 [1898], 508 ff.), is no homogeneous whole. That there is a break of plan just before Faust opens the book of Nostradamus is, I think, no longer open to question. Scherer placed the break after line 74; Saran with more probability places it after l. 72, regarding the four lines

73-76: Umsonst dass trocken's Sinnen hier
Die heiligen Zeichen dir erklärt
Ihr schwebt ihr Geister neben mir
Antwortet mir wenn ihr mich hört.

as the transition to the later plan, according to which Faust conjures the spirit, not in the open country, but in his own room. We may not feel justified in seeing with Niejahr traces of an originally out-of-door scene in the present *Erdgeist* scene, but there is little doubt that Goethe's original intention was to make Faust evoke the *Erdgeist* in the open country. Hardly less convincing seems to me the first break which Scherer insisted upon; namely, that between the matter-of-fact beginning of the monologue and the poetic, Swedenborgian (see M. Morris, *Swedenborg im Faust*, in *Euphorion*, 6 [1899], 491 ff.) apostrophe to the moon:

33 ff: O stühst du voller Mondenschein . . .

It would be absurd, of course, to say (cf. Schmidt, *l. c.*, p. xxviii) that a poet of Goethe's genius could not have written even the whole opening monologue of *Faust* with all its varied tones, and that in a single day, but the question has to be considered in view of the fact that the first scene of the *Urfaust* falls naturally into two parts, one of which is uniformly pervaded by a pantheistic conception of nature, by a constant antithesis of nature and spirit, while the other is in a tone of dry, cynical humor. The lines of the monologue which are completely free from this Herder-Swedenborgian spirit are obviously 1-28, not 1-32, for the last four lines of the first section of the monologue,

29-32: Dass ich erkenne was die Welt
Im Innersten zusammenhält
Schau alle Wirkungskraft und Saamen
Und thu nicht mehr in Worten kramen.

besides simply enlarging on the preceding lines, have already a touch of what I should call the new spirit; and again, the lines descriptive of Faust's *Mauerloch* (45-56). Apart from the fact that these latter lines are in the same tone as the first twenty-eight lines, it is worth noticing that the description they give of the *enges gothisches Zimmer* is not imagined for a night scene when the room is so dimly lighted that the moonlight pours into it, and the details of its furnishings would not be visible, but for daylight,

47-48: Wo selbst das liebe Himmels Licht
Trüb durch gemahlte Scheiben bricht.

The superscription *Nacht* of the scene is probably to be associated with the lines 33 ff. I would thus claim as all that remains to us of the earliest stage of Faust's monologue, ll. 1-28, then, after a gap, ll. 45-56. In addition to these forty lines, ll. 65-68,

Flieh! Auf! hinaus in's weite Land!
Und dies geheimnisvolle Buch
Von Nostradamus eigner Hand
Ist dir das nicht Geleit genug?

and the last four lines of the scene (165-168), which form the transition to the *Faust-Wagner* scene, were perhaps also taken over from the first rough sketch of the drama.

The next scene of the *Urfaust*, that between Faust and Wagner, belongs to the oldest scheme of the drama. There was a Wagner in one of the *Puppenspiele*. The satiric tone of the scene stands out in sharp contrast to the spirit of the *Erdgeist* scene, and certainly harmonizes better with that part of the monologue which I have claimed as oldest. At the same time, as R. Huther (*Herder im Faust*, in *Zeits. f. deut. Phil.* 21 [1889], 329 ff.) has pointed out, the influence of Herder permeates the scene, although it is surely unnecessary to go to Herder's *Provinzialblätter* for parallelisms. This part of *Faust* has not yet been subjected to the careful philological scrutiny to which the foregoing and the succeeding scenes have been subjected, but I doubt if much would be gained by such an investigation. As the scene stands, it has a poetic justification owing to the contrast it affords to the *Erdgeist* scene, but it seems to me more than probable that it was

written before the spirit-conjuring scene, and was intended to precede them. The latter, as originally planned, would, of course, have demanded a change of scene, while the *Faust-Wagner* scene could only have taken place in Faust's room. Faust's interview with the *Erdgeist*, to mention another small point, would have hardly suggested itself to Wagner as *deklamieren*: it points rather to the scene having been immediately preceded by the original monologue.

And upon this *Faust-Wagner* scene follows in the Göchhausen *Faust* the scene between Mephistopheles and the Student, incontestably one of the oldest elements in the poem. As we have seen, it has even been claimed as dating back to Goethe's sojourn in Leipzig, but as E. Schmidt has with justice pointed out (*loc. cit.* p. xlii), the tone of the verses would not have been approved of by the Leipzig Goethe. On the other hand, Leipzig memories are fresh in it; the figure of the young *Fuchs* receiving advice about food and lodgings seems more likely a Leipzig reminiscence than a Strassburg one. That, however, Goethe's Strassburg experience had much to do with the scene is to be inferred from the words, already quoted, in a sketch plan for his autobiography: *Vorbild zum Schüler in Faust*. Pniower (*Die Schülerszene im Urfaust*, in *Vjs. f. Littg.* 4 [1891], 317 ff.) has subjected this scene to a searching and, in the main, convincing analysis, with the result that he distinguishes in it two parts, the first consisting of lines 249-338, the second of the last one hundred and three lines (341-444), the two parts being loosely connected by the verses

339-340: Ihr seyd da auf der rechten Spur,
Doch müsst ihr euch nicht zerstreuen lassen.

The first of these parts Pniower ascribes to the winter of 1771-72, the second to 1775.

The position of the *Auerbachs Keller* scene in the chronology of *Faust* is less easy to determine. Its vivid Leipzig memories and associations might lead us to find here, as in the preceding scene, an early Leipzig constituent of the poem. This theory—which B. Seuffert (*Vjs. f. Littg.* 1 [1888], 53 ff.) attempted to maintain, but afterwards rejected—is however, indefensible. As the scene stands, it could certainly not have been written in Leipzig. At the same time, the immediateness of its de-

scriptions and its local color point strongly to the fact that it was sketched while Goethe's Leipzig memories were still fresh. In a letter to Auguste von Stolberg of September 17, 1775, Goethe wrote (Pniower, No. 21): *ich machte eine Scene an meinem Faust*, and in the same letter, a few lines later, compared himself to a *Ratte, die Gift gefressen hat*. This has generally been accepted as giving a clue to the date of this scene. Another and slighter piece of evidence, is, the resemblance between a verse which Goethe wrote in his Diary on June 15, 1775, and the lines at the beginning of the scene,

179-180: Uns ist gar kannibalisches wohl
Als wie fünfhundert Säuen!

(Pniower, No. 20.) But as Pniower (*l.c.*) has shown, there is no reason why this and the *Ratte* song should not have been later additions. For that part, the evidence, however strong, that Goethe was engaged on "*Auerbachs Keller*" at all when he wrote to Auguste von Stolberg, is by no means conclusive. The academic freshness and specifically Leipzig color of the scene is, I think, strongly in favor of the hypothesis that "*Auerbachs Keller*" in some shape formed a constituent part of the oldest *Faust*.

IV.

To sum up the conclusions which, it seems to me, we are justified in drawing as to the oldest form of Goethe's *Faust*: 1) There is no ground for assuming that Goethe had written a line about Faust before the winter of 1771-72; at least, if he had, nothing of it had passed into the *Urfaust* as we know it from the Göchhausen MS. But in Leipzig Goethe's thoughts had at least been directed to the magician Faust (cf. the references to Faust in the *Mitschuldigen*: Pniower, No. 1); the real *Auerbachs Keller*, with its pictures of the saga, had brought Faust visibly before him, and Lessing's fragment (1759) had suggested the literary possibilities of the theme. In 1769 his interest in alchemy probably again brought Faust near to him. But we may accept his own statement in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* as the true one, that nothing was written on *Faust* until after his acquaintance with Herder, until his return from Strassburg to Frankfurt in 1771. The fact that Goethe's earliest verses in the

Kuittel rhythm of Hans Sachs² belong to this year is additional evidence that it is the earliest date to which we can ascribe work on *Faust*. To the winter of 1771-72 belongs then, it seems to me, the oldest form of the *Faust* poem; this oldest form was what might be described as a purely academic *Faust* on the basis of the puppet-play. In addition to the evidence of detail I would emphasize, on one hand, the vividness of the academic scenes, which precludes too long a separation from Goethe's own experiences in Leipzig and Strassburg; on the other hand, the manifest changes of aim and plan, not to speak of the changes in poetic style, which demanded a separation, not of months, but of years, between the earliest form and the later additions.

This oldest academic *Faust* opened with a monologue of which I have specified how much seems to me to have passed over into the Göchhausen version. Upon this first scene—which may have included a spirit-conjuring scene, but was more probably a monologue and nothing more—followed the *Faust-Wagner* scene. The third scene of the fragment embraced the first half of the *Mephistopheles-Student* scene. As a fourth scene, there may have been an early form of the *Auerbachs Keller* scene, but it was probably only a roughly sketched-out plan, which took clearer form later, when Goethe had a better idea of what he intended to do with Faust after bringing him and Mephistopheles together. It is very improbable that any of the *Gretchen* scenes existed before the year 1774; it is quite out of the question that Goethe had even dreamt of making his Faust the hero of a love tragedy as early as the winter of 1771-72.

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NOTES ON ENGLISH VOWELS.

I. Gradation in 'year' and other Nouns.

WE are accustomed to the process of modern gradation (German *ablaut*) in particles, pronouns, and some verbs, for example, *be*, *have*, *can*, etc. In substantives and adjectives it is not so obvious and for that very reason deserves attention. In *historical/his tery/his*-

² Werke, iv, 2, 9, in an epistle to Merk. Cf. Pniower in Vjs. f. Littg. 4 (1891), 333.

Pry les'son, and in *hick'ery/hick''ry nut'* we have a gradation series with *o/e/zero*. In *ārt'/artis'tic*, as in OE. *āu'/au*, we have an *ā/a* series, which in early modern English 'on(e) feather'/'birds of a feather' appears as *ō/a*, just as the Indo-European series *ā/a* appears as *ō/a* in Germanic. In *day/holiday/Monday* we have the series *ē/e/i*. The same series is found also in words in *-ate*. Verbs of this class, being generally followed by a weak syllable (see *Publications of the M. L. A. of A.* xii, 322), have considerable stress on the *a*, which thus appears as *ē*, for example, *separate* and so *separated*. The same is true of substantives and adjectives that frequently stand at the end of a sentence (see my *German Orthography and Phonology*, § 278, a), for example, *vulgate*, *mandate*, *cognate*, *prostrate*, etc. But adjectives that are usually used attributively, and so stand before a syllable with heavy stress, have *e* or *i*, for example, *separate*, *delicate*, etc., and so most substantives of two syllables: *senate*, *pirate*, *prelate*, *frigate*, *palate*, etc.; those having a weak syllable before the *-ate* vary between *ē* and *e*, for example, *candidate*, *reprobate*, *aggregate*, *certificate*. Here belong also the cases of lengthening in open syllables provided not more than one syllable follows, and the cases of shortening if more than one syllable follows (see Luick, *Auglia*, xx, 337 ff.); to the examples given by Luick we may add ME. *vine/vinegre*, *āker/akerspire* (see column 283), and *Mary* with *ē/Maryland* with modern shortening of *ē* to *e*. The cases of *æ > ē > ā/æ*, for example, in *päss/passage* and *pæssenger*, *bāth/Kætherine*, *photogrāph/photographic*, I shall deal with in another paper.

My chief object in calling attention to modern gradation in nouns is to explain the present diversity in the pronunciation of *year*. This word has two pronunciations, one with long *i* (more or less low before the *r*) and one with long *a*. The first, which rimes with *fear*, is almost universal in America, the second, which rimes with *her*, is getting the upperhand in England. This difference of vowel is due to gradation, the strong form generally maintaining itself with us, and the old weak form crowding it out in England and parts of eastern New England.

The strong form occurs in such phrases as 'in a *year*,' 'twice a *year*,' 'the last day of the *year*,' and often in 'next *year*,' 'this *year*,' etc. The weak form was, however, very frequent, especially after a numeral, thus '*ten years old*,' '*three years after*,' '*new-year's calls*,' etc.

Before ME. *ē* became the modern *i*, the strong form of 'year' was *jēr* and the weak form *jer*, later *jār*. In time the strong *jēr* became *jir*, as *fēr* 'fear' became *fir*. When in England the weak form began to displace the strong in stressed positions, its vowel lengthened, as in stressed *her*:—

weak: (*hə*)r, *jār*;

strong: *hār*, *jār*.

In America the normal strong form *jir*, for the most part, drove out the old weak *jār*. In time, however, a new weak form arose with *i* shortened from *i*, and it is this that is now heard in expressions like 'He's *ten years old*,' etc. See also the following paper.

II. The Vowel of 'wind.'

The normal development of the vowel of OE. *wind* 'wind,' like that of *windan* 'to wind,' would have been *i>i>ai*, and to a certain extent this development went on unchecked. This was particularly true when the word was stressed and at the end of the stress-group. Thus, in rime, where these conditions prevail, we find *wīnd*, and this poetic usage continues to this day, chiefly because there is nothing to rime with *wīnd* except an occasional name like *Ind* or *Jenny Lind*.

But the normal development received two powerful checks. In the first place, the word is very common in the contrasted expressions '*north wind*,' '*south wind*,' '*east wind*,' '*west wind*,' where it has but little stress. This produced the gradation *i/i*, modern English *ai/i*. See the preceding paper.

But the same shortening was brought about wherever the *ind*, though heavily stressed, stood before other consonants in compounds or derivatives. *Windward* and OE. *windwian* 'to blow,' modern *winnow*, are such derivatives; of compounds there are many. I need cite only the most common ones: *windpipe*, *window* (wind-eye), *windmill*, *windrow*, *wind-break*, *windfall*, *windstorm*, *windbound*, etc. Compare also the plant-names *windgall*, *wind-flower*, *windplant*, etc., also *windhover*, *wind-*

sucker and the like. The verb 'to wind' suffered exactly the same shortening in the compound *windlass* and the derivative *windle*.

III. The Etymology of 'acrospire.'

Acrospire is at present the most common form of a word that appears as *akerspire*, *ackerspire* and *ackersprit*, *acrospire*. Murray refers to *ackerspyre* and *akerspire* as obsolete or dialectic, and derives the word

"from Greek *ἀκρο-* [combining form of *ἄκρος* *a.* terminal, highest, topmost; *sb.* a tip, point, extremity, peak, summit]+*σπειρ-α* anything twisted, or *σπείρειν* to sow."

Other dictionaries contain much the same explanation, but not the hesitating suggestion of the possible relation to *σπείρειν*. Skeat ignores the word, probably on the ground that it is a recent scientific term like *acrospore* and its etymology obvious. Wright alone has got on the track of the truth and suggests relation to *spire* 'a spike or blade.'

The earliest record that I know of the word is *aker-spirc*, Surflēt and Mark, *Countrey Farme*, 1616; the next *acherspyre*, Skinner, 1671; the third, *Acrospire*, Grew *Anat. Plants*, 1674. The fact that the word has been in common use among English farmers and malterers, and that for nearly three hundred years, makes it impossible that it is an artificial product of the modern botanist. Moreover, the form *akerspire* is much the older and has nothing Greek about it at all. In fact, it is clearly a pure English word and got a Greek look only as a result of a natural phonetic change. The word is a compound of *aker* (the older and more reasonable spelling of *acre*) and *spire*. The earlier meaning of *acre* is 'field' (still in vogue in Yorkshire, Norfolk, etc.; cf. also *acrestones* 'field stones,' *acremould* 'finely tilled earth,' etc.), and the meaning of *spire* is 'a sprout or shoot, as a spire of grass or of wheat,' as Chaucer says: *An ook cometh of a litel spyr*. An *akerspire* is such a sprout as comes up from the ground in a wheat field, in distinction from a sprout that comes later from the plant itself. It is thus the first shoot from the seed, 'the first leaf that appears when corn sprouts,' to quote Lindley's definition. By malterers it was used of the sprouting of malt, cf. the following from Maunder *Scient. Treas.* 443: 'By the aid of moisture, the barley is made to germinate, that is to put forth roots and almost

its acrospire or first spout; and by the aid of fire, the roots are destroyed and the acrospire prevented from bursting the skin.'

Let us now see how the change in form came about. *Aker* originally had short *a*, which regularly became long in the open syllable of the dissyllabic word, as it did in *baker*, but as regularly remained short in the trisyllabic form *akerspire*, as it did in *Saturday*, see col. 280. If the *a* was at any time long in *akerspire*, it became so by analogy to the simplex *aker*, as *bakery* got its long *a* from *baker*; the history of the word, however, makes it unlikely that it ever became long. *Akerspire* contains a congestion of consonants in the middle of the word, which was relieved by the metathesis of the *er* to *re*: *akrespire* or *acrespire*. Just such a metathesis has taken place in the change of *larynx*=*lærinks* to the vulgar *larnyx*. In *acrespire* the *e* spells an obscure vowel that might as correctly be spelled with almost any vowel, and so we are not surprised to find *acrosprite*. This spelling was doubtless favored because of its classical look, and in time led to the bogus classical derivation that has figured in our dictionaries ever since. Compare the similar classical spelling *anchor* for the older *anker*.

The form *acrosprite* is a similar formation, but in this case the second member of the word is a derivative of *sprout*, compare OE. *sprytte*, *sprytting*, etc., 'sprout,' 'shoot,' 'twig,' and *spryttan* 'to sprout' or 'germinate.'

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THE SOURCES OF CORNEILLE'S TRAGEDY *La Mort de Pompée*.

THERE are many reasons why Corneille's tragedy *La Mort de Pompée* should be of interest to us. It belongs to the best period of his literary career, being written in 1643 immediately after *Polyeucte*, and just before *Le Menteur*. He composed it for the purpose of proving to his critics that he had not lost the secret of that majestic diction which they had admired in *Cinna*, and which seemed to be lacking in *Polyeucte*.

The object of the present study is to consider the sources of the play and to show the method of Corneille in shaping his material into acts

and scenes. Incidentally it may afford glimpses of the attitude of a tragic author of the seventeenth century toward his material and show how a classic tragedy could be composed.

The original edition of the play of the year 1644 was preceded by an *Épître au Lecteur*, containing the following passage:

Si je voulois faire ici ce que j'ai fait en mes deux derniers ouvrages, et te donner le texte ou l'abrégé des auteurs, dont cette histoire est tirée, afin que tu pusses remarquer en quoi je m'en serois écarté pour l'accomoder au théâtre, je ferois un avant-propos dix fois plus long que mon poëme, et j'aurois à rapporter des livres entiers de presque tous ceux qui ont écrit l'histoire romaine. Je me contenterai de t'avertir que celui dont je me suis le plus servi a été le poëte Lucain, dont la lecture m'a rendu si amoureux de la force de ses pensées et de la majesté de son raisonnement, qu'afin d'en enrichir notre langue, j'ai fait cet effort pour réduire en poëme dramatique ce qu'il a traité en épique.

The later editions of the years 1648, 1652 and 1655 contained in addition a list of the lines translated from Lucan's *Pharsalia*. Both the *Épître au Lecteur* and the list of loans from Lucan were replaced by him in the edition of the year 1660 by the well-known *Examen* which he prefixed to the plays that had appeared up to that time. Here he speaks of our tragedy as follows:

À bien considérer cette pièce, je ne crois pas qu'il y en aye sur le théâtre où l'histoire soit plus conservée et plus falsifiée tout ensemble. Elle est si connue, que je n'ai osé en changer les événements; mais il s'y en trouvera peu qui soient arrivés comme je les fais arriver.

And then follows a discussion of the principal alterations, which he has introduced.

The attempt to separate the invention of Corneille from the historical data, which he accepted, seems never to have been undertaken seriously. The only study of the play to my knowledge is the brief *Notice* by Marty-Laveaux in his edition of the works of Corneille.¹ He points to the early love of Corneille for Lucan, made evident by the fact that when still a student in the Jesuit College at Rouen he obtained a prize for a translation into French verse of a portion of the *Pharsalia*,² and he

¹ *Les Grands Écrivains de la France*, Vol. iv.

² It has since been shown that the authority which Marty-Laveaux accepts here is untrustworthy, and that metrical translations of Latin and Greek authors did not form a part of the Jesuit curriculum of the time. Cp. Bouquet, *Points obscurs de la Vie de Corneille*, pp. 17-18.

accepts his confession of indebtedness to Lucan in the composition of *Pompée*. However, he maintains that the idea of dramatizing certain portions of the poem did not come to him from his love for Lucan:

Il la doit bien évidemment à Chaulmer, auteur d'une traduction abrégée des *Annales* de Baronius, qui a publié en 1638, chez Antoine de Sommaville, un des libraires de notre poète, *La Mort de Pompée*, tragédie.

We shall show later that this idea rests entirely on a gratuitous assumption. He mentions further that Garnier's tragedy *Cornélie* (1574) was of service to Corneille for the composition of Act V, Scene 2, a fact which had been first pointed out by Voltaire. It will be shown that here also the information of Marty-Laveaux was incomplete.

Picot in his *Bibliographie Cornélienne* (1876) accepts and repeats these statements, and adds Velleius Paterculus as an additional source. This addition is evidently made upon the authority of the passages from this author containing pen pictures of Cæsar and Pompey cited by Corneille in the first edition of the play. An examination of them, however, reveals the fact that they were introduced by Corneille for their own intrinsic literary value, and not because he considered them as sources of the play. If they have influenced the composition, this influence is not apparent.

It is curious that Marty-Laveaux, who had opened his copy of Amyot's translation of Plutarch, did not see the close similarity which exists between it and our tragedy. Evidently he trusted Corneille too literally and did not look very closely. In the present study it will be proved that Corneille has made extensive use of Amyot's *Plutarch*, and that notwithstanding his reference to the large historical library "dont cette histoire est tirée" his immediate sources were quite limited. A certain number of scenes he has invented outright; for these it is unnecessary to seek an authority. In the main body of the play he has used Lucan and the account of the death of Pompey in Plutarch's *Lives of Pompey and Cæsar*. Outside of these two authors, he seems to have made but little direct use of other sources, with the exception of Garnier's *Cornélie* from which he has imitated two scenes.

To have a basis for our argument, it will be

necessary to review briefly the events which form the center of the tragedy.

The death of Pompey is the main episode of the end of the second civil war, which had begun with Cæsar's crossing of the Rubicon in 49 B. C. When the news of this decisive step reached Rome, Pompey at once left the city, and after having tried in vain to gain a foothold in the Southern portion of the peninsula, he left Italy altogether and crossed over into Epirus. Cæsar at first turned his attention to the army threatening him in Spain. Only when that had been beaten at Ilerda, did he prepare to follow his enemy into Greece. After some preliminary skirmishes, Pompey was foolish enough to follow Cæsar into Thessaly, where he was completely routed at Pharsalus in the year 48. He was now forced to flee for his life. Stopping at the island of Lesbos to pick up his wife Cornelia, who was there expecting to hear news of his victory, he sailed along the coast of Asia, endeavoring to find the necessary aid to repair his adverse fortune. However, closely pressed by the pursuit of Cæsar, it became necessary for him to find a safe place of refuge. He decided upon Egypt, whose king Ptolomæus Dionysius was beholden to him, since he had been instrumental in protecting the throne of his father. Some years before when the latter, Ptolomæus Auletes, had been driven from his country, he had gone for aid to Rome. Pompey had espoused his cause, and though the Senate had refused to grant the help demanded, he had personally entrusted Gabinius with the matter, and Ptolemy had been reinstated. He now believed that gratitude for this timely aid would insure him a safe hiding-place in Egypt. He knew that the young King was encamped at Pelusium, being then at war with his sister Cleopatra.

When Ptolomæus Auletes had died he had decreed by testament that Ptolomæus Dionysius should reign in conjunction with his sister, on condition that they should marry each other, but Dionysius had objected to the terms of the testament.

As soon as the news of Pompey's approach reached the Egyptian camp at Pelusium, the young King assembled a council of his ministers, and deliberated with them upon the most expedient plan to be followed under the cir-

cumstances. It was finally decided that Pompey should be sacrificed for the purpose of gaining the good will of the pursuing Cæsar. The execution of this resolution was entrusted to Achilles, who took with him his chosen accomplices, and in a small boat went out to meet Pompey's galley. Under pretense that the sea was too shallow to allow a close approach to the shore Pompey was persuaded to step into this boat, which was to bring him into the presence of the King. Its progress was eagerly watched by Cornelia and Pompey's friends from the galley, which remained at anchor.

When it had reached the shore, they could see that Achilles drew his sword, and dealt Pompey a mortal blow. His head was then cut off and carried ashore, while the body was thrown into the sea. Cornelia, wild with grief, made vain attempts to throw herself into the sea, but she was prevented by her friends, who raised the anchor and fled in terror. The body of Pompey was washed ashore, and burned to ashes by a faithful friend.

Three days later Cæsar arrived in Egypt and upon landing the head of Pompey was presented to him. The result was not what the Egyptians had anticipated. He turned in sorrow from the sight, and received the ring of Pompey with tears in his eyes. He then set about to decide the quarrel between Ptolemy and his sister. He espoused her cause, read publicly the testament of their father and insisted upon its execution. This decision precipitated a war which lasted for the space of a year. During this period the eunuch Photinus, the King's privy counselor and instigator of the murder of Pompey, planned a treacherous plot against Cæsar. It was discovered, however, and its author was killed. Achilles, his companion, escaped by flight and joined the army of Ptolemy. Cæsar was now surrounded in a certain quarter of Alexandria, known as the Brucheion, and could maintain himself only by burning the Egyptian fleet in the harbor. During this conflagration a part of the celebrated Library was also destroyed. Finally he was reinforced by Mithridates, king of Pergamos, and in a decisive battle Ptolemy was overcome and came to his death by drowning during his flight. Cæsar now made Egypt a Roman province, and married Cleopatra to her second brother Ptolemy XV. Then he turned

against Pharnaces, king of Pontus, whom he conquered in so short a time that he could send to Rome the famous message: "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" Soon after his departure Cleopatra gave birth to a son, who was called Cæsareon after his father.

After a short stay in Rome, Cæsar next turned against his enemies in Africa. Sextus Pompeius and Metellus Scipio, the great Pompey's second father-in-law, had there joined the army of Juba and were maintaining the war against him. He conquered them in the decisive battle of Thapsus (46 B. C.), and as a consequence of this victory Utica was surrendered to him, and several of the leaders of the army—Scipio, Juba and Petreius—following the example of Cato, died a voluntary death.

We note the following changes which have been made by Corneille in making use of these historical facts, changes which for the most part Corneille himself has called attention to in his *Examen*.

1. According to the accepted account Cornelia, frustrated by her friends in her efforts to end her life after she had witnessed the murder of her husband, was carried away in the same galley which had brought them to Egypt. Corneille, basing himself upon the statement of Plutarch,³ that the murderers of her husband undertook to follow and capture her,⁴ imagines that she has actually been captured and brought back to the palace of Ptolemy, where Cæsar meets her. Inasmuch as the reason advanced by Corneille for this change is not to be found in any of his sources, he must have written from memory and have forgotten the actual facts of the case. It would seem as though the change had been suggested to him by Lucan. The ninth book of the *Pharsalia* describes the scenes on the galley on the morning after the murder. The ship is still so near the shore that Cornelia can distinguish the flame of the funeral pyre which consumes the body of her husband under the watchful care of Cordus, and she breaks out into lamentations that she cannot share his fate. With the words,

Linquere, si qua fides, Pelusia littora nolo,
Tu pete bellorum casus et signa per orbem
Sexte, paterna move (ix. 82-84),

she tries to persuade her son Sextus to leave

³ *Vie de Pompeius*, cx.

⁴ Corneille turns this into an actual command of Ptolemy: 'qu'elle fut poursuivie sur mer par les ordres de Ptolomée.'

her behind. But in spite of her petition she is carried away from the sad scene. Corneille evidently thought that it was not unreasonable to suppose that her wish had been granted, and that she had remained behind in Egypt. This change makes Act iii, Scene 4; Act iv, Scene 4; Act v, Scenes 1, 2, 3 and 4 possible, in which Cornélie takes a prominent part in the events after Cæsar's arrival, for which Corneille found no authority in his sources.

2. The murder of Pompey took place off Pelusium, and Cæsar landed at Alexandria. Corneille lays the scene of the tragedy 'en Alexandrie, dans le palais de Ptolomée.'⁵ Neither the name of Alexandria, nor that of Pelusium, appears in the play itself, as Corneille explains, 'de peur que le nom de l'une n'arrêtât l'imagination de l'auditeur et ne lui fît remarquer malgré lui la fausseté de ce qui s'est passé ailleurs.'

3. Cæsar's war in Alexandria lasted for nearly a year. This Corneille changed to a mere tumultuous uprising at his arrival, as he explains, to bring the action within the limits of twenty-four hours.

4. When Pompey arrived before Pelusium, Ptolemy was at war with Cleopatra, and could scarcely have occupied the same palace with her as the play supposes. This change Corneille introduced to preserve the unity of place.

5. The severed head of Pompey is presented to Cæsar in Corneille's play by the King himself. In speaking of this change, which is in itself of small moment, Corneille says that in both Plutarch and Lucan this was done by an officer of the King whom he calls Théodote. Corneille is mistaken here, as only Plutarch associates the name of Theodotus with this incident,⁶ Lucan mentioning no name whatever and referring to the man who does present the head to Cæsar merely as 'satelles' (ix, 1010). Since in line 597 of the same book Septimius is described as 'satelles,' and since according to line 663 it is he who severs the head of Pompey from his body, it is probable that Lucan thought of Septimius as having performed this shameful act.

6. Corneille has changed completely the relation of Cæsar and Cleopatra. According to him Cæsar is in love with Cleopatra before ar-

riving in Alexandria, in fact sends her letters from the battlefield of Pharsalus telling of his approaching visit, and so his object in coming to Alexandria seems to be less the pursuit of Pompey, than to visit her. He imagines, furthermore, an earlier meeting between the two at the time when her father Ptolomæus Auletes had come to Rome to implore the aid of the Senate.⁷ There is, of course, no foundation for this invention, though the age of Cleopatra⁸ and the time of her father's visit to Rome⁹ do not necessarily militate against it. Corneille does not mention this among the list of historical inaccuracies which he introduced, and his reference to Plutarch, when speaking in the *Examen* of the love of Cæsar for Cleopatra, seems to intimate that he found the story there. This is, however, not the case. Plutarch describes the first meeting of the two in his *Life of Cæsar*.¹⁰ He relates that it took place soon after the arrival of Cæsar in Alexandria, when Cleopatra implored his help against her brother. Through the machinations of Photinus she had been driven from the court of Ptolemy, and was in the country near by. Cæsar sent for her, and having no other means of entering into the city, she had herself carried into Cæsar's presence in a bundle of clothing by a faithful servant called Apollodorus. Plutarch continues:¹¹

"Ce fut la première emorche, à ce que l'on dit, qui attira Cæsar à l'aimer, pource que ceste ruse luy feit appercevoir qu'elle estoit femme de gentil esprit: mais depuis quand il eut cogneu sa douceur et bonne grace, il en fut encore bien plus espris. . . ."

This falsification of history is quite important for the play. It fills up a large portion of Act i, Scene 3, and Act ii, Scene 1; but its influence does not end there. Evidences of it are apparent, wherever Cæsar and Cleopatra face each other in a dialogue.

The question is of interest in this connection, whether there exists any fact in the story of Cleopatra that could possibly have led Corneille to introduce the alteration. This question may be answered affirmatively. Appian, *De Bellis Civilibus*, v. 8, in speaking of Antony's love for Cleopatra mentions a first meet-

⁷ Cp. Act i, line 289.

⁸ She was born between 72 and 68 B. C., probably about 69-68 B. C.

⁹ Between the years 63 and 55 B. C.

¹⁰ Chap. lxiii.

¹¹ Chap. lxiv.

⁵ The early editions from 1644 to 1694 added the word 'royal' before 'palais.'

⁶ *Vie de Julius Cæsar*, lxii.

ing between the two at the time when Gabinus, acting under orders from Pompey, was reinstating Ptolomæus Auletes on his throne, and Antony was an officer in his army¹²:

"Tum vero Antonius, præter formæ speciem, ingenii etiam lumen Cleopatæ admiratus, juvenili statim amore mulieris exarsit. Sed quum ingenio semper ad hæc flexili perhibetur fuisse; tum in hanc jam olim, puellam etiam tum Petulantius Conjecisse oculos fertur, quum Gabinium ducem juvenis secutus esset Alexandriam præfectus equitum."

7. Corneille advances the age of Ptolemy. His real age was about ten years.¹³ Appian, *op. cit.*, ii. 84, says he was at that time in his thirteenth year. This age makes his visit to Rome in company with his father and Cleopatra¹⁴ practically impossible. Corneille gives as his authority for the change Hirtius, *De Bello Alexandrino*, who speaks of him in chap. xxiv as "puer jam adulta ætate," and Lucan's apostrophe to him,¹⁵ "degener, incestæ sceptris jam cessure sorori." The evident reference in this line, says Corneille, is to her incestuous marriage with her brothers. Whether it refers to her older brother, or to the marriage with the younger, which was arranged by Cæsar before his departure, in either case the older brother, the Ptolemy of the play, must have been of age to marry Cleopatra.

8. Finally Corneille imagines that Pompey brings with him to Alexandria a copy of the testament of Ptolomæus Auletes. There is no authority for this change, but it was probably suggested by the following passage from Cæsar, *De Bello Civili*, iii. 108:

"In testamento Ptolomæi patris heredes erant scripti ex duobus filiis major, et ex duabus ea, quæ ætate antecedeat. Hæc uti fierent, per omnes deos, perque fœdera, quæ Romæ fecisset, eodem testamento Ptolomæus populum Romanum obtestabatur. Tabulæ testamenti unæ per legatos ejus Romam erant adlatæ, ut in ærario ponerentur (*hæc quum propter publicas occupationes poni non potuissent, apud Pompejum sunt depositæ*), alteræ, eodem exemplo, relictæ atque obsignatæ Alexandriæ proferebantur."

After having thus pointed out the general changes introduced by Corneille into the story furnished him by his sources, we may proceed to a more detailed study of the play itself.

¹² I cite from the Latin translation of the work published by Firmin Didot, Paris, 1850.

¹³ Cp. Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 447.

¹⁴ Mentioned by Corneille, Act I, line 293.

¹⁵ viii. 693.

Les Acteurs. The characters which Corneille obtained directly from his immediate sources are Jules César, Cornélie, Ptolomée, Cléopâtre, Photin, Achillas, Septime, Achorée and Philippe. The names call for no particular comment, with the exception of that of Photin, who is called Pothinus in both Lucan and Plutarch. Marty-Laveaux appends a footnote stating that certain manuscripts of Cæsar's work read Photinus. The office of Achorée is changed: in Lucan, viii. 475 ff, he is mentioned as a priest and friend of Pompey; Corneille makes of him a squire of Cleopatra, but does not change his friendship for Pompey.

Corneille added the names of Marc-Antoine, Lépide and Charmion. Marc Antony was present at the battle of Pharsalus, where he commanded the left wing of Cæsar's army,¹⁶ but after Pompey's defeat, Plutarch relates that Cæsar made him *matre de la chevalerie* and as such sent him back to Rome.¹⁷ Lepidus was made prefect of Spain by Cæsar before he set out for the battle of Pharsalus, and was not in Cæsar's company when he reached Alexandria. Neither character influences the action of the play in the slightest degree, and the question presents itself naturally why Corneille should have introduced them. The answer must be based on surmises, but we may believe that he was influenced by the union of these names in the later so-called Second Triumvirate of Octavius, Antonius and Lepidus. Both always appear as the companions of Cæsar when he comes on the scene. Lepidus is a mute character throughout the play, while Antony takes part in the dialogue in one instance in Act iii, Scene 3, where he has to play the incongruous part of Cæsar's confidant. He is sent by him to Cleopatra with messages of love, and in the scene in question he sings the praises of her beauty and assures Cæsar that his love is returned.

Charmion, mentioned as one of the favorite women of Cleopatra by Plutarch in his life of Antony, suggested itself naturally as the *confidante* of Cleopatra here.

ACT I, SCENE I. The play opens with a council scene between Ptolemy and his three advisers Photin, Achillas and Septime concern-

¹⁶ Cp. *De Bello Civili*, iii. 89.

¹⁷ *Vie d'Antoine*, chap. xii.

ing the reception to be accorded to Pompey after his defeat at Pharsalus. All the sources agree in stating that Ptolemy was persuaded to consent to the murder by the advice of his counselors. Corneille follows Lucan, viii. 472 ff., and Plutarch, *Vie de Pompeius*, cviii, and following. Lucan mentions as present at the council Acoreus (line 475) and Pothinus (line 483), while Achilles soon after (line 539) points out the boat, which is bringing Pompey to the shore. Plutarch names Pothinus, the rhetorician Theodotion,¹⁸ and Achilles as taking part in the deliberation. The attitude of mind, which caused Corneille's choice of characters here is easily seen. He follows Plutarch in the general outline of the scene with its threefold division, but he selects those characters which take the most prominent part in the action, namely, Pothinus the King's privy counselor, and Achilles and Septime, the two murderers.

The opening speech of the play is Corneille's own. It is befitting that the King should open the council meeting. Then follows a speech of Photin (ll. 50-116) advising Pompey's death. This is based completely on the speech of Pothinus in Lucan, viii. 484-535. The agreement of the individual lines, indicated by Corneille, is as follows:

Corneille 59-66=	Lucan, viii. 503-511;
" 70 = "	" 528-529;
" 73-74= "	" 484;
" 75-78= "	" 485-486;
" 80 = "	" 486;
" 81-84= "	" 487;
" 82 = "	" 487;
" 85-88= "	" 503-505;
" 93 = "	" 519;
" 97-100= "	" 520-523;
" 105-106= "	" 489-490;
" 107-108= "	" 494;
" 109 = "	" 495;
" 110-112= "	" 492-493.

Then follows a speech of Achilles (ll. 117-160). In Lucan he is mentioned immediately after the advice of Pothinus is given, which ends the council. He is described as "sceleri delectus Achilles" (Lucan, viii. 538) and sets to work at once to prepare for the murder. Achilles in Corneille's play advises neutrality.

¹⁸ The name occurs as Theodotus in the *Life of Cæsar*, lxii.

Let Ptolemy refuse to receive Pompey, but unless absolutely necessary let him not commit the murder. The speech seems based on Lucan, viii. 542-560, which contains the poet's reflections on the impending crime. Some of the lines of Achilles' speech resemble quite closely certain lines of this passage in Lucan. Corneille, ll. 117-132, contains a prayer to be neutral and cautious, the thought of which tallies with Lucan, viii. 550-560. Lines 133-134 refer to Ptolemy's indebtedness to Pompey; a similar thought is found in Lucan, viii. 559-560. Lines 140 ff., in which Achilles endeavors to prove to Ptolemy that Cæsar had done more towards reinstating his father than Pompey, are as it were an answer to Lucan, viii. 557-558:

Nescis, puer improbe, nescis
Quo tua sit fortuna loco.

The reference to the money advanced by Cæsar to the King's father is evidently suggested by a passage in Plutarch, *Vie de Cæsar*, lviii: "à cause que le père du roy, qui lors regnoit en Aegypte devoit à Cæsar un million et sept cents cinquante mille escus. . . ."¹⁹

The speech of Septime which follows next (ll. 161-188) is interesting for several reasons. We pointed out a few moments ago why Corneille substituted Septimius for the Theodotion of Plutarch; it here becomes evident that the change is merely one of names. What Septime here advises is based entirely on the advice of Theodotion in Plutarch. He begins with the words:

"Seigneur, je suis Romain; je connois l'un et l'autre,"

which calls to mind Plutarch's characterization of Septimius (*Pomp.*, cix): "Septimius, qui autrefois avoit eu charge de gens sous Pompeius." Theodotion in Plutarch proposes three alternatives: 1. To receive Pompey; 2. To close the port to him; 3. To kill him. Corneille accepts these, and adds the only other possibility, to deliver Pompey into Cæsar's power. One line at least even preserves the language of Amyot. Compare line 186,

"Par là vous gagnez l'un et ne craignez plus l'autre,"

with Plutarch: "ilz acquerroient la bonne grace de l'un et ne craindroient plus la male grace de l'autre."

¹⁹ As a matter of fact the money had not been loaned by Cæsar directly, but by a money-lender by the name of Rabirius Postumus, who is believed to have acted as Cæsar's agent. Cp. Mahaffy, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

I have entered thus minutely into the analysis of this scene in order to point out the error of Marty-Laveaux and Picot in maintaining that Corneille was influenced in the construction of this scene by a tragedy on the same subject published in 1638 by Chaulmer (*La Mort de Pompée*). Chaulmer presents the same council scene in Act iv, Scene 5, which Marty-Laveaux reprints on pp. 111 ff. It is quite probable that Corneille was acquainted with this play, but there is no evidence whatever that he was influenced by it. Marty-Laveaux's error proceeds from the notion that both Chaulmer and Corneille used Lucan as the sole source of their plots. If this be true, then, of course, the credit of having invented the council scene belongs to Chaulmer, and Corneille must have got his setting from him. However this is not so. Everything points to the conclusion that Chaulmer did not use Lucan at all, but Plutarch. The names of his counselors are Photin, Achilles and Théodote as in Plutarch, and their advice is also suggested by the same author. Photin votes for a friendly reception to Pompey and help in his misfortune. Achilles advises not to receive him, and Théodote votes for his death. These opinions agree too closely with Plutarch to admit of doubt: compare *Pompeius*, cviii:

"les uns vouloient que l'on le renvoyast, les autres que l'on l'appelast et que l'on le receust. Mais le rheteurien Theodotion . . . alla discourir que l'un ny l'autre n'estoit seur. . . à raison de quoy le meilleur estoit le mander pour le faire mourir."

The conclusion must be that Corneille may have known Chaulmer's play, but that he worked entirely independently of it, combining as we have shown the account of Lucan with that of Plutarch, while Chaulmer based his play only on the latter.

ACT I, SCENE 2. In a short dialogue between Ptolemy and Photin reference is made to the fact that Pompey is the bearer of the testament of the late King, and Photin uses his influence to deprive Cleopatra of her share in the government.

We have already shown that the former of these two ideas is Corneille's invention, but the latter is evidently derived from Plutarch (*Cæsar*, lxiii): "Pothinus, l'eunuque, lequel . . . apres avoir . . . chassé de la cour Cleopatra. . . ."

ACT I, SCENE 3. Cleopatra joins the two and pleads for justice and equity in the treatment of Pompey. The scene contains the statements that Pompey reinstated Ptolomæus Auletes on his throne, that he is the bearer of his testament, that Cæsar met and fell in love with Cleopatra during her visit to Rome with her father, that he advanced the funds to carry on the war of Ptolomæus Auletes, that he was at the very moment on his way to Egypt, and that Cleopatra had received a letter from him notifying her of his speedy arrival. The accuracy of these statements has already been fully discussed.

ACT I, SCENE 4. In a further dialogue between Ptolemy and Photin the new argument for Pompey's death is advanced that if Cæsar loves Cleopatra he will certainly take her side, and the only means of conciliating him will be the death of Pompey. The whole scene is entirely an invention of Corneille.

ACT II, SCENE 1. In a dialogue between Cleopatra and Charmion we learn of the former's love for Cæsar. There is a new reference to Cæsar's letter to her from the battlefield of Pharsalus, and Cleopatra explains that, though she is certain of his love and support, whatever she may do she wishes to protect Pompey for reasons of justice and equity. Corneille's invention is evident.

ACT II, SCENE 2. Achoree brings the news of Pompey's death. The scene is based on Plutarch and Lucan, and we shall again analyze it rather minutely.

Line 456 mentions the arrival of Pompey with three vessels. Both Lucan and Plutarch mention only one. Corneille then notes the following imitations of Lucan for the speech 449-496:

Corneille, 461-463 = Lucan, viii. 572-573;

" 469-470 = " " 580-582;

" 479-480 = " " 596-597.

For the rest, however, the whole speech is based very closely upon Plutarch (*Pomp.*, chap. cix), in some instances reproducing the very language of Amyot.

Cp. line 465:

Enfin, voyant nos bords et notre flotte en armes.

Plutarch:

On voyoit de loing plusieurs galeres de

celles du roy, que l'on armoit en diligence et toute la coste couverte de gens de guerre.

Cp. lines 479-584 :

Septime se présente, et lui tendant la main
Le salue empereur en langage romain ;
Et comme député de ce jeune monarque :
" Passez, Seigneur, dit-il, passez dans cette barque ;
Les sables et les bancs cachés dessous les eaux
Rendent l'accès mal sûr à de plus grands vaisseaux."

Plutarch :

Septimius se leva le premier en pieds, qui salua Pompeius en langage Romain du nom d'Imperator, . . . et lui dit qu'il passât en sa barque, pource que le long du rivage il y avoit force oases et des bancs de sable, tellement qu'il n'y avoit pas assez d'eau pour sa galere.

Lines 499-508 differ slightly from both sources. Lucan mentions no names; all the conspirators draw their swords and finally Achilles stabs Pompey in the side. Plutarch relates that the first blow was dealt him by Septimius, and that Salvius and Achilles followed the example. Corneille makes Achilles draw his sword as a signal, and then :

Septime et trois des siens, lâches enfants de Rome,
murder Pompey, while even Achilles looks on in horror.

Lines 514-567 continue the account; Corneille mentions the following loans from Lucan :

Corneille, 514-516=	Lucan viii, 614-615;
" 519-520=	" " 619;
" 526-528=	" " 621;
" 529-531=	" " 668-675;
" 534-536=	" " 698-699;
" 541-542=	" " 661-662.

To these we may add lines 521-522=Lucan viii, 617; and lines 522-528, which are in general based on the dying thoughts of Pompey, equal Lucan viii, 622-632. Plutarch could not serve here, since his description of Pompey's death is very brief. There is, however, one line which reproduces again the language of Amyot, namely, line 14 :

D'un des pans de sa robe il couvre son visage,

Plutarch :

Pompeius tira sa robe a deux mains au devant de sa face.

Lines 537-542 describe Cornélie's behavior as she witnesses the treason from the galley. Plutarch is silent on this point, Lucan notes her cries, line 638 :

Aethera complet vocibus,

and lines 639-661. Corneille differs, however, from Lucan in the following particular. The

Latin poet relates that she made a threefold attempt to end her life (lines 653-661), and is prevented by her friends. This Corneille omits. The flight of her vessel (Corneille, 543-544) is not mentioned by Lucan, and is taken from Plutarch. The pursuit and capture of the vessel by Septimius is Corneille's invention and has already been discussed. The effect of the treachery on the populace of Alexandria (Corneille, 549-556) is not contained in either source, but the burial of Pompey's body by Philippe (lines 557-564) is again based on Plutarch, *Pomp.* chap. cxi. Lucan mentions Cordus as performing that pious office.

The speech of Cleopatra which ends the scene (lines 575-582) seems inspired by Lucan, 701-708, which contain the poet's reflection on Pompey's death. Marty-Laveaux, *op. cit.*, p. 207, adds another reminiscence of Lucan for line 575, which equals Lucan ix, 194-195.

ACT II, SCENES 3 AND 4. These two scenes are concerned with the arrival of Cæsar, the love of Cleopatra, and the wisest course for Ptolemy to follow under the circumstances. Both scenes are Corneille's invention;

ACT III, SCENE I. In a dialogue between Charmion and Achorée we learn of Cæsar's arrival in Alexandria, and of his attitude toward the murder of Pompey. The long speech of Achorée in which these facts are told (lines 735-799) is, in general, based on Lucan. Corneille mentions the following loans :

Corneille, 763-764=	Lucan viii, 682-683;
" 766-768=	" " 665;
" 769-770=	" ix, 1035-1036;
" 783-786=	" " 1038-1039;
" 787 =	" " 1064-1065.

To these the following additions may be made. The suggestion that Cæsar's sorrow for Pompey was feigned (line 737) is found in Lucan ix, 1035-1043. Lines 755-760 reproduce in spirit the speech of the 'satellites' on the same occasion, Lucan ix, 1032-1033. The lines which follow should correspond with Lucan ix, 1033-1034, but Corneille goes back to Lucan viii, 682-683 and 665, where the face of Pompey at the time of the murder is described. The change is interesting inasmuch as it shows conscious selection. The rejected lines read :

Jam languida morte

Effigies habitum noti mutaverit oris.

There is greater power in the idea that the face of the victim still shows the traces of his anger at the treason. Lines 771-780 are based on Lucan ix, 1035-1043, and lines 788-798 are suggested by Cæsar's speech in Lucan ix, 1070 ff.

ACT III, SCENE 2. This describes the meeting of Cæsar and Ptolemy. The latter offers Cæsar the throne of Egypt, but he rejects it and blames Ptolemy for his treacherous action. Ptolemy tries to justify himself by saying that he intended to work for the interest of Cæsar. This scene still follows Lucan, and Corneille has noted the following loans:

Corneille, 829 = Lucan ix, 1073-1074;
 " 833-834 = " " 1075-1076;
 " 841-842 = " " 1081-1083;
 " 845-846 = " " 1083-1084.

To these we may add:

Corneille, 914-916 = Lucan ix, 1066-1068;
 " 939-941 = " " 1091-1092.

ACT III, SCENE 3. This scene has already been discussed. It is entirely Corneille's invention. Antony, who had been sent to Cleopatra with the offer of Cæsar's love, joins Cæsar and Lepidus, and renders an account of his visit. At the same time he notifies Cæsar of the capture of Cornelia.

ACT III, SCENE 4. In the dialogue which now follows Corneille returns again to his sources. For the speech of Cornélie (lines 985-1026) in which she bemoans her fate and the death of her husband, and defies Cæsar, he notes the following loans from Lucan:

Corneille, 999-1000 = Lucan ix, 108;
 " 1014 = " viii, 90;
 " 1015-1016 = " " 93-94;
 " 1017-1018 = " " 88-89.

That is to say, he has borrowed one thought from Cornelia's speech in Lucan on the morning after Pompey's murder, while the remaining passages are taken from her exclamations when she receives the news of his defeat at Pharsalus. In addition he has also made use of Cornélie's speech in Garnier's *Cornélie*, Act ii, Scene 1. The similarity of ideas is often most striking, compare Corneille, 1011-1020, with Garnier, 280-286, and 293-302. Curiously enough, these are the very lines which he cites as translations from Lucan, and it might be maintained that the similarity is due to the fact that both

drew from the same source. However, there are some expressions which occur in both Corneille and Garnier, which are not suggested by Lucan.

Compare Corneille, 1012:

Elle n'est que l'effet du malheur qui me suit

Garnier, 283;

C'est un malheur couvert, une sourde influence,

Que j'ay reçu du ciel avecque ma naissance.

The suggestion of this thought lies in Lucan viii, 90-91:

. Me pronuba ducit Erinyes

Crassorumque umbræ

Compare Corneille, 1019-1020:

Et si j'eusse avec moi porté dans ta maison

D'un astre envenimé l'invincible poison!

Garnier, 297:

Je suis comme un poison

Here Lucan contains nothing similar. Lines 995-996 are based upon the account of Cornelia's action in Lucan viii, 654-661, which Garnier also follows in lines 411-416. Plutarch makes no mention of any attempt on the part of Cornelia to end her life.

Cæsar's answer to Cornelia, lines 1027-1071, is based in part upon Lucan. The following lines are noted by Corneille:

Corneille, 1050-1056 = Lucan ix, 1099-1104;

" 1058 = " " 1097.

These are the words placed by Lucan in the mouth of Cæsar when the head of Pompey is presented to him. Part of this speech Corneille had already used in scene 2 of the same act.

ACT IV, SCENE 1. This scene outlines the inception of the conspiracy led by Photinus and Achillas against Cæsar. The account is given by Lucan x, 331-434. Corneille notes the following loans:

Corneille, 1104-1108 = Lucan x, 386-389;

" 1110 = " iv, 185;

" 1116 = " v, 382;

" 1151-1152 = " x, 396-397;

" 1153-1156 = " x, 11-13.

There is in lines 1146 ff. a reference to a secret underground passage leading from the palace of the Ptolemies out into the open country, for which I have not been able to find any authority.

ACT IV, SCENE 3. This scene is Corneille's invention. Ptolomée leads Cleopatra astray with regard to the plan of the conspirators, and persuades her to intercede with Cæsar for

the pardon of Achilles and Photin. The reference to Cæsar's war in Alexandria as:

Quelque brouillerie, en la ville excitée,

in line 1186 is due to Corneille's forcing the action into the space of twenty-four hours.

ACT IV, SCENE 3. This is also Corneille's invention. Cleopatra asks pardon for Achilles and Photin, and Cæsar seems on the point of granting her prayer, when their new treachery is related to him. Line 1336 contains an allusion to Cæsar's famous: *Veni, vidi, vici*, mentioned by Plutarch (*Cæsar*, lxxv) as having been sent by him to Rome after his victory over Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, on which expedition he went directly from Alexandria.

ACT IV, SCENE 4. Before Cæsar has time to give his final answer Cornélie brings the news of the plot against his life. This is an invention of Corneille. Lucan relates that the attempt miscarried, because Cæsar distrusted the Egyptians. In Plutarch (*Cæsar* lxxiv) the conspiracy is discovered by Cæsar's barber.

ACT IV, SCENE 5. Cleopatra is convinced of the treachery. She sees her mistake with regard to Achilles and Photin, but she still asks for clemency toward her brother, and this Cæsar promises readily. Here also we have free invention.

ACT V, SCENE 1. Cornélie appears, bearing in her hand a small funeral urn, and she hears from Philippe the story of Pompey's burial. This scene Corneille imitated from Garnier, *Cornélie*, Act iii, Scene 3. The similarity was first pointed out by Voltaire in his *Commentaire*. However, scarcely more than the setting comes from Garnier, where the story is very much abbreviated. Corneille uses Garnier's source, which is Plutarch (*Pomp.* cxi), and combines with it the account of Lucan viii, 712 ff. This becomes evident from the fact that Corneille represents both Philippe and Cordus as having been present at the burning of Pompey's body. Philippe is not mentioned in Lucan, and the name of Cordus does not appear in Plutarch. Philippe begins his account in line 1485 with the words:

Tout couvert de son sang . . .

which may have been suggested by the fact that Plutarch relates that Septimius stabbed

Pompey, while Philippe was assisting him to rise. Lines 1489-1493 which follow are based on Lucan viii, 723-725. In Plutarch Philippe does not have to drag the body from the water. The gathering of driftwood (1494-1495) is related in Lucan and Plutarch. The latter goes on to say that while Philippe was busy with this labor of love:

il survint un Romain homme d'aage, qui en ses jeunes ans avoit esté à la guerre sous Pompeius . . .

To this man Corneille gives the name of Cordus, Lucan's sole actor. Compare line 1499:

Cordus, un vieux Romain qui demeura en ces lieux.

Lines 1501-1502 are given by Corneille as Lucan viii, 711, but the reported speech of Cordus (1503-1513) is Corneille's invention, as is also the fact that Cordus goes to fetch the urn into which the ashes of Pompey are placed. Plutarch finishes his account by saying:

Les cendres du corps de Pompeius furent depuis rapportées à sa femme Cornelia, laquelle les posa en une siene terre qu'il avoit près la ville de Alba,

and Lucan also mentions the intention of Cordus (770) to carry the ashes of Pompey to Cornelia. But inasmuch as Philippe is the bearer of the ashes, a fact not found either in Plutarch or Lucan, the source for this element of the scene must be sought in Garnier.

The account of the turmoil in Alexandria and the death of Photin (1518-1536) is Corneille's invention as far as the particulars are concerned. Plutarch also relates that the death of Photin occurred before that of Achilles.

The resemblance of the opening lines (1537-1538) of Cornélie's answer on hearing of Cæsar's respect for the memory of Pompey to lines 913-914 of Garnier's tragedy was first pointed out by Voltaire.

Compare Corneille:

O soupirs ! ô respect ! oh ! qu'il est doux de plaindre
Le sort d'un ennemi quand il n'est plus à craindre !

Garnier:

Phil. Cæsar plora sa mort. *Corn.* Il plora mort celui
Qu'il n'eust voulu souffrir estre vif comme luy.

ACT V, SCENE 2. This scene shows side by side Cleopatra and Cornélie, and points out the different interests which each has in the

outcome of Cæsar's battle. The whole scene is freely invented by Corneille.

ACT V, SCENE 3. While the two women are talking Achorée brings the news of the death in battle of Achilles and Ptolomée. Corneille has here harmonized the accounts of his sources, which are greatly at variance. All separate the death of Pothinus (Scene 1) from that of Ptolemy, but only Dio Cassius xlii, 43, and Hirtius, *De Bello Alexandrino*, xxxi, relate that the latter found death by drowning in the Nile. Plutarch states that "il disparut de maniere que l'on ne sceut onques puis qu'il estoit devenu," and Appian, *De Bellis Civilibus*, v. 9, agrees with him. The death of Achilles is not mentioned at all by Plutarch in the life of Cæsar, while in that of Pompey he says Cæsar "fait mourir Achilles et Pothinus." Hirtius and Dio Cassius relate that he was killed by order of Arsinoe, sister of Cleopatra.

ACT V, SCENE 4 AND 5. These scenes bring the action to a suitable close. Cæsar's promise to Cornelia of a worthy funeral of Pompey agrees with his command, related by Dio Cassius, xlii. 8, to bury the head of Pompey with due ceremony. With this exception both scenes are freely invented.

If we now look back upon the results of this study we can see Corneille, with his Lucan and his Amyot open before him, compose his play. He selects first certain prominent scenes, which he distributes at suitable intervals among the different acts. These are: Act i, Scene 1 (the council scene); Act ii, Scene 2 (the description of Pompey's death); Act iii, Scenes 1 and 2 (the arrival of Cæsar, and his attitude toward the murder); Act iii, Scene 4 (the grief of Cornélie); Act iv, Scene 1 (the conspiracy against Cæsar); Act v, Scene 1 (the description of Pompey's burial); and Act v, Scene 3 (the punishment of the conspirators). Between these scenes he fills in others of his own invention (Act i, Scenes 2, 3 and 4; Act ii, Scenes 1, 3 and 4; Act iii, Scene 3; Act iv, Scenes 2, 4 and 5; and Act v, Scenes 2, 4 and 5). When he has arrived at Act iii, Scene 4, he remembers Garnier's *Cornélie* and draws from it certain elements for his own play. He makes use of it again in Act v, Scene 1.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Prinz Friedrich von Homburg. Ein Schauspiel von HEINRICH VON KLEIST. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by JOHN SCHOLTE NOLLEN, Ph. D. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1899. 12mo, lxxii, 172 pp.

AN edition of Kleist's best drama, which at the same time is one of Germany's classics, is a welcome and long-desired accession to the list of available German texts, even though the demand for it may not prove to be as general as that for some others. The editor has wisely realized the needs of students likely to read the play and has provided, on the whole, a sensible and attractive edition of this standard work. It was a sensible idea, in the very first place, to furnish a rather detailed biography of Kleist, for as the editor correctly says, 'no reference book to which the average student has access gives a biography that satisfies even the most elementary requirements.' The life of Kleist is clearly and sympathetically presented without any exaggerated estimate of the poet as such biographies are apt to fall into. The editor's sympathies have possibly misled him into one or two unfortunate disparaging side-glances at Goethe and Schiller (for example, p. xlv.

'His [Kleist's] work is instinct with genuine dramatic passion as distinct from the emotional eloquence of Schiller as from the Olympic calm of Goethe';

p. xlv:

'Thus Kleist has created a character far more dramatic than the immaculate Max or the thoughtless Egmont').

It is a mistake to challenge comparisons; it very rarely helps the cause of the championed author and may arouse unreasonable antagonism.

It might have been advisable to characterize a little more adequately Kleist's principal works, in the biography, so as to give a more comprehensive idea of the author than is obtained from the reading and criticism of this one, even though his best, work.

In the chapter on Kleist's Character and his Place in German Literature, the editor rightly emphasizes the heroism and tenacity of Kleist in making out of himself what he did and in accomplishing so much in such a comparatively short life, with all its shortcomings. The

chapter as a whole is, however, not entirely satisfactory; it does not present the subject with the same clearness and succinctness as the chapter on the author's life. The reader does not get a perfectly lucid, definite idea of Kleist's marked individuality of style and literary character. The characterization is not deep in its penetration nor clear-cut in its analysis. The editor does not set forth lucidly Kleist's relation to the Romantic school, the distinctive elements of his literary work which connect him so closely with that school; for example, his love of mediævalism of the phantastic and the supernatural, which are so prominent in *Käthchen von Heilbronn* and *Michael Kohlhaas*, and also play such an important part in the drama under discussion.

The remaining chapters of the Introduction, namely, 'Historical Introduction,' 'The Hero of the Play,' 'Kleist's Sources,' 'Critical Analysis of the Characters,' 'Dramatic Structure,' 'Meter and Language' and 'Critical Extracts concerning the Play' are carefully done, concise and clear. An occasional statement strikes one as not particularly perspicuous, or open to possible criticism. These are few, however, and affect no essential points.

In his Notes the editor sets out 'to reduce grammatical elucidation to a minimum,' and has succeeded in his purpose. The notes of explanation are succinct, generally to the point, and rarely superfluous. If any criticism is to be made, it is that the editor has the commendable fault of being too chary with his explanations, for there are a few passages which a little more explanation might clear up beyond all doubt. For example, l. 713 is by no means a clear line; the phrase *in dem Lager* (l. 1120) is hardly elucidated by its brief note; l. 1669 is obscure enough to require a line or two of explanation.

There are some few comments which need revision. *Rüstsaal* (l. 49), 'the Zeughaus at Berlin opposite the imperial palace' began to be built in 1695 and was not finished till 1703. Hence Hohenzollern could not have this particular building in mind. It may be an Anachronism of the author, or may be used in a general sense, as heroes' portraits are apt to hang in such places.—Is Hohenzollern (l. 66) *feigning* surprise? Is he not rather expressing his indignation at Homburg's audacity in aspiring so high in his love, as is the case in line 210 and line

928?—The sentiment (l. 474) of an appeal to the heart is not peculiarly 'romantic.' The very quotation following (which, by the way, while relevant, hardly seems necessary), shows that it was as characteristic of the sentimental period of the eighteenth century. Such an appeal might be made at any period of literature.—*Marken* (l. 584) clearly refers to Brandenburg and its subdivisions. It is forcing a point to find anything else in the word.—The comparison with Brutus (776), from the speaker's standpoint, is *most* apt. Homburg has not the particular *offence* in mind, but only the *severity of the sentence* upon a son, and his own unwillingness to submit without protest, as Brutus' son did. The comparison brings out just what Kleist means under the circumstances, no matter how much better the story of the Dictator Papirius may fit the drama as a whole.—That Kleist should have the Catholics in mind in mentioning the *Te Deum* (806) in connection with a Protestant service seems very unlikely. The quotation from *Hermann und Dorothea* hardly adds anything in the way of literary appreciation.—The note to line 949 is a trifle infelicitous. To suggest, as the note does (or else it has no *raison d'être*), that Kleist is led to make Homburg, who in the drama is unmarried, call the Electress aunt because the second wife of the historical Prince of Homburg was the Elector's niece, is going absurdly far in searching for historical sources. If we *must* find an explanation, we can put together lines 1228, where Natalie calls Homburg her cousin, and 242 where she calls the Elector uncle, and a better and more reasonable relationship is established.—*Heiden* (1025) is not necessarily *singular*; it may be *plural*, which would make the omission of the article seem less forced.—In line 1034 it would seem on the whole better to explain the figure as referring to a *Kesselfagd*. It fits the details better and is more like Kleist.—Would it not be possible to understand line 1413 in the sense that the Elector lays the silken cord on the table to use it upon himself in case the attack upon the palace should be successful and he should be in danger of falling into the hands of the rebels? Otherwise, it seems as though he ought to say something about sending it to the rebellious subject.

In the note to 1472 there is evidently

a misprint in the reference to l. 1058, which ought to read 1068. This is the only misprint that a fairly careful reading of the book has discovered, which speaks well for the care and excellence of the proof-reading.

The chief stress in the Notes, however, has been laid upon the literary commentary. The Notes are 'largely literary and critical.' Frequent parallel passages are quoted which 'will indicate better . . . the character and range of the literary influences traceable in this drama.' The editor does not pretend 'that every passage quoted influenced Kleist's thought or his expression directly . . . , but the editor has tried to be conservative in the use of comparative matter and to exclude all that is not fairly relevant.'

In these laudable intentions the editor, however, has not been as successful as in the other parts of his work. Parallel passages and literary echoes are dangerous tools; they frequently do as much harm as they do good; are frequently as misleading as elucidating. With a little practice and study, parallel passages of a certain kind may be multiplied indefinitely. The real task is to make such a selection as will illuminate rather than obscure or pervert the meaning of the passages in connection with which they are cited. Such citations are legitimate and helpful in the following cases. 1. When they define concisely or illustrate any peculiar use of a word. 2. When they make clear or illustrate a passage or a situation, or else show an analogy or contrast to passages in another author. 3. When they show similarity or contrast of thought or expression with other passages in the same author's works. 4. When they indicate any echo or influence from another author.

1. Of the first class, the quotation to *Laub der Weide* (l. 46) is appropriate in every way, and beautiful besides. So is the brief quotation to *Lorbeer* (l. 47), though every student undoubtedly knows what the laurel stands for. The same is true of the quotations to line 852 and 1068, and others. But are the quotations to *zerstampt* (l. 20) at all relevant? Both passages cited show that the phrase *den Acker (Feld, Saat) zerstampfen* is a poetical way of expressing the ravages of war. But here the phrase is used simply to indicate long waiting and the impatience of the horses. The quota-

tions are actually misleading.—The two quotations to line 783 really give no information, nor are they particularly apt. It seems a pity to quote simply for the sake of quoting. It is degrading poetry to put it to such use. The quotations to *Würgen* (l. 559), *schlechtesten* (l. 975) and *die Brust durchbohren* (l. 984) are appropriate for a lexicon, but not for a literary commentary. So, too, in the note on line 1532 there is a good dictionary exemplification of the use of a word, but the quoted line does not contribute the first iota to an æsthetic appreciation of the word or of the passage. Such quotations are *not* literary comment.

2. Now as to examples of the second class. Of the two quotations to line 387 the second is thoroughly to the point and expresses an exact similarity of thought. But the first is not of that character, and therefore unnecessary. The same may be said of the comparisons suggested in the note on line 270; the second is quite similar to the situation indicated in this line. But Max Piccolomini's distraction at the officers' banquet offers not a single point of resemblance, except the mere fact of distraction. The situation is different, the causes are different, every detail is different. The comparison is misleading. But how different is the quotation to line 407! It makes all further comment unnecessary.

In line 379 the incident of the shying horse, (shying not at a mere tower or at the entrance to any place, but at a windmill which at night might startle any living being), is introduced to motivate the impetuosity of the Elector in threatening the severe punishment (Act ii, Sc. 9). For he has heard that Homburg was detained by the accident. Not that he would change the sentence when once uttered, but he would have hesitated in pronouncing it in the first place, if he had known that Homburg was in the battle. In Shakespeare the shying of the horse is a warning to its rider, an omen of impending disaster as Goethe uses it in *Egmont* and *Goetz*. To cite the passage from Shakespeare here is to throw a false light upon Kleist's meaning.

The reference to a line of *Wilhelm Tell* in connection with line 409 does not seem very relevant. Besides, as it stands, the sense is ambiguous. "This refers to the Catholic matins,

though the Prince was actually a Protestant. So *das Mettenglöcklein in der Waldkapelle*. Tell, l. 966." What does "So" refer to? Everything after the second sentence is practically worthless.

The *motif* of a broken-down carriage, which compels travelers to discontinue their journey, is a very common one, which both Lessing and Kleist use for their own purposes. The purposes and situations in the two plays however, are entirely different. The note (line 501) contains a bit of information, but one of no pertinence.

The reference to the line from Hamlet in connection with line 1044 is not warranted by either the situation or the bearing of the passages concerned. Hamlet warns Ophelia to go to a nunnery in order to be safe from the world of sin and temptation; Homburg advises Natalie to go, because the world has nothing further to offer her.

In line 1088 the point of *Blume* is not that Homburg is a paragon among men, but only that he will be like a flower to look at and enjoy, though not to pluck. The point is in the unselfishness of Natalie's love and not in the beauty of Homburg, as the note would lead one to think.

In line 1350 Homburg asks for time to consider the proposal carefully, not because he is distracted and cannot attend to business at the present moment, as is the case with Max Piccolomini in the banquet scene. The situations and motives of the two characters are not in the least similar.

3. The second part of the note to line 270, and the notes to lines 1025 and 1566, are very apt illustrations of quotations of similar or contrasting passages from the same author. In line 637, however, while the reference to line 1721 is very appropriate, there seems to be no connection at all between *Gold* as used here and as used in the other passages cited.

The parallelism given to 1373 is possible, but it does seem *raffiniert*, to use a German word for a very common failing of German analogy-hunters.

Parts of the note to 1034 do not seem quite convincing. There is no similarity between Kleist's view of a rural life and Homburg's view here. If the editor had said 'contrast' for

'compare', the note would have been to the point. Nor, while this place is under discussion, can I agree with the editor's statement that Kleist 'doubtless remembered the passage in Piccolomini, etc.' The whole point of the two passages are different, and there is but little similarity of detail.

4. The editor does not claim literary influences for every passage he cites; hence under this fourth head there may be criticisms which ought perhaps to be classed under the second. But the gist of the criticisms, if at all valid, ought to hold here likewise. As examples of probable influence the editor's quotations to lines 986 and 990 are capital, and he has cited many others which are instructive and helpful to the student. But he has also cited parallelisms which are far-fetched and forced. Why cannot Kleist call Homburg's servant *Franz* without being indebted to Goethe for this common name? If the similarity of names is a mere coincidence, the note (l. 109) contains information of no value.

In l. 460 Hohenzollern's excited outcries are so different from Shakespeare's 'Blow, winds, crack your cheeks' that only such a commentator can find a parallelism who is bent upon finding one, whether it be there or not.

Why should the simple statement made in line 590 be ascribed to the influence of Homer? Except for the arrangement of lines, which differs totally from the Greek, one could hardly make the statement more simply. The same is true of line 1289.

While there should be no disputing about tastes, still the statement (note to 596) claiming that Kleist's figure of the vine and the tree is more poetical than Shakespeare's in the *Comedy of Errors* does seem a trifle dogmatic. Under the circumstances, in the moment of such intense excitement and strain, such carefully elaborated poetical imagery seems forced, labored, and justifies to some extent the criticism made of Kleist, '*dass er seine Bilder zu Tode hetzt*.'

The notes to lines 856 and 1610 hardly establish their point. The parallelisms are not at all borne out in detail. There is a similarity of words, but not of substance.

Homburg's monologue (1285 ff.) presents no analogies in thought, purpose, or attendant

circumstances, to Hamlet's famous 'To be or not to be,' except that they both concern death. As the editor himself says, the tone of Hom-burg's monologue is one of weary resignation, and the thought is, that life here is short and uncertain, while the future life cannot be so bad after all. Hamlet's soliloquy is one of doubt and horror at the uncertainty of the state after death which makes man willing to 'grunt and sweat under a weary life.' He shrinks with horror from death, while Hom-burg is resigned to the thought of it, and can even jest grimly about it (lines 1294 & 95). In the details there are no analogies either, and nothing supports the author's positive statement that 'this monologue was doubtless suggested by Hamlet's.'

Other quotations cited in the Notes are open to the same criticism. When analyzed, they are either misleading or else irrelevant. Enough has been said, however, to indicate that the editor really made a serious mistake when he suffered himself to be led by the example of certain German commentators (an example which has unfortunately been followed by others in this country), into finding echoes and influences where a common-sense, careful examination shows that there is a surface similarity and nothing else below it. It is the more to be deplored as the book is generally so well and sensibly edited.

An exhaustive bibliography with brief comments on the value of the books and articles cited concludes the volume.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*, with Introduction and Notes by JAMES TAFT HATFIELD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899. 12mo. liv+187 pp.

EIGHT or nine years ago, when the Hewett edition of Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* appeared, it certainly seemed that the last word had been spoken for this text for some time to come. The work contained an introduction that was minute and careful; the text had been thoroughly revised; and, finally, the notes left little to be desired in point of fulness of grammatical detail and literary suggestion.

Prof. Hewett recognized clearly that the "use of any literary work will vary with the purpose of the instructor and the demands of his classes." He accordingly gave a great abundance of critical material, and suggested that each instructor seek out that which was most useful to him. Thus the burden of selecting the proper material was placed where it naturally belongs—upon the user; as a result, the text has proved universally useful.

In this regard, the new edition of *Hermann und Dorothea* by Prof. Hatfield is quite a different type of book. In its own way, it is as complete and perfect as the Hewett edition; but it differs from it in that it is prepared with a definite pedagogic purpose: namely, to cultivate the literary taste of the student rather than to widen his grammatical and philological knowledge. This we are told in the preface to the book; hence we are fully prepared to find a dearth of grammatical facts, supplemented by a free use of every legitimate means of exciting the student's literary appreciation.

Prof. Hatfield has been perfectly consistent in every detail of his work. In the introduction of fifty-four pages, he has furnished all the material necessary for the student as a basis for the study of the poem, as well as its relation to the poet's life. The general impression is pleasing; it is smooth and attractive, conveying the impression that the editor proposes to present the matter in an agreeable, rather than a convincing manner. Nevertheless the facts presented are abundant and accurate. Only in one particular does the material seem incomplete, and that is, in the description of great historical events which served as a background for the poem. But this possible defect is more than offset by the excellence of the sections on the *Sources of the Poem* and its *Metrical Form*. At the time when *Hermann und Dorothea* was written, Goethe was at the very climax of his enthusiasm for the literature of Greece and Rome. Consequently, whoever would interpret any work of this period, must of necessity be thoroughly conversant with the language and literature of the classics. This certainly can be said of Prof. Hatfield; and herein lies the great charm and value of his edition of *Hermann und Dorothea*.

As for the text, little need be said. The

editor has had at his disposal Prof. Hewett's exhaustive critical work,—a fact that places beyond the possibility of dispute the statement that

"the present (text) is more free from outside intrusions than any which has appeared since Goethe undertook the revision of the poem."

But it is in the Notes that our interest naturally centres; for here it is that the editor has taken issue with some of the older schools of editors, and has founded his work on the principle of developing the literary appreciation rather than fostering the love for grammatical soundness. *Hermann und Dorothea* is to be studied as a masterpiece of literature rather than a source of philological inspiration. The editor tells us in his Preface that

"the days are past when the master-work of a great poet could be used chiefly as a *corpus vile* for the demonstration of facts in Indo-European phonetics, and yet the feeling cannot be avoided that we are often not satisfied with the direct message of the artist's creation itself, but must attach a load of outside information If our poem is worthy of the place it has held for a century, it is because it is not a dead work but a living one, and the most helpful interpretation of any such work must always be sought in the living word of one who has reverently penetrated into its spirit, and who transmits it faithfully to the next generation. Some aid must be given to help the transition from the known to the unknown, in the case of the student of a foreign language and civilization, so that the author shall not speak as an alien, but as a friend; some illustrations and parallels which shall aid in the comprehension of the rich content of the words and phrases of a strange idiom; some assistance must be lent in making clear the purpose of the artist, but *whatever is more than these, in the way of insinuated matter, cometh of evil.*"

This will suffice. It is easy to see that Prof. Hatfield is wholly in sympathy with the school of literary editors; he proposes to do for *Hermann und Dorothea* what Prof. Paul Shorey has done for the *Odes and Epodes* of Horace. A careful examination of the Notes proves that Prof. Hatfield has worked consistently and faithfully. By means of carefully prepared synopses and summaries, and through the agency of a great abundance of "parallel passages" and "cross references," he has sought to draw the student away from the narrow consideration of the grammatical facts, to the enjoyment of the wisest and best in the world's

literature. Now all this is most commendable; but the question still confronts us: To what degree can we hope to get the student to make use of the richness of literary reference? If we can succeed in so doing, the matter is valuable; if not, it must be looked upon as superfluous, fully as much so as a surplusage of grammatical discussion would be. Prof. Shorey has anticipated this possible criticism in the preface of the *Odes and Epodes*, where he states that "they (the parallel passages and cross-references) will not harm him (the young student) more than the critical and grammatical discussions found in all the school editions which *he always skips.*"

In other words, the "parallel passages" and the "cross-references" are recognized as factors of doubtful pedagogic value, neither more nor less harmful than the excess of grammatical details. It is probably true that many good instructors look upon them as impracticable for other than graduate work.

But to return to Prof. Hatfield's own notes, we find that the amount of such doubtful matter is by no means excessive. Most of the quotations are printed in full, which is certainly advisable, since they are thus rendered far more accessible to the younger student. The quotations from the classics are particularly apt and useful, in that they naturally draw the attention to the Greek and Latin originals which Goethe was intentionally imitating. From the side of the German literature, the references are commonly from Schiller or from Goethe's own works; in English we are offered a wide range extending from Shakespeare to F. Marion Crawford. The grammatical references are ample and well chosen, while the brief summaries at the close of several cantos furnish a most useful review of the work that has preceded.

In conformity with the other texts in this series, this edition of *Hermann und Dorothea* is supplied with a brief but sufficiently comprehensive Bibliography and an Index.

Speaking in general, it may be said that the edition is admirably adapted to class-room use. The typographical work is neat and uncommonly free from error. A few rhetorical peculiarities have crept into the Introduction, which after all are more matters of taste than errors. For example, the frequent use of the

inverted predicate becomes unpleasantly noticeable; thus, on page xiii: "Dramatic, no less, is the relation" and "Personal to Goethe is its breadth" etc., etc.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Concerning Prof. Lewis's review of my recent book *Scènes de la révolution française* I desire to say that corrections and suggestions are always welcome. I am alone responsible for the way in which the proofs were read and what was overlooked in the first edition will be corrected when an opportunity occurs. I appreciate the care with which the book was read.

Noting the criticisms in detail, I may say that it was impossible to indicate the omissions in the text because they were too numerous. To have done so would have disfigured the book.

The first chapter is the introductory chapter and Lamartine is in no way responsible for anything it contains. The condensation spoken of was, however, made by a Frenchman and if the work was not well done my mistake was in putting my confidence in an unworthy person. *le lendemain 13* (4: 12) may not be elegant but I am assured that it is correct. Madame de Sévigny, speaking of the death of Turenne, says: *Il devait communier le lendemain dimanche*, which seems to be an analagous construction. *et porta toutes ses armes en triomphe* should read *et emporta toutes ces armes en triomphe*. The mistake is due to an error in transcription. The expression criticised in 5: 11 is certainly not good. It ought to read, *Les citoyens s'y rendaient*, or something of the kind. *armés* is correct in sense but wrong grammatically. Mignet says (5: 14) *moment de guerre*, which does not seem to me to be much better than *jour de guerre*. *temps de guerre* would, I imagine, have been better than either. The sentence 8: 24 (*toute cette nuit*, etc.) is taken literally from Mignet. *l'importe sur* should be *l'emporte sur* (120: 6) and also in the corresponding note.

I do not know whether my interpretation of

26: 12, 14 is better than Prof. Lewis', or not. Both are, doubtless, in accordance with the facts. The hostile demonstrations became more manifest as the king approached Paris, and the crowd also pressed more closely around him in order to show its hostility. I should be glad to see this passage further discussed.

In reply to the criticism that the notes translate too many simple words and phrases, I may say that for some pupils this is true, for others not. While it may be possible to get from most dictionaries the sense of such expressions as *faire part de*, *c'en est fait de moi*, *à l'étranger*, and others, it is, nevertheless, a matter of experience that even good students, especially those who had not read much, sometimes fail to get the meaning of them. Since my object was to make a book suitable for elementary classes, my sins of commission have, perhaps, not been very numerous in this respect.

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TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Prof. Super, in the above letter, explains the infelicities of style which were noted in the first chapter of his *Scènes de la révolution française*. Those who are acquainted with his work feel convinced that these inaccuracies would not have occurred, had he been less modest and prepared, himself, this part of his text.

The expression *toute cette nuit* is not positively wrong, and, of course, would not have been mentioned had not other mistakes existed. *toute la nuit* is somewhat better, from the fact that the expression *cette nuit* tends—it may only tend, but it does tend—to have a specialized meaning.

Prof. Super writes, and is correct in so doing, that it is

"a matter of experience that even good students, especially those who have not read much, sometimes fail to get the meaning of" common expressions. It is, however, doubtful whether this be a satisfactory reason for introducing the explanation of such phrases into the notes. The question is whether such annotation renders the pupil any more successful in understanding whatever idiomatic expressions

he may meet in his future readings. Such help has a tendency to dull his perception for foreign idioms, and it is perhaps well to force him to interpret such phrases correctly from the very start, and with the help only of a vocabulary. At any rate, this seems to be the opinion of recent editors, judging by the care with which the annotation of such easy phrases is avoided in texts that are now being published.

Following are some of the phrases to which the above remarks might apply. They are introduced here so that no doubt may exist as to the class of expressions in question. *faire part de*, "to communicate." *émotion*, "excitement, disturbance." *une fois le pont franchi*, "(when) once the bridge (was) crossed." *s'engouffrent*, "rush, disappear." *impose à*, "overawes." *qu'il s'en coiffe*, "let him put it on." *contre-coups*, "effects, consequences." *émotions*, "excitement, disturbance" (a second explanation of the same word). *enfouissement*, "recess." *épanchements de famille*, "family confidences." *tout hant*, "out loud," *retraçait*, "reproduced." *puisait dans*, "derived from." *à mesure*, "as he read them." *déguisement*, "denial, subterfuge." *porter*, "bear, rest." *tribune*, "stage, platform." *journaliers*, "ordinary; such as they were daily." *renversée*, "thrown back." *incriminées*, "regarded as criminal," etc. It should be added that this text contains fewer such notes than do a great many editions, especially among those that were published several years ago.

The kindly manner in which Prof. Super meets criticism, or rather, suggestions, is fully appreciated by the reviewer.

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MACHIAVELLI.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Miss Mary A. Scott says in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. xiv, No. 4.

"Mr. Edward Meyer, in his dissertation, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama* (Weimar, 1897), has collected three hundred and ninety-five instances of Machiavelli's name, or supposed maxims, occurring in Elizabethan literature. As the *Prince* was not translated until 1640, Mr. Meyer argues that the source of Elizabethan Machiavellianism was Simon Patrick's

translation of Innocent Gentillet's, *Discours d'Estat sur les moyens de bien gouverner et maintenir en bonne paix un royaume et une principauté, contre Nicol. Machiavel*. (1576.)

The difficulty of this argument is, that, although the dedication of Patrick's translation is dated 1577, the book was not entered on the *Stationers' Register*, nor printed, until 1602. Many of the allusions belong to the sixteenth century. It is possible that Patrick's translation may have been known in manuscript; it is also possible that many persons may have read Gentillet, either in the original Latin, or in French. From the vogue of Italian at the time, and from the constant travelling to and fro between England and Italy, I myself see no difficulty in supposing what must have been the fact, that educated Englishmen at least read Machiavelli in his own simple, unaffected, vivid Italian. Machiavelli is a writer who will never be read, except by the few, but his positive spirit, his practical method, is precisely of the sort that must have appealed most strongly to the Elizabethans."

That this is what the book in question stated and sought to establish can easily be shown by comparing Miss Scott's own words with those of the book.

Miss Scott says:—"the Prince was not translated until 1640." . . . Patrick's translation of Gentillet is dated 1577, . . . nor printed, until 1602.

The book says:—

"the weightiest writings of Machiavelli remained un-Englished till Dacre's version of the *Discorsi* in 1636 and of the *Principe* in 1640" (p. ix).

"The first English translation of which there is a copy extant appeared in 1640" (p. 2).

"In the following year (1577), an English translation was made of Gentillet's book by Simon Patericke, and dedicated to Francis Hastings and Edward Bacon: the first edition appeared in 1602: the second in 1608" (p. 20).

Miss Scott says:—"It is possible that Patrick's translation may have been known in manuscript." That is exactly what the book seeks to prove in many places: thus for example, referring to Harvey's "*Medicæorum Hymnus*," in which Machiavellian maxims are used.—

"Other instances of contiguity might be given, but surely those cited are enough to show, that Harvey must have had Gentillet before him, and that probably in the MS. translation of Patericke" (p. 24).

Miss Scott says:—"educated Englishmen at least read Machiavelli."

The book reads,—

"Ascham himself had been in Italy, . . . He

was the first to mention Machiavelli" (p. 16).

"Soon after Ascham's book, however, Machiavelli began to interest English readers, as he had already done French. The case of young Gabriel Harvey is typical of this movement: at twenty-three years of age in 1573, a student at Cambridge, he had not read the Florentine's works, but was eager to see them, and begged Remington to loan him his copy," (p. 17). . . .

"Incontinently Harvey was perusing and re-perusing Machiavelli," (p. 18.) Sidney, too, had become acquainted with "Machiavelli's works: probably at Oxford," (p. 18).

"The rapidity with which Machiavelli came into favor at Cambridge, and the extent to which he was read, is remarkable: in 1579, Harvey claimed his works had supplanted all others, . . . now Greene was a student at Cambridge in this year, and Marlowe in the next: . . . Harvey accuses both the dramatists of having used Machiavellian principles in their profligate lives, and Greene confesses it true" (p. 25).

"In the same year Harvey informed Spencer:—Machiavel a great man' at Cambridge, and Italian studies flourishing" (p. 25).

"Thus the safe conclusion is that Kyd used the Principe in portraying Lorenzo" (p. 33).

"He (Marlowe) had studied Machiavelli with a vengeance: and it may be stated as an absolute certainty, that had the Principe never been written, his three great heroes would not have been drawn with such gigantic strokes" (p. 34).

Many more citations might be given showing how the book sought to prove the play-wrights had almost all read Machiavelli in the original Italian or French translation.

"Elizabethan play-wrights had the 'Prince' always within easy reach, however, in the French translation of 1553, and that of 1586, which appeared just when the great drama was burgeoning" (p. 3).

That the dramatists drew from prevalent popular prejudice rather than from their own studies is patent and reasonable to any one who knows how play-wrights must pander to the public.

"Greene had been long in Italy, and was well read in . . . Machiavelli, but in his use of the latter he seems to have sacrificed his own knowledge to that panderism to public taste and feeling, which was so characteristic of the gifted writer" (p. 27).

Mohl says that Gentillet became the great arsenal for the maxims, and Burd says it was the source of Machiavellianism (pp. 8-9). How the dramatists used Gentillet instead of Machiavelli, one instance will suffice, Chapman's

"Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany," where the English is a direct translation of the French and not the Italian:—

'1. A prince must be of the nature of the lion and the fox, but not the one without the other.' I, 1 (Shepherd 382).

Gentillet says:—

'Le Prince doit ensuyure la nature du Lyon, et du Renard: non l'un sans l'autre,' p. 384.

Patericke translates:—

'A prince ought to follow the nature of the Lyon and of the Fox, yet not of the one without the other.'

Machiavelli says:—

'Essendo adunque un principe necessitato sapere bene usare la bestia, debbe di quella pigliare la volpe ed il leone: perchè il leone non si difende dai lacci, la volpe non si difende da' lupi. Bisogna adunque essere volpe a conoscere i lacci, e leone a sbiggottire i lupi. Coloro che stanno semplicemente in sul leone non se ne intendono' (xviii).

Chapman the scholar certainly knew both Machiavelli and Gentillet. It is plain which he used.

Why does Miss Scott devote a page to stating as her own ideas, those palpably taken from the book in question, and already accepted by reviewers and scholars? Those interested may compare Koppel's review in the *Englische Studien* (1897): *The Nation* Vol. 64, p. 225: Prof. Dr. J. Schick's edition of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, p. 140, or John Morley's *Machiavelli*, p. 40.

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MILTON'S *L'ALLEGRO* 25.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS: It has never, I think, been noticed that Milton's

Haste thee, Nymph, and bring with thee
Jest and youthful Jollity

may owe something to Horace, *Od.* 1. 30. 5-8:

Fervidus tecum puer et solutis
Gratiae zonis properentque Nymphae
Et parum comis sine te Juventas
Mercuriusque.

The Latin poet is invoking Venus (cf. *L'Al.* 14), mentions the Nymphs and Graces (cf. *L'Al.* 15, 25), has an equivalent for 'Haste' and 'with thee,' and suggests Milton's 'youthful' by his 'Juventas,' and perhaps Jest and Jollity by 'Mercurius.'

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, June, 1900.

"*THAN WHOM*."

Than whom is usually dismissed with the remark that the construction is syntactically irregular, but is finally accepted usage; and, in testimony, some accessible manual is cited to show that, in certain abridged clauses, the objective is incorrectly employed, though by a tendency so strong as to validate the locution. This, however true, is a very inadequate adjournment of an old, but unsettled, question which deserves minuter consideration.

No one, I believe, except the arbitrary Cobbett and the superior Moon, proposes to put into actual use *than who* instead of *than whom*; though no one explains why he hesitates at the innovation, in the face of the obtrusive analogy for the nominative case. Strange to say, Dean Alford, a volunteer grammarian whose instinct is sometimes better than his reasoning, does observe that this construction cannot be elliptical; but he does not apparently recognize the significance of the observation. Bishop Lowth, too, has a pertinent suggestion; but it is only a suggestion. *Than* by history is undoubtedly a conjunction; and, as such, it can have no effect on the form of any other word. At any rate, no other conjunction—unless, as is sometimes maintained, it be *as*—affects the case of the related pronoun: hence, the dilemma is either to regard *than* as an exception to the usual limited influence of conjunctions or to countenance its migration to that other part of speech, cognate to it as being a connective, but alien to it as showing direct relation between individual words and thus affecting the form of one of them. To put it otherwise, if *than* is not a unique conjunction, must it not be a preposition? That it does become a preposition in this locution is beyond question: how it succeeds to this function remains to be investigated.

Conjunctions, even when they seem to join words and phrases, in reality show only the relations, not between such words and phrases themselves, but between each of them and a third term which is common to them. For ex-

ample, in "John and Mary dance," *and* shows, not what John and Mary have to do with each other—a relation which is not pertinent—but what each of them has to do with *dance*. There are some apparent exceptions to this analysis, but they are only apparent. On the other hand, prepositions join only words, and show what they have to do with each other. For example, in "tons, of coal," "killed by poison," *of* and *by* show the relation of the joined words to each other, without reference to any third term, except in so far as all the elements of any group are more or less related to all the other elements. In accordance with this principle, the form of the relative in our phrase must be *whom*, not from any reasons of euphony or usage, still less for any accidental case-confusions of earlier English now licensed; but because the objective case is here inevitable by those established laws of grammar which are elsewhere accepted. It is, of course, admitted that *than* need not, except when immediately followed by the relative, be regarded as a preposition; though there is no reason why it should not be so regarded, when once it has developed the function of case-government; but, with the relative, no other explanation is possible. The real point on which the matter turns has never, if suspected, been disclosed. The explanation of analogy is incompetent, because not cogent: other pronominal forms after *than* vary, historically, between nominative and objective, while *who* takes always and necessarily the latter form. A necessary form cannot be explained by the analogy of a variable form; and, if it could, the warrant for the objective in these abridged formulæ would still remain to be determined; and there is no possible answer except that the concurrence of *than* and the objective implies prepositional constraint on the form of the pronoun.

Than in *than whom* is a preposition, because it establishes a relation between *whom* and some other word—"none" in the traditional example from Milton; and there is no way of completing a predication here with the relative for a possible subject, as is the case with *but* and *as*. Thus, I can say "All but *he* had fled,"

or "All but *him* had fled;" and I have thus established the same general relation by two different specific methods of expression. In the second phrase, *but* is a preposition relating *all* and *him* to each other; in the first, *but* is a conjunction relating *all* and *he* severally to *had fled*, the last term being for *he* modified into negation: accordingly, the second form can be expressed in extension by "All had fled, but he had not fled." Similarly in "He is wiser than I," the extended form is possible, and we can write "He is wiser than I am (wise)." But in *than whom*, no extension is possible with *who* as a converted subject; and consequently there is no way of establishing the necessary relation by predication, the theoretical common term being impossible as a separate predicate after the relative pronoun. Accordingly, it is impossible to develop Milton's expression into "Beelzebub, than *who* sat, none higher sat;" and no such locution is found in any language. The irresistible conclusion is that, if, of two general methods of relation, one is unavailable, the other must be recognized and used even at the expense of readjusting the functions of the necessary connective, though that connective is ordinarily appropriated by the other method. This is what is done in Greek with *πριν* with the infinitive, however, timid grammarians are in realizing the fact that their conjunction has here become an obvious preposition. Words of this diathesis are as a rule provisionally disposed of as adverbs, that part of speech being the catch-all of lost, strayed, and stolen grammaticisms. *Præter* with the nominative seems to be so regarded by commentators and annotators; but no one has ever yet detected among the functions of the adverb the power to relate predications; and *præter* followed by a nominative must relate predications, the nominative being the pendent subject of the second predication. As already hinted, there is no lack of instances to illustrate *as* followed by an objective; but such instances are naturally condemned as negligences and ignorances, even though Cardinal Newman and Matthew Arnold confessed to prejudices in favor of the construction.

Than in *than whom* is a preposition, whether illegitimately or not; because *whom*, being a

relative, involves a conjunction; and the relative admits no introductory conjunction except when two or more relative clauses are coordinately subordinated to the same antecedent, as is not the case in *than whom*, which is a single subordinate construction. *And* and *but* may coördinate two relativial modifications to a common antecedent; in these cases, however, *and* and *but* really connect the repetitions of the main statement accompanied in each case by the respective relative clause. On the other hand, the *and which* construction, though it is coördinate in form, as it attempts coördination with a mere adjective preceding, is still under the ban. Goold Brown's suspicions were aroused by the conjunctive character of the relative as repudiating the conjunctive supplement of *than*; but he does not appear to have understood the necessary consequences of his misgiving. *Than* cannot in *than whom* be a conjunction, because it is impossible to supply an antecedent for *who(m)* between *than* and *who(m)*, and no conjunction ever separates a relative from its antecedent: *than* certainly, in the traditional example, separates the relative *whom* from its intended antecedent *Beelzebub*, and hence it cannot be a conjunction. Moreover, the introduction of a new formal antecedent between *than* and *whom*, if it were possible, would create an impossible exigency by establishing the basis for a new predication that could not be completed, while it would fatally dislocate one already complete and consistent. The reason a conjunction never separates a relative from its antecedent is the same reason that prohibits a conjunction between a noun and its adjective-modifier.

Furthermore, after the conjunction *than*, the clause must be such that, if *than* be omitted, the clause could stand alone as an independent sentence—a condition realized by *than* everywhere else, but impossible with *than who*. It is impossible here to complete any predication after *who*; but, even if it were not impossible, no relation could be established between such predication and the formal context.

I hope I have satisfactorily shown that *than who* is impossible grammatically and logically and that *than whom* grammatically and logically shifts *than* to the category of prepositions, just as *save* has been shifted from the verb *viâ*

the preposition into the conjunction. Of course, it still remains possible, for those who cannot make up their minds, to impound innocuous desuetude for the bookish phrase for which Milton's Latinism is usually held accountable, though Shakespeare far outdid him in "than whom no mortal so magnificent." How much farther back the phrase goes, no one seems to know; but Swift, Prior, Bolingbroke and others are by Lowth cited in its illustration. Those who choose can justify *than me*, *than us*, etc., by the special analogy, though it can always be urged against them that these phrases lack the main defence of the relative combination. Some persons may wish to extend to *as* the same latitude of relation and the same adaptation of regimen; but, though *as* has some relative affinities, they are not of the kind to be cogent here. So far as *than whom* is concerned, I think the case must be closed by validating *than* as a preposition—a function plainly exemplified by the Latin and Greek equivalents, which being case-forms, are always prepositional and never conjunctive.

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. GERM. *bautan* in ON. *bauta* 'slay,' *beytell* 'hammer,' OE. *bēatan* 'beat, clash together, tramp, tread on,' *ge-bēat* 'beating,' *bietel* 'mallet,' OHG. *bōzan* 'beat,' may be compared with Lith. *baudziū* 'punish, chastise,' *baudimas* 'punishment.' This, of course, does not exclude the explanation given by Persson, *Wz.* 290.

2. OS. *griotan*, OE. *grēotan* 'weep' need not be connected with the synonymous Goth. *grētan*, ON. *grāta*, etc. They are rather akin to Lith. *graudžiū* 'wehmütig thun,' *graudūs* 'brittle; heartbreaking, touching.' The primary meaning here is 'breaking, crushing.' Further related are, therefore, Lith. *grūdžiū* 'stamp,' *grūdas*, Lett. *grauds* 'grain,' OCh. Sl. *gruda* 'clod,' MHG. *griez*, *grüz*, OHG. *grioz*, OE. *grēot* 'sand, grit,' ON. *grjōt* 'stone,' OE. *grūt* 'coarse meal,' *grot* 'particle, groats,' etc. (cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *Griess*, *Grütze*; Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *χρύσιος*).

The base *ghreu-d-* in the above is a derivative of *ghreu-* in Lith. *griūvū* 'fall to pieces, collapse,' *griūju* 'break down, crash, thunder,' Gk. *χράω*, *χράύω* 'graze, scratch,' etc. (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*).

3. In *JGPh.* I, 295 f. I connected Goth. *bliggwan* 'beat,' OHG. *bliuwan* 'bläuen, schlagen,' OE. *blēowan* 'strike, apply blows' with Goth. *ga-malwjan* 'crush, bruise,' ON. *molva* 'shatter,' to which also belongs Gk. *μύλλω* 'crush' < **mlūjō* (Johansson, *PBB.*, 15, 232), from the root *mel-*, *mol-* 'crush, rub, grind.' The base in the above is *molūo-*, *mleuo-*. Compare OHG. *melo*, OE. *melu* 'meal,' ME. *melwe* 'mellow, soft,' pre-Germ. **melūo-* 'crushed, soft,' Skt. *malvā-s* 'unbesonnen, töricht,' Lith. *mažviniu* 'zahm machen,' Gk. *μᾶλυσ* 'feeble, sluggish,' *μᾶλυστις* 'breaking, crushing, softening,' *μᾶλυν* 'enfeeble, dull, blunt,' *μολύνω* 'stain, sully,' primarily 'rub, smear,' *μέλεος* 'useless, vain,' from **meleuo-s*, *ἀμβλύνω* 'blunt, dull,' *ἀμβλύν* 'blunt, dulled; dull, obtuse; dim, faint, weak; spiritless, slack, sluggish' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *μέλεος*). With these compare the following:

OE. *blēap*, pre-Germ. **mlūu-tu-*, 'timid, sluggish,' OHG. *blōdi*, MHG. *blæde* 'zerbrechlich; gebrechlich, schwach; zaghaft,' OS. *blōð* 'timid,' ON. *blauðr* 'weak, sluggish, timid,' *bleyða* 'coward,' OSw. *blōdher* 'timid,' Goth. *blauþjan* 'make void, abolish.' Compare the base *mlā-* in Skt. *mlāyati* 'welkt, erschlaft, wird schwach,' Gk. *βλάξ* 'slack, inactive, sluggish, spiritless, stupid; effeminate, delicate, fastidious, braggart.'

With these we may compare the Germ. base *blauta-*, *blōta-* (probably from **mloutnō-*, **mlutnō-*) in OE. *blēat* 'bringing misery,' MHG. *blōz* 'naked,' bare, unprotected,' OSw. *blotter*, Sw. *blott* 'bar, blossom,' OFries. *blāt* 'bare, poor.' Here the primary meaning is 'crush, rub, wear off, strip.' Compare Skt. *bā-bhas-ti* 'crush:,' OHG. *bar* 'bare;,' Gk. *ψῆν* 'rub, wipe,' *ψίω* 'crush:,' *ψῖλος* 'bare, naked, bald;,' Lat. *terō* 'rub; rub off,' etc.

4. Distinct from this is another Germ. base *blauta-*, *blōta-* 'wet, soaked, bloated,' etc. This is rather from the root *bhleo-*, *bhlū-* 'swell, overflow.' Compare Gk. *φλέω* 'gush, over-

flow,' φλύω 'swell over, overflow, bubble over, babble,' φλύζω 'overflow,' φλυδάω 'have an excess of moisture, become soft or flabby,' φλυδαρός 'soft, flabby:' ON. *blautr* 'wet, moist, soft, tender, weak,' *bleyta* 'soft, wet ground,' *bleyta* 'wet, soften,' *blotna* 'become wet,' OSw. *blotna*, *blutna*, same, *blöter* 'soft, weak, timid,' Sw. *blöt* 'wet, soaked,' Dan. *bløde* 'rain shower,' *bløde* 'soak, soften,' *blød* 'soft,' E. *bloat* 'make or grow turgid as by effusion of liquid in the cellular tissue; puff out, swell; puff up, make vain,' *bloated* 'turgid, swollen; puffed up, pompous, blot' 'bespatter, stain, soil.'

In this last group it is possible that the two pre-Germ. bases *bhleu-* and *mleu-* have fallen together. For the meaning 'soft, weak' might come from 'crush, crumble' as in Gk. βλάζ, or 'swell, overflow' as in φλυδαρός. From 'soft, weak' are derived secondary meanings. In these it is still more difficult to decide what the primary signification was. So, for example, OHG. *blōz* 'proud' may have meant primarily 'rubbed, tender, soft, effeminate,' and then 'proud, haughty,' from *mlu-* 'rub, crush.' In this case the word is related to MHG. *blōz* 'bare,' that is 'rubbed, stripped.' Or it may have come from 'wet, soft, effeminate' and be cognate with ON. *blautr* 'wet, moist, tender, weak,' root *bhlu-* 'swell, flow.' Or, finally, it may have come from the same root in the sense 'swell,' as in E. *bloated*. This is a frequent antecedent of the meaning 'proud.'

Though many of the secondary meanings in the above groups of words might have come from 'crush, soften' or 'wet, soften,' it is improbable that MHG. *blōz* 'bare, naked' is connected with ON. *blautr* 'wet, moist.' I see but one way of combining them, and that is through the base *mlu-* 'rub, crush.' From 'rub,' as we have seen, naturally develops 'strip, make bare.' From 'rub, crush' may also come 'soften, make tender,' and from this the secondary idea 'moist, wet.' Compare Gk. *τείρω* 'rub, wear away,' *τέρην* 'soft, delicate,' *τεράμων* 'soft, tender, becoming soft by boiling,' Skt. *táruṇa-s* 'young, tender, fresh,' NPers. *tar*, *tarr* 'fresh, moist' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.*). Here the primary meaning is entirely lost sight of. So also in Skt. *vijātē* 'tremble, flee,' OHG. *wihhan* 'give way, weichen:' NHG. *einweichen* 'soak, steep,

macerate, drench.' Nevertheless I think it more probable that MHG. *blōz* 'bare' is from the root *mlu-* 'rub,' and ON. *blautr* 'wet' from *bhlu-* 'flow.' In any case the two words cannot both come from *bhlu-* 'flow.'

5. But there is other evidence for the root *bhlu-* in Germ. Compare the words assigned above to *bhlu-* with Lat. *fluō*, *fluxi* 'flow,' *fluctuō* 'undulate, waver, hesitate,' OHG. *blūgisōn* 'waver, hesitate,' MHG. *blūc*, *blinc* 'wavering; timid, bashful,' NHG. (Swiss) *blug*, *blug-sam* 'timid,' *blügen* 'intimidate,' OE. *blycgan* 'terrify,' OSw. *blygher*, ON. *bljügr*, Sw. *blyg*, Dan. *bly* 'timid, bashful' (cf. Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *blūc*; Tamm, *Et. Ordb.* s. v. *blyg*). While this group is easily combined with ON. *blautr* 'wet,' etc., it is not easily connected with OHG. *blōdi* 'zerbrechlich; gebrechlich, schwach; zaghaft,' etc. For the meaning 'timid' in the two groups has developed in entirely distinct ways. We are, therefore, justified in assuming for the Germ. stems *blauþu-* 'fragile, frail, weak, sluggish, timid,' *blauta-* 'stripped, bare,' *blauta-* 'wet, soft,' *blūga-* 'wavering,' two distinct roots *mlu-* and *bhlu-*.

6. OHG. *faro* 'farbig, gefärbt,' *farawa* 'farbe, schminke,' *farawen* 'färben, malen, schminken' are from a pre-Germ. base **poruo-* whose primary meaning was probably 'variegated, parti-colored.' Compare Av. *pouru-šō* 'scheckig, bunt,' Skt. *paru-śā-s* 'knotig; rauh, uneben; fleckig, bunt,' *pāruṣ* 'knoten, internodium, gelenk.' These are formed on the base **poru-* or **peru-* and are further related to Skt. *parva* 'knot, joint, division,' *pārvata-s* 'mountain, rock,' Gk. *πέρας* 'end,' Hom. *πείρατα* from **περφατα* 'boundaries' (Brugmann, *Grd.* I, 401).

7. OE. *hlāford* 'lord, patron, master,' *hlāf-dige* 'lady, mistress of a household' are supposed to be compounds, with *hlāf* 'loaf' as the first element. This is extremely doubtful. They are rather from a lost **hlāf*, Germ. **hlaiba-* 'protection,' which we may assume from ON. *hlāf* 'shield, protection, defense,' *hlifa*, OHG. *liban* 'protect, spare,' Goth. *hleibjan* 'spare, assist.' The development 'protection, protector, lord' is a natural one. Compare OE. *helm* 'helmet, covering: protector, lord,' *hlēow* 'covering, protection: protector,' *weard* 'guardian, protector, lord, king.'

8. OE. *hyrst* 'ornament, jewel; trappings, equipment, armor,' *hyrstan* 'adorn, equip,' OHG. *rust* 'armor,' *rusten* 'adorn, equip, prepare' do not belong to OE. *hrēodan*, as given by Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *rüsten*. They are rather from a pre-Germ. stem **grs-ti-*, which would give in Germ. *hursti-*, *hrusti-*. This stem is most closely related to OChSl. *krasa* 'beauty,' *krasiti* 'adorn,' Pol. *krasa* 'beauty, color,' Lith. *krōsas* 'color, paint,' *krōsyti* 'color,' etc. The underlying meaning of the group is probably 'overlay, überziehen, cover.'

9. E. *left*, akin to ODu. *lufst*, *lucht*, Fries. *leeft* 'left,' is no doubt, as is usually given, from OE. *left*, *lyft* 'weak,' pre-Germ. **lpti-*, a derivative of the base in OE. *lēf* < **lēfi-* 'infirm, diseased, ill,' *ge-lēfed* 'weak, old.' With these compare Lith. *alpnas* 'schwach, ohnmächtig,' *alpstū* 'pine away, faint,' Gk. ἀλαπαδρός 'weakened, feeble,' ἀλαπαζω 'empty, drain, exhaust, overcome, slay, waste,' λαπαζω 'empty, plunder, purge' (bowels), λαπαδρός 'weak, powerless,' λαπαρός 'loose,' Skt. *alpa*, *alpaka* 'small, weak' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*; Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.*).

The primary meaning of this group was probably 'flow, flow out; cause to flow out, empty, exhaust,' whence 'weaken, plunder, waste, destroy,' etc. We may, therefore, connect the above with ON. *elfr*, Dan. *elv* 'stream, river,' OE. *lafian* 'pour, wash,' OHG. *labōn* 'wash, refresh,' *lab* 'broth.'

10. E. *lush* 'full of juice or succulence' is supposed to be an abbreviation of *luscious*, older *lushious* (Spenser), *lussyonse* (Palsgrave). This is, however, improbable on the face of it. It is more likely that *lushious*, *luscious* was transformed from *lush* in imitation of *delicious*, and that *lush* goes back to an OE. **lusc* 'moist, juicy.' In proof of this explanation compare Icel. *lyskra* 'moisture in hay, or a damp wisp of hay.'

11. Germ. *tina-* 'tin:' OE., ON., Dan., Du. *tin*, OHG. *zin*, NHG. *zinn*, from pre-Germ. **dino-m*, doubtless received its name from its color, and meant primarily 'bright, shining.' We may, therefore, compare Skt. *dīna-m* 'day,' which is phonetically an exact equivalent and, like pre-Germ. **dino-m*, meant 'bright.' The Skt. word has been connected with the synony-

mous OChSl. *dīmī*, Lith. *dėnà*, OPruss. *deina*, and with Goth. *sin-teins* 'daily,' etc., all from the root *dī-* 'shine,' Skt. *didēti*, Gk. *δέαται* 'shines.' The root *dī-* 'shine' is also in OE., OS. *tir*, ON. *tirr* 'glory, honor,' OHG. *zēri*, *ziari* 'splendid, beautiful,' *ziari* 'splendor, beauty, ornament,' Lith. *dailūs* 'beautiful' (cf. author, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n.* xiv, 334). On the derivation of *tin* from the meaning 'bright,' compare OHG. *elo* 'yellow:' Lith. *alvas* 'tin,' OPruss. *atwis* 'lead' (Uhlenbeck, *PBB.*, xxii, 537); Skt. *bradhñā-* 'reddish, pale:' *bradhñā-m* 'lead.'

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SPENSER AND "E. K."

A long controversy, familiar to all students of Spenser, has been carried on concerning the identity of the editor of the *Shepherd's Calendar*. This person signs himself simply "E. K." The majority of commentators have persuaded themselves that "E. K." stands for Edward Kirke (1553-1613) a contemporary of Spenser's at Pembroke College. A few scholars, however, of whom Dr. H. O. Sommer is perhaps the most authoritative, and in this matter the most positive, are convinced that "E. K." is no other than Spenser himself.¹

The issue is of some importance, since statements are made in the "literary apparatus" of "E. K.," which, if made by Spenser himself, certainly must seriously discredit him.

I believe that all who have discussed this question have assumed, tacitly, the extreme alternatives that (1) either Spenser must have written the "Glosse" wholly, or (2) another person, "E. K.," is solely responsible for it. The somewhat obvious third possibility, that Spenser and any other person, "E. K.," may have been jointly responsible, seems to have escaped notice. Such a joint editorship would, I believe, meet all difficulties thus far raised on both sides of the question. There are positive evidences, moreover, in favor of the supposition.

The epistle of "E. K." is dated April 10,

¹ *The Shep. Cal.*, Facsimile Repr., London, Nimmo, 1890, Introd.

1579; the *Calender* was not entered at Stationers' Hall until December 5, 1579; during the interim of approximately eight months the volume was presumably passing through the press. Now in his epistle "E. K." is evidently writing in Spenser's absence, "him selfe (Spenser) being for long time furre estraunged." Possibly this means that Spenser was on a mission to Sir Henry Sidney in Ireland, as Grosart thinks. In any case "E. K." represents himself as editing the *Calender* for the time being on his own responsibility, but justifying himself "for that by means of some familiar acquaintance I was made privie to his counsell and secret meaning." This last statement by itself would seem to indicate that "E. K." had received fairly definite instructions from the now absent poet.

Spenser was not long absent, however. By the fifth (sixteenth?) of October, 1579, we find him writing to Harvey from Leicester House. He is now in personal communication with "E. K.", since in the body of the letter we read "Maister E. K. hartly desireth to be commended unto your Worshipp." The *Calender* must by this time have been well under way in the printing, and it is hardly credible that its author should not have gone over "E. K.'s" annotations with him, correcting, advising, suggesting.

His time in London, however, was short. In the same letter just cited, he announces to Harvey a decidedly extended trip to the Continent in the service of "my Lorde", Leicester. In the Latin Epistle to Harvey accompanying the letter, he describes himself as "mox in Gallias navigaturi," and indeed

per inhospita Caucasa longè,
Perque Pyràneos montes, Babilonaque turpem,—

to Spain and Rome, that is, and perhaps farther. Later he says in English that he will be gone "(I hope, I feare, I thinke) the next weeke, if I can be dispatched of my Lorde."

Now if Spenser went on this mission, and I am aware of no ground for doubting it, he must have left what may have been still to complete in the "Glosse" to "E. K.'s" sole discretion. If he took any such journey as he indicated to Harvey, by the time of his return to England the *Calender* must have been already published.

Now from these premises the conclusion seems clear. The "literary apparatus" of the *Shepherd's Calender* is probably a composite piece of work, part of which Spenser had the opportunity to suggest and revise, part of which he had not. The result shows, on the one hand, that seeming-strange insight of "E. K." which leads Dr. Sommer and others to feel that Spenser himself must be guiding the pen of the annotator, and, on the other hand, those frequent blunders and incomprehensible oversights which lead Prof. Herford and others to feel that "E. K.'s" insight was very imperfect indeed. Spenser was guiding the pen of "E. K." but for a brief and hurried period only, namely, when in London with "E. K." just before his Continental journey, —then, and possibly also earlier in that uncertain period of intimacy to which "E. K." alludes in his epistle.

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gray AND grey.

IN MOD. LANG. NOTES for November, 1897, p. 223, Mr. Andrew Ingraham raised the question whether there is any distinction in meaning between the words *gray* and *grey*. The following passage was quoted in illustration:

"A neutral tint is a compound shadow colour of a cool neutral character. It is not very permanent, as the gray is apt to become grey by exposure."

Thinking that the question was of some importance in its bearings upon matters of English usage, I recently set about obtaining the data for an answer. My method was as follows. To a class of students whom I will call Group i, I dictated the passage quoted above. For a second class (Group ii) which met the following hour, I wrote the two words upon the blackboard. To each group I said merely that a question had arisen in regard to the distinction between the two words; I wanted to know what the class thought about it. Each student was then asked to record briefly his opinions or impressions.

The total number of students was one hundred and six, of whom forty-eight belonged to

the first group, fifty-eight to the second. Upon examining the papers I found that eighty-one had noted a distinction in meaning, though upon grounds so various as to make generalization difficult.

Eleven of the first group and fourteen of the second could detect no difference of meaning. Two, however, qualified the negative by saying that they would expect a difference in pronunciation, like that (to quote from one of the papers) "between *Harry* and *hairy*." Another, although he could detect no difference in the denotations, affirmed that the word *grey* reminded him of the Biblical *shew*. On that account it seemed older than the other form.

The following tints were associated by some of the students with the two forms under consideration: With *gray*, pink, drab, and blue; with *grey*, blue, red, brown, green, and silver.

But on this point only a few expressed themselves.

The object to which *gray* was thought to apply were weather-beaten lumber, rough stone, dress goods, the sky, and, in general, objects of nature. *Grey* was connected with a somewhat longer list, comprising slate (or smooth stone of any kind), cloth, veiling, ashes, hair, the complexion and animals.

Twenty-one thought *gray* was the lighter color, ten thought *grey* was lighter. The vote on this point in Group ii, where the students were uninfluenced by any context, was ten to three in favor of *gray*.

Two of the first group and seven of the second referred to *gray* as a cheerful color, to *grey* as a dismal color.

I append an abstract of thirty of the answers:

I. WITH CONTEXT.

Gray.

1. More clouded. Applied to something made, as a hat or gown.
2. Color of weather-beaten lumber.
3. Pure and clear.
4. Lighter and more cheerful.
5. Darker, as if produced by a thick coat of paint.
6. A cold combination of black and white.
7. Mottled; the color of rough-cut stone.
8. More clearly defined; stands out by itself.
9. A color akin to drab, with a pinkish tone.
10. A gray house is sprinkled with white, though sparsely.
11. Drab white.
12. Smooth, clear and glossy.
13. Smooth and soft.
14. Smooth and even.
15. Dark and heavy.

Grey.

1. Indicates a larger expanse of color. Applied to things in nature, as rocks and the like.
2. Blue tint of stone or slate, or of delicate veiling.
3. A faded, lighter color.
4. Darker; associated with dismal weather.
5. Lighter, as if thinly painted.
6. A warm effect obtained by the addition of a touch of red or blue.
7. Softer, smoother, and more uniform. Color of smooth, evenly woven cloth.
8. Blends with surrounding objects.
9. The color of dark hair when it turns.
10. A grey house is nearly white.
11. Faded almost to white.
12. Muddied appearance; darker.
13. Dark, harsh, and rough.
14. Mottled and worn.
15. Lighter; more transparent.

II. WITHOUT CONTEXT.

Gray.

16. Suggests a big block of dark color.
17. A silver sheen. More pleasing.
18. Connected with cloth.
19. Applied to goods.
20. Any mixture of black and white.
21. A dark color. The word pronounced grā.
22. Brighter.
23. More white than black in the mixture.
24. Gives a picture of a soft yet solid substance, silvery white like dress-goods. Vowel broad.
25. Dull slate color.
26. Hard, stony and cold, as a steel-gray.
27. Connected with persons.
28. Bluish shade; soft.
29. Used of nature, as a gray day.
30. Connected with woolens or cloth generally. A pinkish shade.

The differences of impression seem to be traceable to four principal sources. I enumerate them in the probable order of their importance:

1. Chance association (as, in Group i, with the immediate context).
2. Habitual association.
3. The appearance of the word when written or printed, the effect being due to associations of an obscure nature.
4. The sound of the word. The differences in this instance may be due to chromesthesia or 'color-hearing.'

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PARALLELS BETWEEN SHAKSPERE'S *Sonnets* AND *Love's Labour's Lost*.

ALL the commentators upon Shakspeare's sonnets have noted a few parallels between the

Grey.

16. Suggests a grey sky.
17. More somber; seldom used.
18. Connected with an image of a greyhound.
19. Applied to cats.
20. A greenish gray.
21. A very light color. The word pronounced grā, but very short, almost grē.
22. Somber and mournful. Always supposed the distinction was a foolish personal predilection.
23. White and black in equal proportion.
24. Hazy and vague like a vapor. Suggests gloomy thoughts.
25. Greenish tinge.
26. Softer and warmer.
27. Used abstractly.
28. Cold, brownish drab.
29. Used of hair.
30. Almost white. Suggests side-walks and the sky on a cloudy day. Bluish tinge.

Sonnets and Shakspeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, yet none, so far as we know, has marked special citations to show the remarkably close attachment of the *Sonnets*, by word and imagery, to this play. After a general fashion the near kinship of the *Sonnets* to the early dramatic work of Shakspeare has often been acknowledged. Moreover, Mr. Sidney Lee observes that

"in phraseology the sonnets often closely resemble such early dramatic efforts as 'Love's Labour's Lost' and 'Romeo and Juliet'."

The presence of the three sonnets, the poetical tributes paid to the educational value of women's eyes, the extravagant praise of the unfashionably complexioned 'Dark Lady,' and the perjured oaths of the King and his followers under the potent spell of Love, as depicted in the play of *Love's Labour's Lost*, all these have naturally caught the attention of readers of both *Sonnets* and play, even though casual readers.

These characteristics of the play together with many other approved data have adduced all critics to assign this dramatic work to the earliest place. Such an array of proof can never be drawn up for the *Sonnets*, yet the great similarity between certain sonnets and and the play almost forces one to think of an equally close relationship as regards time of composition. Two of the latest authorities may be quoted upon this question, Mr. Sidney Lee and Mr. George Wyndham. The former believes that the time of composition falls between "the spring of 1593 and the autumn of 1594;" while the latter, after a certain assumption, says,

"we may infer that the latest group (C—cxxvi.) was not written *before* May 1600, possibly not *before* May 1602; and that the earlier groups, which are fairly continuous, were not written *before* 1597, possibly not *before* 1599."

It is a mooted question, bandied about by one authority after another, and little confidence may be bestowed upon any new scheme to solve the mystery.

Two classes of parallels we wish to present: one, in which the thought or imagery seems to be correspondent, though this may not always be in the exact phraseology; and a second, in which the mere word is sufficiently forcible to attract the attention. This latter classification is of no value in itself, is often overdone in tediously critical texts.

(In quoting the following correspondences no credit will be given to Messrs. Dowden, Wyndham, and other examiners, for the few citations in their editions of the *Sonnets* do not emphasize any special connections between the *Sonnets* and this particular play.)

The sonnet is first quoted and the parallel in the play follows.

Son. iv, 1-4, "Lo, in the Orient when the gracious light
Lifts up his burning head, each under eye
Doth homage to his new-appearing sight,
Serving with looks his sacred majesty."

L.L.L. iv, iii, 216-223, "Who sees the heavenly Rosalind,
That, like a rude and savage man of Inde,
At the first opening of the gorgeous east,
Bows not his vassal head, and stricken blind
Kisses the base ground with obedient breast?
What peremptory eagle-sighted eye
Dares look upon the heaven of her brow,
That is not blinded by her majesty?"

Son. xi, 9-14, "Let those whom Nature hath not made for
store,
Harsh, featureless, and rude, barrenly perish:
Look, whom she best endow'd, she gave the
more;
Which bounteous gift thou shouldst in bounty
cherish."

L.L.L. ii, i, 9, "Be now as prodigal of all dear grace
As Nature was in making graces dear.
When she did starve the general world beside
And prodigally gave them all to you."

The eye being the best reflector of the beauty of the face, it becomes the favorite conceit in Shakspeare's *Sonnets* as with all the other sonneteers. This conceit of the 'eye' is likewise the favorite figure of Byron's eloquent speeches. All commentators have noted the presence of this conceit in both *Sonnets* and play.

Son. xiv, 9, "But from thine eyes my knowledge I derive."
L.L.L. iv, iii, 345, "From women's eyes this doctrine I derive:" etc.

Son. xvii, 5, "If I could write the beauty of your eyes
And in fresh numbers number all your graces,"
L.L.L. iv, iii, 308, "Teaches such beauty as a woman's
eye?"

and again

317-8, "Such fiery numbers as the prompting eye
Of beauty's tutors have enriched you
with?"

Son. xx, 5-6 "An eye more bright than theirs, less false in
rolling,
Gilding the object whereupon it gazeth,"

L.L.L. v, ii, 752, "Form'd by the eye, and therefore, like
the eye,
Full of strange shapes, of habits, and of forms,
Varying in subjects as the eye doth roll
To every varied object in his glance."

Son. xxiii, 14 "To hear with eyes belongs to love's fine
wit."

L.L.L. ii, i, 241, "Methought all his senses were lock'd in
his eye,"

and

251, "I have only made a mouth of his eye,"

Many other passages might be cited in which the chief conceit is this confusion of the other senses with eyesight, through the magical influence of love.

Son. xxiv, 10-11, "Mine eyes have drawn thy shape, and
thine for me
Are windows to my breast,"

L.L.L. v, ii, 828, "Behold the window of my heart, mine
eye,"

In the *Sonnets* elaborate descriptions are given of the constant warfare between the

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heart and the eye, and *Son.* xlvii brings the case to trial to determine "the clear eye's moiety and the dear heart's part;" while *Son.* xlvii announces that "betwixt mine eye and heart a league is took." The dispute is continued in *Son.* cxli and this conclusion reached:

"In faith, I do not love thee with mine eyes,
For they in thee a thousand errors note;
But 'tis my heart that loves what they despise,"

Likewise in the play the heart is constantly conceived of as betrayed by the eye: *L.L.L.* ii, i, 228,

"By the heart's still rhetoric disclosed with eyes,"

and again,

233, "Why, all his behaviors did make their retire
To the court of his eye, peeping thorough
desire;
His heart, like an agate, with your print im-
press'd,
Proud with his form, in his eye pride ex-
press'd;"

Love also creates havoc with the eyes and causes strange visions:

Son. cxxxvii, "Thou blind fool, Love, what dost thou to mine eyes,
That they behold, and see not what they see?" etc.
i, 13, "In things right true my heart and eyes have erred."

Again,

Son. cxlviii, i, "O me, what eyes hath Love put in my head,
Which have no correspondence with true sight!"
i, 8-9, "Love's eye is not so true as all men's:
no
How can it? O, how can Love's eye be true,
That is so vexed with watching and with tears?"
L.L.L. iv, iii, 328-9, "It (Love) adds a precious seeing to the eye;
A lover's eye will gaze an eagle blind;"

again,

V, ii, 750-3, "As love is full of unbefitting strains,
All wanton as a child, skipping and vain,
Form'd by the eye, and therefore, like the eye,
Full of strange shapes, of habits, and of forms,"

And this power of the eye to create strange shapes and monsters is touched upon again in *Son.* cxiv, 2-7,

"Or whether shall I say, mine eyes saith true,
And that your love taught in this alchemy,
To make monsters and things indigest
Such cherubins as your sweet self resemble,
Creating every bad a perfect best,
As fast as objects to his beams assemble?"

Beauty itself is determined by the eye, *Son.* cxxxvii, 3-4,

"They (the eyes) know what beauty is, see where it lies,
Yet what the best is take the worst to be."
L.L.L. II, i, 15, Beauty is bought by judgement of the eye,"

Though not of the fashionable color, Rosaline's black eyes are magnets,

L.L.L. III, i, 195 "With two pitch-balls stuck in her face for eyes."

Also in *Son.* cxxxvii, 9-10,

"Therefore my mistress' eyes are raven black,
Her eyes so suited, and they mourners seem."

likewise

Son. cxxxii, "As those two mourning eyes become thy face:"

These last quotations have introduced us to the "Dark Lady," and we may now pass on to a view of her features as well as the various plays on light and darkness in these two works. The two most often cited and conspicuous passages are the following:

Son. cxxvii, "In the old age black was not counted fair.
Or if it were, it bore not beauty's name;
But now is black beauty's successive heir,
And beauty slander'd with a bastard shame:
For since each hand hath put on nature's power,
Fairing the foul with art's false borrow'd face,
Sweet beauty hath no name, no holy bower,
But is profaned, if not lives in disgrace.
Therefore my mistress' eyes are raven black,
Her eyes so suited, and they mourners seem
At such who, not born fair, no beauty lack,
Slandering creation with a false esteem:
Yet so they mourn, becoming of their woe,
That every tongue says beauty should look so,"

In *L.L.L.* it is principally the tilt between Biron and his friends over the black complexion of Rosaline that reveals the same characteristics and also attempts to establish a new standard of beauty. The King sportively says, iv, iii, 249,

"O paradox! Black is the badge of hell,
The hue of dungeons, and the shade of night;
And beauty's crest becomes the heavens well."

Biron's answer accords with the sonnet just quoted in full. He replies,

"Devils soonest tempt, resembling spirits of light.
O, if in black my lady's brows be deck'd,
It mourns that painting and usurping fair
Should ravish doters with a false aspect;
And therefore she is born to make black fair.
Her favour turns the fashion of the days;
For native blood is counted painting now,
And therefore red, that would avoid dispraise,
Paints itself black, to imitate her brow."

Note the striking and similar conceit in line 3, of the sonnet cited, and that expressed in line 256 *L.L.L.* Other plays on fairness and blackness may be cited: these are not all, however, descriptive of the 'Dark Lady.' Blackness may be cited:

- Son.* xxi, 4-5, "And every fair with his fair doth rehearse,
Making a complement of proud compare,"
L.L.L. v, ii, 36-7, "I were the fairest goddess on the ground,
I am compar'd to twenty thousand fairs,"
Son. cxxxii, 13-4, "Then will I swear beauty herself is black,
And all they foul that thy complexion lack."
L.L.L. lv, iii, 246-8, "That I may swear beauty doth but
lack,
If that she learn not of her eye to look;
No face is fair that is not full so black."

and

- Son.* cxxxi, 12, "Thy black is fairest in my judgement's
place."

Such a 'black beauty' requires not the additional charm of paint:

- Son.* xxi, 1-2, "So is it not with me as with that Muse
Stirr'd by a painted beauty to his verse,"
L.L.L. i, i, 13-4, "my beauty, though but mean,
Needs not the painted flourish of your
praise;"
Son. lxii, 9, 14, "But when my glass shows me myself in-
deed,"
"Painting my age with beauty of thy days."
L.L.L. lv, i, 16-8, " " "Nay, never
paint me now;
Where fair is not, praise cannot mend the
brow.
Here, good my glass, take this for telling
true;"

also *Son.* lxxxii, after praising the fairness of his friend, "in true plain words by thy true-telling friend," criticizes those that "have devised what strained touches rhetoric can lend," and believes that "their gross painting might be better used where cheeks need blood." Compare also *Son.* lxxxiii, 1-2,

"I never saw that you did painting need,
And therefore to your fair no painting set;"

Further truth and beauty agree in not requiring the painter's art:

- Son.* ci, 6-7, "Truth needs no colour, with his colour fix'd;
Beauty no pencil, beauty's truth to lay;"

In same manner the fair is contrasted with the foul, and similarly light with dark, and day with night:

- Son.* cxxvii, 6, "Fairing the foul with art's false borrowed
face,"
Son. cxxxvii, 12, "To put fair truth upon so foul a face?"
L.L.L. iv, i, 19, "Fair payment for foul words is more than
due."
iv, i, 23, "A giving hand, though foul, shall have
fair praise."
v, ii, 342, "Fair in all hail is foul,"

Thus also the contrast between day and night, light and darkness:

- Son.* xliii, 13-4, "All days are nights to see till I see thee,
And nights bright days when dreams do
show thee me."
L.L.L. i, i, 46, "And make a dark night too of half the day,"
Son. 6, 3-4, "Spend'st thou thy fury on some worthless song,
Darkening thy power to lend base subjects light?"
L.L.L. i, i, 75, "Light seeking light doth light of light be-
guile;
So, ere you find where light in darkness lies,
Your light grows dark by losing of your eyes."

Likewise *Son.* xliii is an elaborate play upon the power of the eyes to see in the darkness of the night, "When most I wink, then do mine eyes best see," and the sleeping and not winking is one of Biron's troubles, "to sleep but three hours in the night, and not be seen to wink all the day." *L.L.L.* i, i, 42-3. The conceit of the dark clouds overcasting the moon occurs in *Son.* xxxiii, xxxiv, and xxxv, as follows:

- "Anon permit the basest clouds to ride
With ugly rack on his celestial face,"
"Tis not enough that though the cloud thou break,
To dry the rain on my storm-beaten face,"
"Clouds and eclipses stain both moon and sun,"

And in *L.L.L.* v, ii, 204, Rosaline plays on this idea of cloud, moon and face,

"My face is but a moon, and clouded too."

The King replies,

- "Blessed are clouds, to do as such clouds do!
Vouchsafe, bright moon,—and these thy stars,—to shine,
Those clouds remov'd, upon our watery eyne."

Two sonnets describe the roses, their color, and their masked buds:

Son. liv, 8, "When summer's breath their masked buds discloses:"

Son. cxxx, 5-6, "I have seen roses damask'd, red and white,
But no such roses see I in her cheeks:"

L.L.L. i, ii, 86, "My love is most immaculate white and red,"
v, ii, 297, "Fair ladies mask'd are roses in their bud;
Dismask'd, their damask sweet commixture shown,

Are angels vailing clouds, or roses blown,"

V, ii, 295, "Blown like sweet roses in this summer air,"

There are few cross references to 'love' between the *Sonnets* and the play, this not being the favorite theme of the play as its name would imply, while 'love', on the other hand, is the chief theme of many of the sonnets.

Son. lxxv, 9-10, "O, know, sweet love, I always write of you,

And you and love are still my argument;"

L.L.L. v, ii, 83-4, "Love doth approach disguis'd
Armed in arguments;"

Son. cii, 3-4, "That love is merchandized whose rich esteeming

ing
The owner's tongue doth publish everywhere."

L.L.L. ii, i, 15-6, "Beauty is bought by judgment of the eye,
Not utter'd by base sale of chapmen's tongues."

Son. xxxii, 7, "Reserve them for my love, not for their rime,"

L.L.L. v, ii, 6, "Nothing but this I yes, as much love in rhyme"

Son. lxxii, 9-10, "O, lest your true love may seem false in this,
That you for love speak well of me untrue,"

L.L.L. i, ii, 159, "And how can that be true love which is
falsely attempted?"

Son. cxlii, 9, "Be it lawful I love thee, as thou lovest those."

L.L.L. iv, iii, 280, "Our loving lawful, and our faith not torn."

Son. cxxxi, 6, "Thy face hath not the power to make love groan:"

L.L.L. iv, iii, 177, "Or groan for love?"

Son. cxliv, 1, "Two loves I have" etc., one being called
the 'better angel'
the other the 'worser spirit' and 'bad angel.'

Armado says in

L.L.L. i, ii, 160, "Love is a familiar: Love's a devil:
there is no evil angel but Love."

Time is one of the leading conceits in the *Sonnets*; it is conceived of as the great enemy of the beauty, youth, and fame of the poet's friend in the early sonnets, an enemy to be withstood only by the enduring fame of the poems themselves. The play in hand could not use such a theme to any great extent, yet the opening lines contain the very idea that is again and again elaborated in the course of the *Sonnets*.

L.L.L. i, i, 1-7, "Let fame, that all hunt after in their lives,
Live register'd upon our brazen tombs,

And then grace us in the disgrace of death;
When, spite of cormorant devouring Time,
The endeavour of this present breath may
buy

That honour which shall bate his scythe's
keen edge
And make us heirs of all eternity."

Son. xix, 1, "Devouring Time,"

Son. lx, 12-4, "And nothing stands but for his (Time's)
scythe to mow:

And yet to times in hope my verse shall stand,
Praising thy worth, despite his cruel hand."

Son. c, 13-4, "Give my love fame faster than time wastes
life;

So thou prevent'st his scythe and crooked
knife."

Son. cxvi, 9-10, "Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and
cheeks

Within his bending sickle's compass come;"

Son. cxxiii, 14, "I will be true, despite thy scythe and thee."

Son. ci, 11-2, "To make him much outlive a gilded tomb
And to be praised of ages yet to be."

Son. cvii, 13-4, "And thou in this shalt find thy monument,
When tyrants' crests and tombs of brass are
spent."

L.L.L. iv, iii, 269, "I'll prove her fair, or talk till doomsday
here."

Son. lv, 10-2, "your praise shall still find room'
Even in the eyes of all prosperity
That wear this world out to the ending
doom,"

L.L.L. v, ii, 778-9, "A time methinks, too short
To make a world-without-end bargain
in."

Son. lvii, 5, "Nor dare I chide the world-without-end hour"

Numerous passages may be cited where the
play upon words furnishes striking parallels:

Son. lxxviii, 12, "And arts with thy sweet graces graced be;"

L.L.L. v, ii, 322, "Have not the grace to grace it with such
show."

Son. lxxix, 2-3, "My verse alone had all thy gentle grace;
But now my gracious numbers are decayed,"

L.L.L. v, i, 126, "that is the way to make an offence gracious,
though few have the grace to do it."

Son. xcvi, 3-4, "Both grace and faults are loved of more and
less:

Thou makest faults graces that to thee resort."

L.L.L. v, ii, 765-6, "And even that falsehood, in itself a sin,
Thus purifies itself and turns to grace."

Son. lxxviii, 8, "And given grace a double majesty."

L.L.L. I, i, 134, "A maid of grace and complete majesty."

Son. xvii, 6, "And in fresh numbers number all your graces,"

L.L.L. v, ii, 35, "The numbers true; and, were the number-
ing too,"

Son. cxxxvii, 9-10, "Why should my heart think that a
several plot

Which my heart knows the wide world's
common place?"

L.L.L. ii, i, 223, "My lips are no common, though several
they be."

Son. lxi, 5, "Thy outward thus with outward praise is
crown'd;"

- Son.* cxxv, 1-2, "Were't aught to me I bore the canopy,
With my exten the outward honouring,"
L.L.L. iv, 1, 32, "When, for fame's sake, for praise, an out-
ward part,
We bend to that the working of the heart;"
Son. cxxviii, 6, "To kiss the tender inward of thy hand,"
L.L.L. v, ii, 796, "And, by this virgin palm now kissing
thine,"
Son. xx, 6-7, " "my heart,
Which in thy breast doth live, as thine in me:"
L.L.L. v, ii, 806, "Hence ever then my heart is in thy
breast."
Son. xxvii, 4, "To work my mind, when body's work's ex-
pired:"
L.L.L. i, i, 25, "The mind shall banquet, though the body
pine."
Son. xxix, 2, 4, "I all alone bewep my outcast state,"
"And look upon myself, and curse my fate,"
L.L.L. v, ii, 67-8, "So potent-like would I o'ersway his state
That he should be my fool and I his
fate."
Son. xxi, "I will not praise that purpose not to sell,"
L.L.L. iv, iii, 235, "To things of sale a seller's praise be-
longs,"
Son. xlii, 9-10, "If I lose thee, my loss is my love's gain,
And losing her, my friend hath found that
loss;"
L.L.L. iv, iii, 356-7, "Let us once lose our oaths to find our-
selves,
Or else we lose ourselves to keep our
oaths."
Son. cxlvii, 9, "Past cure I am, now reason is past care,"
L.L.L. v, ii, 28, "Great reason; for past cure is still past
care."
Son. lxxvi, 7, "That every word doth almost tell my name,"
xcv, 8, "Naming thy name blesses an ill report."
cxxxvi, 13-4, "Make but my name thy love, and love that
still,
And then thou lovest me, for my name is *Will*,"
L.L.L. iii, i, 163, "When tongues speak sweetly, then they
name her name."

This name, 'Will,' brings us to the famous
'Will-sonnets,' and the play is not wanting in
puns upon the various meanings of 'will.'

- Son.* cxxxv, 1-2, "Whoever hath her wish, thou hast thy
Will,
And *Will* to boot, and *Will* in overplus;"
11-2, "So thou, being rich in *Will*, add to thy
Will
One will of mine, to make thy large *Will*
more."
L.L.L. ii, i, 98-9, "Not for the world, fair madam, by my
will."
"Why, will shall break it; will and nothing
else."

We quote in full *Son.* clii on swearing and
oath-breaking, for it has numerous correspon-
dences in the play, where love causes the King
and his men to be twice perjured.

- "In loving thee thou know'st I am forsworn,
But thou art twice forsworn, to me love swearing;
In act thy bed-vow broke, and new faith torn,
In vowing new haie after new love bearing.
But why of two oaths' breach do I accuse thee,
When I break twenty? I am perjured most;
For all my vows are oaths but to misuse thee,
And all my honest faith in thee is lost:
For I have sworn deep oaths of thy deep kindness,
Oaths of thy love, thy truth, thy constancy;
And, to enlighten thee, gave eyes to blindness,
Or made them swear against the thing they see;
For I have sworn thee fair; more perjured I,
To swear against the truth so foul a lie!"
L.L.L. i, i, 148, "Necessity will make us all forsworn
Three thousand times within this three
years";
For every man with his affects is born," etc.
iv, iii, 280, "Our loving lawful, and our faith not torn."
v, ii, 822, "Yet swear not, lest ye be forsworn again."
1, i, 28-3, "If you are arm'd to do as sworn to do,
Subscribe to your deep oaths, and keep it
too."

Many other examples of this conceit might be
cited in which the main idea is that love is
stronger than swearing and vowing.

It only remains to add that we have collected
many phrases in which the key-word, not a
common word, strikes a peculiar tone and sug-
gests a certain likeness or harmony of thought
in the writer's mind when penning the lines
of the *Sonnets* and the play. These are un-
usual words with no uncertain sound. They
give the tone to the thought. For the sake
of briefness a list of these words is here ap-
pended without citing the passages from which
they are taken. They are found in both the
sonnets and the play, often surrounded with
much the same verbiage:

forlorn	worth	stain
intituled	cross	both twain
gaudy	fury	sport
new-fangled	new-fired	infection
pent up	authority	compiled
saucy	rhetoric	profound
critic	eternity	light (in weight)
youth	maladies	adjunct
transgression	blot	aspect
salve	dote	idolatry
society	melancholy	star.

The play of *Love's Labour's Lost* by no
means exhausts all the parallelisms that may
be established between Shakspeare's *Sonnets*
and his other plays, but it may be carefully

and critically stated that no single play displays such a remarkable similarity of phraseology and thought as the one just examined. From comparisons of this kind we never can determine the exact time of composition, we may perhaps be open to criticism in attempting to attack these old riddles with worn-out guesses, yet one more guess may bring us nearer the truth. The guess here ventured is that the *Sonnets* are not far removed in point of time from the composition of *Love's Labour's Lost*.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Die versunkene Glocke. Ein deutsches Märchendrama von Gerhart Hauptmann. With Introduction and Notes by THOMAS STOCKHAM BAKER, Associate in German in the Johns Hopkins University. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1900. 12mo, xviii+205 pp.

It was a happy idea to present to American students an annotated edition of Gerhart Hauptmann's masterpiece. Surely, our colleges ought not to remain indifferent to the great literary activity of contemporary Germany. A century ago German literature was supreme in Europe, to-day it bids fair to assert that supremacy once more. Let the classics remain the backbone of our German instruction, but let us also give our students a glimpse, at least, of the mighty intellectual struggle that is going on in the Fatherland. No work is better suited to give the student an insight into the new spirit of German literature than *Die versunkene Glocke*.

The editor declines to discuss at length the symbolism of the play, and the reasons advanced by him are very sound. His purpose is to make the play "more accessible and more intelligible to English readers." The introduction contains a sketch of Hauptmann's life, a brief discussion of the sources of the play, a few remarks about the Silesian dialect and about the metre. Then follows a bibliography. The notes contain rather exhaustive arguments of all five acts, a valuable feature of the book; and High German translations of the passages

in dialect, which will doubtless be greatly appreciated by all readers.

In bringing out this book the editor had a great opportunity. He might have given us a standard edition, thereby rendering any further editions unnecessary. A standard edition would have gained for the drama many new readers and would have increased the interest in contemporary German literature at our colleges. The editor failed to improve this opportunity, for his work suffers from three serious faults: it lacks scholarship, accuracy and method. In the following I intend to show this by numerous examples. At the same time I hope to contribute something to a better understanding of the play.

Hauptmann doubtless knows how to coin words, but the editor gives him credit for rather more than the poet would claim himself. L. 90: *Hahnkrat* is not "an invention of Hauptmann." The word is as old as German literature. It occurs in Old High German, for example, Tatian 147, 7; it is common enough in Middle High German and by no means obsolete at the present day. A few examples taken at random from modern authors will suffice: Panzer, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, München, 1848, p. 287; Bindewald, *Oberhessisches Sagenbuch*, Frankfurt am M., 1873, p. 154; Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1878, p. 517. Cf. also Grimm and Sanders.—L. 983: *misshör* is not "formed by Hauptmann analogous to *miszverstehen*." Does the editor know the garden scene in *Faust*? *Misshör' mich nicht, du holdes Angesicht!*—L. 1732: *Werkeltaten*, the editor says, is "probably coined by Hauptmann." As the adjective *werkeltätig* is common enough, the statement is not correct. Hauptmann has several compounds with *Werkel*. Cf. l. 1410, stage-direction, and l. 1897.—L. 2206: *barmten*. Schneide-win is wrong in claiming that the use of this word with this signification is original with Hauptmann. The word in this sense is Silesian. Cf. Weinhold, *Beiträge zu einem schlesischen Wörterbuch*, Wien, 1855, p. 8.

A number of forms are declared "very unusual."—L. 13: *Burg* seems to the editor "a large word to be used in this connection." The word is not infrequently used of the habitations of animals: cf. Kehrein, *Wörterbuch der Weid-*

mannussprache, p. 77; Grimm, *D. W.* ii, 535. In popular language the word is sometimes used of a tree: cf. Jahn, *Die deutschen Opferbräuche*, Breslau 1884, p. 86.—There is nothing unusual about the forms *verstiegen* ll. 242, 1368, and *delirierend* l. 1027.—L. 565: *Frau Holle* is not "an unusual spelling for Hulle, Holda or Hulde." It is certainly as common as the other forms, and in popular usage far more common. Cf. Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss* i, 1106: *Die Holda, im Volksmund allgemein Frau Holle . . . genannt*.—L. 1155: *darobis*, in this sense, by no means "an almost obsolete form." Cf. Grimm, *D. W.* s. v. *darob*.—L. 2361: *Wackerstein* is, of course, the same word as *Wackenstein*. Cf. Grimm, *Kindermärchen*, no. 5; Weigand, *Deutsches Wörterb.* iii, p. 1007.

A couple of philological corrections: *schmauch*, l. 18, is not connected with *Rauch*, but with the English "smoke." It cannot be said to have "the present form probably by analogy to Rauch." The word goes back to a Germanic root *smuk*, which forms derivatives according to the second ablaut series. The form *schmauch* is, therefore, entirely regular.—L. 53: *Brisingamene*. As the second part is singular, the verb should be singular. Cf. l. 2096, note.

The translations of the dialect passages into High-German contain serious mistakes. In the Introduction (p. xv) the editor cites Rückert's monograph on the Silesian dialect during the Middle Ages, and Weinhold's work on the Germans in Silesia, but he does not seem to be familiar with the two most important contributions to our knowledge of modern Silesian: Weinhold's *Beiträge* cited above, and the same author's *Ueber deutsche Dialectforschung*, Wien, 1853.¹—L. 200: *Kafferfanstlerla* had better be translated *Dachfensterlein*, though the first component is *gaffen*. Cf. Weinhold, *Beitr.*, p. 39, and Frommann, *Deutsche Mundarten* iv, 173.—L. 202: *Alerla* is not an exclamation. It is *Alterlein*, cf. l. 198 *ale=alt*. Wittichen addresses Thor in this familiar manner. *Alterle* is often used in Southern Germany in addressing a friend confidentially, es-

pecially if he is to be reproved. In Sleswick-Holstein the thunder-god is referred to as *de Olde*. Cf. Mogk, Paul's Gr. i, 1092.—L. 211: *ock* is a favorite particle in Silesian. The editor always translates it *doch*. This is correct in some places, but the most common meaning is *nur*. Cf. Weinhold, *Beitr.*, p. 66b; Frommann, *Die deutschen Mundarten*, ii, 235, iii 252, n. 148, and Holtei's poem *Ock a wing=Nur ein wenig*. *Ock=nur* in ll. 211, 2340, 2367, 2432.—L. 215: *s'er* cannot mean *es ist der*; *es ist* being in Hauptmann's dialect 's *iis*, cf. ll. 508, 2430, 2476. I believe *s'er* is a contraction of *seller*, a common demonstrative pronoun in German dialects. Cf. Weinhold, *Deutsche Dialectforschung*, p. 142.—L. 331: *Aschla* is *Schüssel, Napf*, cf. Weinhold, *Beitr.*, p. 7a.—L. 341: *gequerlle* is not *Lärm*. It is derived from *quergeln=hin und her sich drehen, hin und her laufen*, cf. Weinhold, *Beitr.*, p. 74b. Derivatives with the prefix *ge-* and the ending *e* are common in Silesian: Weinhold, *D. Dialectforschung*, pp. 92 and 93.—L. 352: *Gloaskirbla* is *Glaskörblein*. It is a *Tragkorb* to carry glassware. One of the tricks the *Schrat* would play on the mountaineers was to upset one of these *Körblein*. Just such a story is told about Rübezahl. Cf. also Schmeller, *Bayr. Wörterb.* i, p. 1287.—L. 377: *mit dem Tula* is singular.—L. 528: The use of the polite forms *Sie* and *Ihre* is quite out of place here.—L. 534: *Popelmoan* is not *Hampelmann*. Weinhold (*Beitr.*, p. 72) says: *Die Strohputzen, die als Vogelscheuchen in das Getreide gestellt werden, heissen Popel. . . Ein Popel oder Popelmann erscheint als Hausgeist, mit dem die Kinder geschreckt werden*. Cf. also Grimm, *Mythol.* 4, p. 418.—L. 1134: The form *Däumerling* is not confined to Silesia, it is found in various parts of Germany. Cf. Grimm, *D. W.* ii, 850.—L. 2337: *ebis* is *ehe es*, cf. Weinhold, *Beitr.*, p. 17a.—L. 2339: *sah m'sch* is *sehen wir es*; *man* is in Hauptmann's dialect *ma*, cf. l. 2454.—L. 2427: *s'lichte Laba* is not *das leichte Leben*, but *das lichte Leben*, cf. l. 2440 and l. 2495. The editor completely misunderstands the passage. *joan und treiba* is to hunt down and persecute. Men, being "children of darkness," hate the light and will persecute anyone of their number who tries "to walk in the light." Heinrich is not much better than

¹ To these might be added Weinhold's glossary to Karl von Holtei's *Schlesische Gedichte*, 3rd ed., Breslau, 1857.

the rabble, for he, too, has rejected the light. Cf. ll. 2437 and 2440.

In some of the translations given in the notes there appears a curious lack of familiarity with German usage. A number of words and passages are obscure, but only once does the editor admit that he cannot explain a reference (l. 97).—L. 41: *Kochelbauer*. I cannot accept the interpretation "poultry-farmer." Among the many variants of *Küchlein* given by Grimm, *D. W.*, v, 2514, the form *Kochel* does not occur. I connect this word with the little river Kochel in the Giant Mountains. Kochelbauer is the peasant whose farm is near the Kochel.—In this connection it is to be noted that the geographical position of the play is far more definite than the editor seems to be aware of (p. 149). The scene of the first act is *die Silberlehne* (l. 425), doubtless the slope of the so-called *Silberkamm* or *Lahnberg* in the central part of the Giant Mountains. Some distance to the west rises *das hohe Rad*, the highest peak of the western part of the Giant Mountains, mentioned in l. 394. The scene of acts iii and iv is *unweit der Schneeegruben* (p. 71), which lie close by the *hohe Rad* and form one of the wildest parts of the Giant Mountains. They are referred to again l. 1357. The river Kochel is north of the *hohe Rad*. Cf. Baedeker, *Nordost-Deutschland*, pp. 172, 177, 179, and map of the Giant Mountains; also Grube, *Geographische Charakterbilder*, Leipzig, 1885, vol. i, pp. 147-148.—L. 60: *Trulle* may mean "a low wench," but not here. Rautendelein would not say that to her own image. Weinhold (*Beitr.*) glosses it *dickes Frauenzimmer*, Sanders *plumpe Weibsperson*. It is used here as a mild term of reproach.—L. 103: the translation in the note is quite impossible; *was* is not adverbial, it is the indefinite pronoun. We might paraphrase: *das ist so recht etwas zum Kirren*, that is just the thing to tame.—L. 107: *Grad* is Hauptmann's spelling—formerly a common spelling—for *Grat*=mountain ridge. It is not *Grad*=degree.—L. 114: *Rauzen*. I have not been able to find the word in any book at my command. It is certainly not "coined by Hauptmann." It can hardly mean "reeds." Weinhold (*Beitr.*, p. 77) has the word *Rautze*=*Verschleimung*. This word is, of course, from a different stem. It occurs

in High-German in the form *Rutze*, cf. Grimm, *D. W.*, viii, 1572. Now, by analogy to this correspondence, would it not be safe to assume that Silesian *Rauze* corresponds to the MHG. *ruzze* or *rutsche*=*Felsabhang, Kluft* (cf. Müller-Zarncke, *Mhd. Wb.*, ii, 1, pp. 824 f.; Grimm, *D. W.*, viii, 1568), or that it is connected with OHG. *ruozzan*=*die Erde aufwühlen* (cf. Graff 2, 564; Schade, 732) and means "a gully"? Either meaning would give excellent sense.—L. 129: *Glockentier*. Why "monstrous bell?" It is the same personification as in l. 1269, where the note correctly gives "bell-monster."—L. 254: *erneut*. I believe the apostrophe in the original is a misprint. The word can only be past participle, just as in l. 1634.—L. 278. I cannot agree with the interpretation in the note. This line for the first time gives expression to the difference between Heinrich's life *im Menschenal* and his life with Rautendelein in the mountains. His former life now seems to Heinrich like (spiritual) death, his present condition—he thinks he is dead—like the beginning of real life. Cf. ll. 254-257.—L. 279: *Ich lebte, fiel*. The explanation in the note is not only inappropriate, but prosaic. His fall is the last event of his life which Heinrich remembers. In his feverish condition he constantly speaks of it, it weighs upon his mind. Cf. ll. 249, 261, 264, 268, 274, 279, 280. He thinks he is dead (l. 275), and now he sums up all he remembers or cares to remember about himself: I fell, I lived, I fell. Cf. l. 284.—L. 309. Grimm's third definition of *Märchen* has nothing to do with the use of the word in this line.—L. 400: *Hakengimpel* is a variety of the species finch having a hooked bill somewhat like that of the cross-bill.—L. 429: *Blaupfeifereien* are not "lightnings," but "tricks, magic, deception." Cf. Sanders, *Ergänzungswörterbuch*, p. 81.—L. 564: *Ringelreigenflüsterkranz* "has no definite signification" and "is sound with little more than suggestion?" To the German mind it is replete with meaning and with poetry; it recalls the *Ringel-Ringel-Reihe* of the round-dance of childhood and conjures up a vivid picture of mysteriously whispering elves (fairies) forming a circle as fair as a wreath of flowers (*Kranz*).—L. 900: *lebt'* is imperfect indic. and refers to the time before Heinrich had entered into Magda's life.—L. 921: *morgen* does not

mean "morning," but "to-morrow." The same inscrutable God who one day causes everything to blossom, may destroy it the next day. Cf. *Job*, 12, 23.—L. 975. The translation fails to bring out the most important point in this passage: *Geberg Glück*. In giving the world his bells Heinrich has enjoyed the highest happiness, that coming from giving. Cf. *Acts* 20, 3, and l. 1454.—L. 1064. Note: *his* should be *her*, as it refers to Magda.—L. 1216: *Wünschliche Gedanken*=*Wunschgedanken*, that is, wishes. Rautendelein's wishes are supposed to have the power to cure.—L. 1275: *Schappel* is here a chaplet of metal, probably gold, a diadem, which Heinrich forges, like the *Ring und Spängelein*.—L. 1300. The use of *er* in this and the following line indicates the feeling of superiority which has come over Rautendelein through her association with Heinrich. In a patronizing manner she asks the two sprites whether they have carried out her commands.—L. 1532: *einzig* is to be construed with *kann*: "I did so designate a thing which (in reality) must name itself, which alone can do so, and which claims this right and shall have it." Heinrich calls his work *ein Glockenspiel*, in the absence of a more adequate term; but his creation is to be so new and wonderful that it must name itself, as it were, no one else is able to give it the right name. Cf. note to l. 1505. The editor makes Heinrich say just about the opposite.—L. 1553: *graugedehnt* is omitted in the translation.—L. 1571. The force of *überbauscht* is not brought out. The word refers to *Scharen*. "The hosts, with silken banners rustling and swelling above them."—L. 1692: *so bin ich* is not "I am thus;" *so* is the well-known particle introducing a principal clause after a dependent clause. "But if it should happen that . . ." (l. 1687) "(then) I am—I! I know what I will, etc."—L. 1697: *grade* is not "even," but the temporal particle "just (then)." The question arises: is *sie* object or subject? Either construction is possible. But it is better to take *sie* as the accusative, and *die Dummheit*, a personified abstract noun, as the subject: "Stupidity may just be ringing it" (at the moment when I strike the bell to pieces).—L. 1795. The translation is wrong. "Sense of rest" is in German *das Gefühl der Ruhe*. *Sinn* here is "meaning, purpose."

Heinrich dislikes the twilight, because it compels him to stop working, to rest, but does not grant him sleep, and rest without sleep is to him meaningless, purposeless.—L. 1917: *ratlos* is not "restless." The editor evidently read *rastlos*!—L. 1919: *vermöchte* is subjunctive and should be translated accordingly.—L. 2013. An *Eifrer* is "a zealot," not "a more zealous man;" there is no comparative in it.—L. 2153. Stage direction. The editor does not seem to realize (cf. note to 2163) that Magda has taken her children with her to her watery grave (see l. 2488), and that it is the spirits of the children that now appear.—L. 2223. It does not seem to me a matter "of course" to make the *Hochzeit* refer to Rautendelein's marriage to the Nickelmännchen. It gives much better sense if we interpret *Hochzeit* symbolically: it is the happy time spent with Heinrich. In the midst of it the gnomes bring her the fatal cup and, instead of being the bride of the man she loves, she finds herself the bride of the water-sprite.—L. 2272. *Warum nicht gar* has negative force: "I won't do anything of the kind." Nickelmännchen pretends to scorn Rautendelein now that she has been deserted by her lover.—L. 2422: *Siedler* is here not "settler," but has the meaning of the more common compound *Einsiedler*.—L. 2526: *verlassen* is "deserted." As Rautendelein is singing of sad things, we must think of fires lighted to celebrate some festival. Cf. note to l. 1331.

Mythology and folk-lore form an important part of the play. The editor should have treated these subjects more in connection. It is not sufficient to put down quotations from Grimm, Thorpe, or the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Wherever the editor does not quote, he is apt to err. The statement on p. 148 that "unless the circumstances are quite unusual, the elves hold themselves aloof from mankind and are generally inimical" is not correct. The extract from Grimm's *Mythologie* cited in support of this refers to the dwarfs only, not to the whole category of elves. Cf. Grimm, *Myth.*, p. 428: *sie (elbe, nixe und kobolde) bedürfen immer der anlehnung an die menschen*; Mogk in Paul's Grdr. i, 1029: *Elfen in der umfassendsten Bedeutung des Wortes sind seelische Geister, die in der Natur in der Regel zum Nutzen der Menschheit wirken*.—It is

misleading in the note to l. 68 to refer to the note on *Elementargeist*; *Salamander*=*Molch* and *Salamander*=“elemental spirit” are two very different things. Cf. Grimm, *D. W.* viii, 1679, and Düntzer, *Goethes Faust*, p. 224.—L. 447. *Kielkröpfe* are not “children born unnaturally,” but, generally, the children of elfish spirits substituted for human children, changelings; or the gnomes, sprites, etc., themselves, usually misshapen, hence, in a way, “monsters.” Thus the *Schrat* is called *Kielkröpf* (l. 2017). But in l. 447 *Kielkröpf* is one of several diseases or deformities with which the old woman may afflict children. Adelung’s first definition of the word is: *ein Kropf an der Kehle, besonders so fern er von Kindern mit auf die Welt gebracht wird*. Hildebrand (Grimm, *D. W.*, v, 681) cannot cite any example with this meaning, but Adelung’s definition fits here perfectly. Cf. Grimm, *Myth.* 4, iii, 135.—L. 1272: *Hollenzopf* is not “the cock’s comb.” It seems to be a compound of *Holle*, that is, *Frau Holle*, and *Zopf*, having the same or a similar meaning as *Drudenkopf* (l. 446). Vilmar, *Hessisches Idiotikon*, p. 173, gives the meaning *verworrener Haarzopf*. Cf. Grimm, *Myth.* 4, pp. 384, 968; Mannhardt, *Germanische Mythen* (Berlin, 1858), p. 261; Schmidt, *Westerwäldisches Idiotikon*, pp. 73, 341.—L. 1327. The custom of rolling burning wheels down the hills continues to the present day. Cf. Jahn, *Deutsche Opferbräuche*, Index s. v. *Räder treiben*.—L. 2018: *So alt wie der Westerwald*, the editor says, “is an expression that occurs very frequently,” I can only find one place where it is used: Grimm’s *Kindermärchen*, Vol. i, No. 39, third tale. In the notes (Vol. iii, p. 67) Grimm does not cite any parallel passage, doubtless because he does not know any, though he cites similar phrases. I believe that Hauptmann, consciously or unconsciously, got the phrase from this tale of Grimm’s.

The lack of accuracy is not confined to the Notes, it appears also in the Introduction. The editor says (p. v): Hauptmann “was finally compelled to leave (*die Kunstschule*) because of irregular attendance. This was in 1882.” Schlenther, upon whose book the Introduction is based, relates (p. 21) that Gerhart was *ausgeschlossen* in January 1881, but after eleven

weeks was permitted to return; and that a year later, April 1882, he left the school *wegen Krankheit*.—Further on (p. ix) the editor mixes the dates of Hauptmann’s two comedies, *Der Biberpelz* and *College Crampton*. The latter appeared a year before the *Biberpelz*.

As to the method the editor should have been guided by what he says on p. ii: “the text is not likely to be placed in the hands of young students.” But the notes contain much that advanced students do not need. What is gained by translating and paraphrasing whole passages which the average Junior or Senior can work out himself? Many single words are translated which may be found in any dictionary.—Much more serious, however, are the omissions: l. 14, *Buschgrossmutter*, cf. Grimm, *Myth.* 4, p. 400; l. 100: *klitzeklein*, cf. Grimm, *D. W.*, s. v. *klein*, ii, 7, and s. v. *klinzig*; l. 104, *soso lala*; l. 279, stage direction, *verfallend* (used several times); l. 435, *Peter*; l. 499 *Leichnam* (in this sense now very unusual); l. 636, *dertausend*; l. 723, *Liesch*; l. 959, a very curious construction; l. 1054, *Michelsbaude* (the explanation on p. 149 is not sufficient); l. 1083, *fackeln*, here used in a different sense from l. 2260; l. 1245, *Hornig*, evidently a woodcutter; l. 1253, *Rübekol*, cf. Grimm, *Myth.* 4, p. 397; l. 1463, *Nachbar Karges Giebel*; l. 1811, *Krüppeltanne*; l. 1997, *Meister Schaum*; l. 2008, *Wanst*; l. 2016, *Kuhflatsch*; l. 2018, *Westerwald*; l. 2063, *Wasserkopf*; l. 2213, *Klirreflug*.

Many notes are repeated without any apparent reason: 68 and 623; 129 and 1269; 132 and 1272; 241 and 1380; part of 402 and part of 1253; 446 and 1658; 474 and 1042; 1773 and 2315; 1658, 1759, 1836.

Sometimes words are not commented on until they occur the second or third time: *fackeln* is translated l. 2260, but occurred in the same sense l. 1995; *itzund* is explained l. 2266, after occurring in ll. 275 (*jetztund*), 503, 927; similarly *Irrlicht*, l. 2343, cf. l. 2152. Why is *Amtmann* in l. 215 translated “bailiff” and in l. 792 “magistrate?”

There are not many misprints. The following two deserve notice: l. 622, read *Kafer* instead of *Käfer*, cf. the note; l. 1777 read *eins* instead of *ein*.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The Mind of Tennyson. His Thoughts on God, Freedom, and Immortality. By E. HERSHEY SNEATH, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1900. 12mo, pp. 189.

THE study of philosophy should precede and accompany advanced work in English literature. Not only is such study admirable for training in analysis and valuable for mental discipline and intellectual equipment, but it has positive usefulness. The whole subject of æsthetics, on which much of literary criticism is necessarily founded, comes under the general domain of philosophy. To study intelligently the various theories of poetry, of the drama, and even of the novel, an acquaintance with the main problems of philosophy, and with the chief modern philosophical writers, is well-nigh indispensable. Furthermore, as literature is the immortal part of history, and the interpretation of life, so a knowledge, however meagre, of the history of philosophy, which is simply the history of human thought, affords the best possible foundation for the study of the development of literary forms. Many nineteenth century writers cannot be understood in detail without some familiarity with the main ideas set forth in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*; and how valuable to the student of literature is an acquaintance with Schopenhauer's *World as Will and Idea*, is known only to those specialists in English who have read and pondered over that stimulating book. It is quite possible that much of our present training of graduate students in English, students who will soon be teachers, is a trifle too narrow; and nothing can broaden their views of art and life and give them what some of them seem to lack—a stock of interesting ideas—more effectively than the pursuit, as an avocation, of the highways of philosophical thought.

All his life long Tennyson was an enthusiastic student of philosophy. Although not an original thinker himself, and possessing what seems to some of us, at any rate, a rather commonplace mind, his poetry, as everyone is willing to admit, reflected with astonishing faithfulness the current thought of his age, which

means that he turned his reading to good account, and by his remarkable genius for poetic expression, transformed the dry bones of philosophy into the most beautiful living forms of verse. Therefore a study of Tennyson by a professional student of philosophy, and a study entirely from the philosophical point of view, is wholly welcome. Prof. Sneath says in his preface,

"The aim of this little book is to interpret and systematise Tennyson's thoughts on God, Freedom, and Immortality. Great care has been taken not to force the interpretation in any manner, but to determine as nearly as possible just what the poet thought on these 'inevitable questions.' To this end special effort has been made to distinguish between the subjective and objective,—the personal and impersonal,—in his poetry; also, to make due allowance for metaphor and poetic license. The interpretation has, of course, been made in the light of Tennyson's relation to the spirit of his age."

The promise made in this preface is faithfully kept, both from the positive and negative point of view. The author, with the possible exception of page 150, where he interprets part xlvii of *In Memoriam* as positive affirmation rather than mere poetic imagination, never forces Tennyson to say anything that the language of the poet does not justify: he draws theories from the language, and does not try to make the language fit the theories. This is one of the chief merits of the book. Again, Prof. Sneath sticks to his subject closely, something that all philosophical writers do not always accomplish; he is never tempted away from his subject into the enticing fields of purely literary and artistic criticism, preferring to leave that to the hundreds of books and essays where it has been and will be fully treated.

The book has a short general introduction, and is then divided into three chapters dealing with the three great affirmations of the so-called practical reason, God, Freedom, and Immortality. On these three subjects the author shows that Tennyson followed strictly the Kantian philosophy, or in other words the enlightened religious thought of the nineteenth century—that these three postulates are forever beyond the possibility of knowledge and demonstration, but are articles of faith, *noumena*, realities which transcend phenomena of sense,

and are grasped by the practical reason. Though we cannot know them, we may believe them, and Tennyson elects to do so. The objection might immediately be raised that any thoughtful reader of Tennyson would know his general position anyway, hence why write a book on the subject? If the object of Prof. Sneath's book were merely to find out the poet's ultimate religious and philosophical attitude, this objection would be valid, and the book be at once condemned as superfluous; but the author's object is to "interpret and systematise." He takes the poems in their chronological order, and clearly shows how Tennyson developed, and how different his final attitude was from his earliest position. The book may fairly be called, then, an addition to our knowledge of Tennyson's works, and is thus an important aid to students and teachers of English.

And it happily differs from many philosophical treatises in being utterly unpretentious in style. It is as free from *ex cathedra* utterances as it is from the smell of the lamp. Its method is the method of simple inquiry; nothing is taken for granted, and the separate steps by which each conclusion is reached are so evident that he who runs may read. The introduction, giving a review of the philosophical skepticism, and the doubts of the age against which Tennyson had to struggle, is a model of clearness in style and simplicity of treatment. The fact that Tennyson, who was "an artist before he was a poet," did not believe in art for art's sake, is well demonstrated. His chief aim as a poet was an ethical one, and he felt keenly the responsibility of his gift, and the necessity for making a proper use of it. Under no circumstances could such a man have remained silent on the great religious questions that interested his age; but, as Prof. Sneath points out, he was especially drawn to them by three things: his own mental struggles, which seem to have begun at the University, the scientific skepticism that was in the very atmosphere, and finally the death of his most intimate friend, Hallam.

Of the three chapters, respectively headed "God," "Freedom," "Immortality," the last is by far the most important, and shows the most originality and research. The conclu-

sions that Prof. Sneath reaches in the first two chapters we really know in advance; the poet simply took the Kantian position assumed by so many thousands who combine intelligence with devout feeling, that God and Freedom are things forever beyond the possibility of knowledge, but in practical life are postulates on which all conduct and action are founded. In the discussion on immortality, however, Prof. Sneath goes into great detail, showing a surprisingly large number of separate arguments that Tennyson advanced in support of his hope for a future life. These arguments are all drawn from statements made in the poems themselves, and are summed up on pages 175 et seq. Some lovers of the poet may quarrel with this analytic method of extracting arguments from beautiful poetry, but the results obtained are so interesting that they throw new light on the intense eagerness with which Tennyson studied this most absorbing of all questions. The author believes that the poet went through four separate phases in his attitude toward immortality. On page 111, he says:

"The history of Tennyson's mental attitude toward the question of immortality may be divided into four periods. These are quite distinguishable, both logically and chronologically. The first, may be called the period of naïve, uncritical belief, in which the poet rests in the undisturbed confidence of an inherited faith. The second, is when he awakes from the sleep of dogmatism and experiences the first rude shocks of doubt. The third, finds him engaged in a reflective consideration of the question, endeavoring to establish his faith on a rational basis in the face of his own doubts and those of his age. The fourth, finds him emerging from this long period of rational consideration, into the enjoyment of a calm and serene faith."

While opinions may differ as to the sharpness of the lines that separate these positions one from the other, the value of this division is justified by the results reached in the summing up.

Wholly apart from Tennyson's undoubted poetic genius, Prof. Sneath evidently has immense respect for him as an original thinker and philosopher. Here we differ from him. In the preface to the *Memoir* by Hallam Tennyson, a book that on the whole we found rather marred by the son's too evident desire

to represent his father as a universal genius, as for example his calm statement that Tennyson and Oliver Wendell Holmes resembled each other "especially in their humour" (ii. 323), we find perhaps the best summary of the poet's real powers;—

"If I may venture to speak of his special influence over the world, my conviction is, that its main and enduring factors are his power of expression, the perfection of his workmanship, his strong common sense, the high purport of his life and work, his humility, and his open-hearted and helpful sympathy."

Nothing is here said about his purely intellectual strength; and the fact is, that Tennyson distinctly lacked originality and power of independent thought. For that very reason, he reflected his age in a way that few poets have done. He was the mouth-piece of the Victorian period, the true representative of nineteenth century ideas, thus fulfilling one of the most important functions of a poet. We cannot help regretting that Prof. Sneath, in his great admiration for Tennyson as a thinker, should have gone so far as to treat such specimens of his work as *The Promise of May*, and *Despair*, with respect—poems that are unworthy of Tennyson or of any one else. See pages 78, 96, 88. He quotes also with apparent approval such lines as these, which, whatever they are, are something else and worse than poetry:

"I toil beneath the curse,
But, knowing not the universe,
I fear to slide from bad to worse" (page 127).

But the very fact that Tennyson himself was neither original nor profound does not militate against the value of this inquiry into his philosophical attitude. For it is really an inquiry into the attitude not of Tennyson as an individual, but as a representative of his age, our age, and, therefore, has a double value.

A few minor errors may be noticed, which can be corrected in the second edition. "The Marquis of *Queensbury*," page 94: On page 113 we read that the *Poems by Two Brothers* was published when Tennyson was fifteen years old. He was really almost eighteen. On page 133, the quotation at the top of the page is marred by the omission of the word "so" before "utterly", which occurs in the original. The volume, *Locksley Hall Sixty Years after*, etc., was not dated 1887, as is

stated on page 168, but 1886; and the title of the volume is not given with absolute exactness. We hope also that in another edition the author will remodel the first sentence in the introduction, which is inelegant, one of the very few sentences in this book which has that fault; and we would suggest that on page 5 he omit the quotation from the Memoir, "Soon after his marriage he took to reading different systems of philosophy"—one of the many examples of Hallam Tennyson's unconscious humor.

All these, however, are blemishes of the minutest kind; we are sincerely grateful for a book that is so sound, so helpful, and so excellent in method.

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GERMAN GRAMMAR.

Lehrbuch der deutschen Sprache, by ARNOLD WERNER-SPANHOOFD, Director of German Instruction in the High Schools of Washington, D. C. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1899. 8vo, xi+301 pp.

In some respects this book is superior to any other work known to the reviewer, as an introduction to the study of German in American schools or colleges. Its rigid exclusion of everything not indispensable to the intelligent progress of the pupil renders possible an economy of space rarely attained in text-books. Nor is this economy secured at the expense of reasonable fullness of treatment, in case of subjects vitally important. The pedagogical skill of the author is shown in the choice of these themes and in the natural order in which they are developed. The most perplexing difficulties encountered by the student are explained first, and all others are left for later discussion in the order of their diminishing importance. Not, therefore, the nature of the subject-matter, but the needs of the acquiring mind determine the arrangement of the book. Another commendable feature is an abundance of well chosen and skilfully arranged exercises, which introduce the learner gradually to the spirit of the language through reading, asking and answering questions in German, and translating from English into German.

Thirty-five lessons constitute the substance of the work. Each begins with a Development Lesson, by means of which the principles chosen for presentation are elucidated and emphasized. Then follows a Reading Lesson, at first very brief and consisting of a few German proverbs, later on extended so as to include anecdotes, fables, and short stories. This is succeeded by a Grammar lesson, in which the principles embodied in the Development Lesson are clearly stated. The author explains in the Preface (p. v) that he has used English in this part of the lesson "to overcome all difficulties the pupil may encounter in his home study." He adds, however, what seems to me sound doctrine, that "in class the rules should all be developed in German." This "however" is recommended by the notorious fact that memorizing the rules of German grammar, clothed in the student's vernacular, yields more parrot-like glibness of statement than real *Sprachgefühl*. The final Exercises of each lesson, which serve as a practical application of the principles just discovered and stated, are preceded by a Vocabulary of new words. These vocabularies are wisely selected and include, for the most part, only those root words and their more usual compounds that are in constant use in simple German prose. And the author has taken pains to use repeatedly each new word introduced, so as to facilitate the acquirement of vocabulary by association of ideas. Baumbach's little story *Der Goldbaum* is added (pp. 234f.), to serve as further reading-matter for those able to advance during the year beyond the limits of the thirty-five lessons, or as the basis of a general review.

In the Introduction (§ 6, g) *alles* should be included in the list of common words followed by adjectives beginning with capitals. The difficult matter of pronunciation is presented (pp. 3-11) without recourse to phonetic transcription, and with an apparent disregard of the excellent treatise of Hempl (German Orthography and Phonology) that seriously impairs the value of the chapter. English alphabetic signs are at best but a very imperfect means of representing German speech-sounds, and I doubt the utility of the traditional efforts in this direction of English and American writers of German grammars. Even when made by

men equally well acquainted with the sound values of German and English speech, they are ambiguous or positively misleading. So, for instance, the representation of German *ē* by the symbol (*ey*) of the English open vowel sound in *they* (cf. *Introd.*, § 10) is very inaccurate.—Final *-er* is in English the sign of a sound varying in different parts of this country to such an extent as to render it unfit for use to suggest the sound value of German final *-e* (cf. *ibid.*)—German *ō* is not identical with English *ō* in *note*, either in point of articulation or of rounding. To assert this (cf. *ibid.*) renders the *viva voce* instruction of the teacher more difficult than it would be in the absence of any printed statement touching the point.—Worse than the inaccuracy in the case of *ō* is the use of English *not* (cf. *ibid.*) to suggest the value of German *ö* in *Otto*.—English *ā* in *late* is a closed sound and hence unsuitable to indicate the pronunciation of German *ä* in *Dänemark* (cf. *ibid.*)—The words: *has no sound of its own*, applied by the author to German *y* (cf. *ibid.*), are confusing.—The statement (*Introd.*, § 12): "Double consonants are pronounced like the corresponding single ones" needs to be supplemented for English-speaking learners by a caution against lengthening the consonantal sound as in English (cf. Hempl, *l. c.*, § 166, e).—The indication of the pronunciation of German *g* (*Introd.*, § 15) is incomplete, since it omits all mention of medial *g*.—The remark upon the difference between German and English *l* (cf. *ibid.*), is phonetically incomplete.—The statement (*ibid.*), "*g=k* in *keel*; always followed by *u*" needs a foot-note on the value of the following *u* (cf. Hempl, *l. c.*, § 239, 2).—"(German) *w*=(English) *w* in *winter*; after *sch*" is a misleading statement (cf. *ibid.*)—Final *ng* is pronounced in the larger part of Germany, not like *nk* in *sank*, but like English *ng* in *song* (cf. Hempl, *l. c.*, § 209, N. 3). The statement of Spanhoofd (*Introd.*, § 17) is, therefore, too dogmatic.

An admirable feature of the book is the series of concise foot-notes which convey information and warnings at just those points where they are needed. Such a note at the bottom of page 16, emphasizing the need of learning the definite article as an organic part of each substantive, would to my mind be desirable.

—Note 1, p. 18, would be more helpful if given in connection with the vocabulary on page 17.—After the word *singular*, page 28, at the bottom, there should be a period.—Paragraph 27 (p. 34) should be supplemented by a foot-note calling attention to the common contractions *mir's*, *dir's*, *ihr's* and *sich's*.—The *Spruchwort* at the top of page 38 should be reversed, so as to retain the climax intended: *Keden ist Silber, Schweigen ist Gold*.—Paragraph 40 (p. 44) is too sweeping (cf. *der Regen*, and others).—Foot-note 3, p. 46, should explain the difference between *an einem Fluss* and *auf einem Fluss*.—Note 1, p. 57, fails to mention the reciprocal form *einander*.—The verb *wohnen*, applied to animals, suggests the style of the fable. *Leben* or *hausen* is much more usual (cf. pp. 77 f.).—In note 2, p. 87, the preposition *with* should take the place of the semicolon.—A foot-note on page 97 emphasizing the shortness of the final syllable of *April*, as if the word were spelled *Aprill*, would be desirable.—More idiomatic than “ein männliches Wort *in* -er” (p. 100) is “ein männliches Wort *auf* -er.” We say in German: *Das Wort lautet auf* (rarely, *in*) *t aus*.—A few infelicitous English expressions occur, like ‘as the only form in German of questions’ (p. 103) and ‘The participles are almost entirely used as adjectives in German’ (p. 130, N. 1).—On pages 114 and 178 *nach der Schule gehen* is used apparently in place of the more usual *in die (zur) Schule gehen*. A parent, desirous of consulting the teacher, would naturally announce his intention of going to the school for this purpose by the words: *Ich will einmal nach der Schule gehen*; but the use of this idiom for ‘attend (go to) school, is at present only dialectic.—When *Ort* means ‘place’ or ‘spot’, the preposition accompanying it is usually *an* (not *in*). This does not appear clearly in the statement on page 115, l. 8.—The forms *mit demselben* (*derselben*) should not be given (p. 116) as equivalents of *damit*, with no comment upon the stylistic difference between the former and the latter.—There is nothing in connection with the definition: *der Mund*, -e, ‘mouth’ (Vocab., p. 120), to show the beginner that the plural of *Mund* is one of the rarest plural forms in the language.—The English sentence (p. 122): “Since when is he here in town?” is a Germanism.—Note 2, p. 127, is

misleading, since it implies identity of formation in the cases of *das Weite*, *die Höhe*, and *die Länge*.—In the vocabulary, under *zufrieren* (p. 128), the common meaning ‘freeze over’ might well be added.—On page 131 and later, *derjenige* (*die-*, *das-*) is used as antecedent of a relative, with no mention of the equally correct and briefer *der* (*die*, *das*).—Note 1, p. 140, concerning the use of *wenn*, should be modified so as to include the past as well as the present and the future.—A more accurate locution than “while another action took place” (p. 144, l. 20) would be “before another action took place.”—Note 1, p. 145, would be more helpful if sufficiently full to explain under what circumstances the German perfect represents the English imperfect.—The author shows a preference for the relative *welcher* (-e, -es) in place of the shorter and more popular *der* (*die*, *das*), which, in connection with the already mentioned free use of *derjenige*, imparts to his German style an undesirable heaviness (cf. Hermann Wunderlich: *Der deutsche Satzbau*, pp. 197 f., and *Unsere Umgangssprache*, p. 254).—Note 5, p. 174: “*gülden* (=golden), instead of *güldenes*,” leaves the beginner in doubt as to whether *güldenes* or *goldenes* is the normal form.—The expression (p. 179) *Zeitwörter welche eine Veränderung des Zustandes bezeichnen* would be more accurate if the word *Zeitwörter* were modified by the adjective *intransitive*.—*ekelten sich davor* (p. 191, N. 6) means in this context, not ‘loathed’ but ‘were nauseated at’.—*Darauf* is not the contraction but simply the union of the preposition *auf* with the adverb *da(r)* (p. 194, N. 3).

Page 196 contains the traditional paradigms of the subjunctive of the verbs *haben*, *sein*, *werden*, *hören* and *sehen*. The pupil is warned neither here nor elsewhere (cf. pp. 210 f.) in the book of the glaring discrepancy between actual speech-usage and these paradigms. It is only fair to state that this is in line with the practice of most authors of German grammars at home and abroad. Yet the present subjunctive of *haben*, save in its relatively rare use as optative or concessive in principal clauses, is not *habe*, *habest*, *habe*, *haben*, *habet*, *haben*, but *hätte*, *habest*, *habe*, (less elegantly, *hätte*), *hätten*, *hättet*, *hätten*. Similarly the prevailing present subjunctive of *werden* is *würde*, *werdest*, *werde*,

würden, würdet, würden,—of hören: hörte, hörtest, höre (less elegantly, hörte,) hörten, hörtet, hörten,—and of sehen: sähe, sehest, sehe, sähen, sähet, sähen. For the English: 'He declares I have money about me' we speak and write: *Er behauptet, ich hätte* (not *habe*, if we wish to imply the falseness of the statement) *Geld bei mir*. 'They maintain I am growing bald'=*Man behauptet, ich würde kahl*, etc. The reason of this transfer of present meaning to preterite forms was apparently, at first, the instinctive wish to distinguish the subjunctive from the corresponding indicative inflection, as far as possible. This has led, however, to such a wide substitution of preterite for present subjunctive forms, that the former are by analogy quite generally preferred to the latter, even when, as in case of weak verbs, no inflectional distinction is thus attained (cf. *hürten, hörtet, hörten*). The use of *haben* and *werden* as auxiliaries carries the discrepancy just noted over into the paradigms of the compound tenses of all verbs. Among several correct observations of language phenomena, hidden in a large mass of dogmatism, Gustav Wustmann emphasized this matter in his much-derided *Allerhand Sprachdummheiten*, pp. 177f. Since paradigms are merely reflections of inflectional usage, authors of text-books for teaching strictly modern German ought to adjust the normal paradigm of the subjunctive to current usage, and to print displaced forms in parentheses. A foot-note should then be added to explain the situation.

A parenthetical 'pelt' after 'throw' (p. 206, N. 1) would help the American student to realize the force of the idiom: 'throw the dog with stones'.—A discussion of the various meanings of the prefixes and suffixes mentioned in §§ 160 and 161 would enhance the value of Lesson 35 (pp. 226f.).—The great importance of teaching pupils to depend for mastery of German declension, not upon the systematic classification of German substantives, but upon personal observation of actual usage, makes me regret the omission of all genitive endings from the general vocabulary at the end of the book.

However, my strictures touch matters of minor importance, for the most part, and I conclude by expressing hearty approval of the book as a valuable contribution to the helps available for effective elementary German instruction.

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ITALIAN LANGUAGE.

Alliteration in Italian, by ROBERT LONGLEY TAYLOR. Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University upon application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. New Haven: 1900. 8vo, pp. xv+151.

IN his recently published dissertation, Dr. Taylor has gone further than any preceding investigator into the subject of Alliteration in Italian; indeed, aside from Kriete's work,¹ it is the only general study of the subject. Dr. Taylor has made a careful and apparently accurate examination of some twenty-seven of the greater Italian poets, and gives us the results of his study in a table of percentage of alliteration, accompanied by a comparative chart (cf. p. 80), and followed by a list of examples. The authors of the list are well chosen, but it does seem unfortunate that the dramatic poets should be wholly left out of consideration, so that names such as those of Guarini and Maffei do not appear at all. Had dramatic poetry been included nothing would have been left to do in the subject.

Taking up the dissertation in detail, we first come to the Bibliography, which is strictly confined to works treating wholly or partially of alliteration and versification. It seems complete except for the omission of Biadene's work, quoted on p. 2, n. 1, and some half-dozen times on pp. 6-7, as *Morf. del Sonet*. All historical works, such as Gaspary's *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, are omitted from the Bibliography, though referred to extensively in the text under more or less questionable abbreviations.

Following the Bibliography comes a list of Texts used with Abbreviations, which contains the works on which the author has drawn for his examples of alliteration. Some of the abbreviations here, too, read curiously; for example, there seems to be no good reason for abbreviating *Orlando Furioso* into *Orl. Fu.* if it is to be twice shortened (on p. 14) into *Or. Fu.* Again, *Società Tipografica della Letteratura Italiana* is abbreviated as *Soc. Tip. d. Class. It.*, though on p. 11 is given the more natural form *Soc. Tip. de. Let. It.* The question of abbreviations is no easy one at best, and in case an author does not care to follow the set

¹ *Die Alliteration in der italienischen Sprache bis Torquato Tasso*, Halle, 1893.

forms of the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, or of some periodical of similar standing, it would seem wise at least to make the abbreviations uniform, even though the differences be as trifling as in Dr. Taylor's threefold method of shortening *Abhandlungen* (cf. pp. xi, and 52).

The body of the text is divided into five sections which we may consider in order.

I. *Definition of Alliteration.* Before giving his working definition of alliteration, the author proceeds to eliminate three forms similar to alliteration, yet which cannot be treated simply as such. These are *replicacio*, the repetition of the same word or of the same root; *geminatio*, the repetition of a word juxtaposed; and *jeu de mots* or *Spielerei*, an excessive use of the same word or letter, either in *tautogramme verses*, where every word begins with the same letter, or in *asticcio*, the employment in the interior of the line of a word equivocal with the end of the line, or in *bisticcio*, the assemblage of expressions which differ only by one vowel or two. The foregoing are Dr. Taylor's definitions. As a general definition of alliteration the writer decides for that of Giovanni Pontano, given in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and which he quotes as follows:

"Fit alliteratio quoties dictiones continuatæ vel binæ vel ternæ ab iisdem primis consonantibus, mutatis aliquando vocalibus, aut ab iisdem incipiunt syllabis, aut ab iisdem primis vocalibus" (cf. p. 8).

This definition, though so early given, has not been wholly observed by investigators, some of whom have declared for *strict* alliteration simply, which the author clearly defines as follows:

"as to form, strict alliteration in Italian is the repetition of a sound or sounds at the beginning of coordinated similar parts of speech, and . . . it reaches its highest development when such sound or sounds fall at the beginning of the tonic syllable" (cf. pp. 10-11).

The present investigator, however, while acknowledging the greater importance of strict alliteration, has chosen to follow Pontano's definition, and in so doing has treated all alliteration other than strict alliteration as *loose*. Under this heading is to be included allitera-

tions where one of the parts is a proclitic, attached to the word by abbreviation, as in the group *s'apprappa: sale*. It might be remarked that in five of the eight examples cited (cf. p. 15) both parts of the alliteration begin with the attached particles. Contrary to this phenomenon, a prefix alliteration is not to be considered valid unless accompanied by a stem alliteration. The section of definition concludes with statements regarding the joining of alliterative members by asyndeton or by conjunctive words, and of the division of members according to their meaning into synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic classes.

II. *Unavoidable and Willed Alliterations.*

Under this head there are first treated those alliterations wherein the author was forced to use the alliterating words by the nature of his subject matter, as in *poesie: prose*. In considering the question of avoidable or unnecessary alliterations, the first question that arises is whether the poet intended the alliteration or whether it was clearly accidental. It is very difficult to absolutely distinguish one case from the other; for example, many unwilling alliterations can be found by comparing the expressions containing them with expressions in other languages expressing the same idea without alliteration, as *va e viene* by the side of *come and go*, it is especially in such popular formulas that the alliteration is mechanical and not intentional. The question could only be finally solved by the finding of a manuscript wherein the poet has erased a word in order to insert another to produce alliteration. The author grants that this method is impossible, but he says we may be sure of intended alliteration when an alliterative expression is found to have been copied from some similar expression in the preceding literature, or when one poet has reworked the verse of another with increase in the proportion of alliteration. As an example of the latter, Dr. Taylor gives us the results of his examination of Berni's *rifacimento* of the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo, showing that Berni has rejected eight of Boiardo's eighteen alliterative formulas, but in their place has introduced fourteen new ones, all of which must be considered as willed alliterations. All of the cases in the work of the two poets are cited in full (cf. pp. 28-29).

The psychological student alone can finally decide the question of willed alliteration as it stands, and Dr. Taylor gives some valuable suggestions from this standpoint, which tend in the main to show that in such a study as the present dissertation all alliteration must be considered as willed unless there is direct proof to the contrary.

III. *Stock Alliterations.* Here, in the first place, is given a list of forty-six Italian alliterations for which the author has found Latin parallels. The examples are neatly grouped together in alphabetical order, both the Latin and the Italian being given. The Latin formulas are taken from the work of previous investigators. There follows this a list of well-known and popular alliterations; the first part contains some ten or fifteen loose alliterations, taken from Giusti's *Proverbi Toscani*, then comes a list of eighty-six popular alliterations taken from various sources, and grouped alphabetically.

IV. *Alliteration and the Artistic Poets.* This is perhaps the most interesting portion of the whole dissertation, for in it is taken up the relative use of alliteration by the greatest poets of Italy. Following the author's discussion we first see that the *Sicilian School* did not follow its Provençal progenitors in their frequent employment of alliteration (of which twenty-eight examples are cited on pp. 53-55). Ciulo d'Alcamo offers no good instance of alliteration, and there are scarcely more than a half-dozen examples in the work of the whole school; after them Guittone d'Arezzo bridges over the gap to Dante with some twelve alliterative expressions. Dante's work, with propriety, has been especially searched for examples of alliteration, with the result that Dr. Taylor has tabulated seventeen examples of loose alliteration, twenty-three of *replicacio*, ten of repetition at the beginning of lines, eight of *geminatio*, and four of *figura etymologica* (not elsewhere referred to); these examples he follows with an alphabetical list of alliterating nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, and pronouns, in all a hundred and four cases, the general average of alliteration for Dante being one case in a hundred and twenty lines, or .78 per cent. Passing to Petrarch and Boccaccio, we find the greatest employer of allit-

eration and the least. Petrarch's examples of alliteration average one to every seventy-one lines, or 1.40 per cent, while Boccaccio's are in the proportion of one in six hundred and twenty-one lines, or .10 per cent. After these two authors comes Pulci with an average of .39 per cent, followed by Boiardo with .39 per cent, and Ariosto with .68 per cent. Tasso increases the use of alliteration to 1.09 per cent. After him in the lesser poets of the sixteenth century the percentage of alliterative verses is .90 per cent. The seventeenth century presents almost as great a contrast as the fourteenth, with Marini's average of 1.35 per cent followed by that of Chiabrera which is .39 per cent. Since Marini there has been a general decrease in the use of alliteration, and with one or two exceptions the average has been between .40 and .70 per cent; Carducci and Aleardi, the last two poets treated, having .50 per cent and .42 per cent respectively. The discussion ends with a table of the percentage of alliteration used by the twenty-seven authors examined, from Dante to Aleardi, and facing the same page the results are exhibited on a very neat chart. There we see standing out the names of the chief employers of alliteration, Petrarch, Baldi, Marini, Filicaja, and Metastasio; while at the bottom can be seen those authors who were less favorable to its use, Boccaccio, Pulci, Chiabrera, Gozzi, and Leopardi. The line for Chiabrera should be carried down to the .39 per cent line.

V. *Alphabetical List of Examples.* In the final division of the dissertation are grouped together very complete lists of Italian alliterations, together with citations of the places where they are found, those cited earlier being omitted. In all there are seven hundred and two instances, divided as follows: nouns, four hundred and three; adjectives, one hundred and fifty-nine; verbs, one hundred and forty.

The neatness of the printing and publication deserve praise generally, though the proof has been rather carelessly read in places. Besides the omission of several commas and periods, the following points have been noted. P. ix, l. 34, should read *lateinischen*; p. xv, ll. 2, 3, *Triomfo* is usually spelled with an *n*; l. 5, should read *Morgante*; l. 19, should read *Gerusalemme*; l. 27, should read *Machiavelli*;

l. 31, should read *Filippo*; l. 34, should read *Giotto*; p. 1, ll. 11-12, *che'l* should not be divided; p. 2, n. 1, *École des Chartes* should be capitalized; p. 3, n. 1, italicize *replicacio*; p. 12, ll. 20-21, *campagna* should be divided *cam-pagna*, hence there is no syllable *pagn*; p. 13, l. 3, *campania* should be divided *cam-pa-ni-a*; p. 30, n. 1, should read *Leipsic* or *Leipzig*.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Ansuvahl ans Luthers deutschen Schriften.

Edited with Introduction and Notes by W. H. CARRUTH, Ph. D. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1899. 12mo, lxxxii+362 pp.

THERE are many reasons for studying the works of Luther. He is not only a great national hero, but he has much significance in a new era in human existence. He is not only an embodiment of national character, but he holds a unique position in relation to the regeneration of a national language and literature. Up to the present time there has been in this country no satisfactory book for the study of Luther on the literary and linguistic side. Prof. Carruth's edition has been prepared with the idea of awakening a desire to know more about these features of the works of this most energetic man, and it will certainly accomplish this purpose. As Luther's writings have interest for students of history, of sociology, of theology, and of literature, Prof. Carruth has made his selections with intent to slight none of these subjects, but has, nevertheless, very properly given preference to history and literature. Keeping in mind the needs of college students, he has made extracts from the writings of intrinsic or historical worth covering the whole course of Luther's life, and has given enough of each of the greatest works to present an outline of it.

The editor has exhibited much care and good judgment in making these selections. The longest one, fifty-nine pages, is from *An*

den Adel, which is universally regarded as one of Luther's most important writings. There are about fourteen pages from *Ein Sermon dass man Kinder zur Schule halten solle*. This is justly called "one of the best arguments ever written for free public schools, urging that girls as well as boys need good training." Of *Geistliche Lieder* there are about twenty pages, and thirty from *An die Radherrn*.

In view of the deserved strictures (Introduction, p. xi) that Prof. Carruth puts on Jacob Grimm's famous statement concerning Luther's services to New High German, and on the exaggeration of which this dictum has been the cause, it seems a bit inconsistent to quote the statement on the title-page, where it appears as a kind of motto, as a thesis to be defended.

Early in the Introduction (pp. xv-xvi) the editor discusses the principal characteristics of Luther's style; he refers to the matter again later (pp. lxiv-lxv), quoting Luther's own opinion of his style. It would not do violence to the chronological arrangement of the biographical part to unite these two discussions. Students will incidentally be interested in comparing Heine's opinion of Luther's style, and also Scherer's, with that of Luther himself.

Sixty-seven pages of the Introduction are devoted to "Luther's literary biography," which is a "running account of his literary labors." The references are to the Weimar edition, so far as that is possible; but for the works that have not yet appeared in that edition, references are given to the Erlangen edition, with now and then a reference to other editions. I am inclined to believe that this part of the Introduction contains more material than is really necessary for the class of students for whom the book is intended. Very few will have time to enter into such details as are here presented. Still, all this information gives increased value to the work for the few, especially since not all may have access elsewhere to the material. It shows evidence of much scholarly searching and sifting.

There are some infelicities in sentence-structure and expression, which the editor, whose style is usually above reproach, will surely improve in a revision; for instance,

"While preaching on the Ten Commandments in 1516, and on the Lord's Prayer in 1517, both sermons printed early in 1518, Luther had already been stirred by the evils of the sale of indulgences" (p. xviii);

"At the same time Luther gave out in German a *Taufbüchlein*" (p. xi). Is not "gave out" the result of German influence? The frequent repetition of such expressions as "other publications of the year 1529 are," and "among other publications of 1525 are," becomes monotonous. This lack of variety of phraseology is perhaps unavoidable, and doubtless due to the character of this part of the Introduction, which assumes a catalogue style, for the works of each year are here enumerated and characterized.

The text is not "normalized" but has been "rationalized" by removing from it "all arbitrary and meaningless hindrances to easy reading." In taking liberties with the text, Prof. Carruth very wisely does not go as far as Goedeke and Neubauer; he changes nothing that should be essential to a study, not strictly scientific, of the phonology, inflection, syntax, or vocabulary of the language, with the expressed hope that the book may be found useful in a study of Luther's language and style. Among the principles (Introduction, pp. x-xi) that have guided the editor in "rationalizing" the text are: capitalization according to Prussian rules; punctuation as nearly rational as possible; omission of all doublets and triplets, except where there are reasons for thinking that the original orthography represented a different sound; omission of *c* before *k* and after *l*, *r*, *n*, and of *t* or *c* with *z*; *j* for *i*, where consonantal, and *i* for *j*, when vocalic; *i* for *y*; *s* for *ss* or *sz*, where there is but a single *s* in the present spelling.

Where the text has been abbreviated, the fact is made known by such expressions as, "Out 22 lines," "Out 3½ pages," "50 lines out." These sound very much like instructions to the printer, and some better expression might have been found to indicate omissions.

Immediately following the text there is a "prefatory note" of three pages which is intended to prepare the student for the peculiarities of Luther's language. The deviations of

his language from Modern German are discussed under six heads: Vowels, Consonants, Inflections, Contractions, Word-Formation, and Syntax. The help here given will be found very useful toward assisting the student to *orientieren* himself, and, as the editor remarks, he will soon observe that Luther's own usage is not consistent in these matters.

The Notes consist largely of translations into Modern German or English (a German periodical has called them a *Vocabularium*); in the absence of a complete Luther Dictionary, that is perhaps inevitable, but at the same time many of the translations seem unnecessary. For instance, most students into whose hands this book is likely to come will not need the help given in the following: P. 176, l. 16, *dass=so dass*; p. 182, l. 2, *deutsch=auf Deutsch*; p. 184, l. 25, *des=dessen*; p. 187, l. 7, *bas=besser*; p. 206, l. 9, *der=dieser*; p. 235, l. 8, *unbegreiflich=unbegreifbar*; p. 293, l. 25, *Odem=Atem*; p. 299, l. 8, *die Zeit uber*, 'throughout the time'. By omitting such notes as these much valuable space might be saved. Of repeated notes the following were noticed: P. 4, l. 23, "*Gang=geh*", from the parallel stem now found only in *gegangen*" (the editor should also have mentioned the preterite, *ging* etc.) "and in *Gang*," repeated under p. 27, l. 6; p. 22, l. 20, *schweig=geschweige*, repeated under p. 176, l. 9; p. 35, l. 2, *find=findet*, repeated under p. 156, l. 22. In the note to p. 19, l. 21, it is explained that *on* means *ohne*; this explanation should have been given in the note to p. 2, where *on* appears for the first time, and then in four consecutive lines.

The following misprints have been noted: In the note to p. 3, l. 24, for *Pref. Note D 21* read *Pref. Note D 2*; on p. 350, the reference under the title should read, *See Introd., lxiii*.

In the Preface the editor expresses the hope that criticism may help to free a second edition from errors. I have not discussed the many excellent qualities of this work; they so outweigh all others that they speak for themselves. I have simply endeavored to draw attention to a few points in which a good book can be made a better book.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Gellerts Lustspiele. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Litteraturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts, von Dr. PHIL. WOLD. HAYNEL. Emden und Borkum, 1896. 8vo, viii+87 pp.

Gellerts Lustspiele. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des deutschen Lustspiels, von JOHANNES COYM. Berlin, 1899. 8vo, viii+91. pp. (*Palæstra*: Untersuchungen und Texte aus der deutschen und englischen Philologie, herausgegeben von Alois Brandl und Erich Schmidt. ii.)

BOTH volumes are doctor dissertations treating of the technique and the language of Gellert's three comedies and his one *Nachspiel*, and establishing the origin of the characters contained in their casts.

One of Gellert's merits is to have introduced the *comédie larmoyante* in German literature, imitating in this the French development of the stage. Together with this French influence goes the adaptation to the German stage of a certain number of types of character, which can be also found in Holberg's and Frau Gottsched's plays, and whose origin can be traced back to both English and French sources, as contained in periodicals like the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and their continental imitations, in La Bruyère's *Caractères*, and in comedies of Molière, Destouches, Nivelle de la Chaussée, and others. Haynel in his volume makes an attempt to enumerate those types which are predominant in *Gellerts Lustspiele*, and adds to them a list of some of the traditional plots, accidents, intrigues and denouements of that time. Both authors however merely carry out and complete the excellent indications given by Erich Schmidt in his sketch of Gellert's character and writings in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*.

The examination of Gellert's technique and style follows closely Erich Schmidt's statement's in a review published in the *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur* ii, pp. 38-79. Its chief result is the proof of the fact that Gellert uses almost the same technique and language in his *Fabeln* and in his *Lustspiele*. The chapters on Gellert's language in both volumes, however, do not exhaust their subject.

As early as 1876, in the review just quoted, Erich Schmidt showed the urgent need of a history of style in German literature, and brilliantly indicated on what lines it should be written. But to the present day not much advance has been made in this matter, and it is more desirable than ever that a thorough investigation should be devoted to the development of German literary style, demonstrating on a psychological and grammatical basis the close connection of any habit of thought with its characteristic expression in the choice of style.¹

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CORRESPONDENCE.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN DANISH.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Ever since the introduction of the English system of University Extension into Denmark a few years ago Danish writers have, consciously or unconsciously, been experimenting with various methods of naming the movement. It is obvious that there are three main methods of nomenclature to choose from; the English word can be taken in unchanged, a Danish word may be used describing the system from a different point of view, or the English word may be literally translated into Danish.

The first method has been used so generally in connection with sporting terms that it has at least the virtue of precedent. Its use was noted in a letter from Oxford, published in a recent number of the *Berlingske Tidende*, the leading Copenhagen newspaper. It is in recognized use, but perhaps more frequently in connection with the English original than with its Danish imitation.

An example of the second method is found in the term *Folkeuniversitet*, which occurs in the *Berlingske Tidende* for December 9th,

¹ Cf. the admirable discussion in Konrad Burdach's *Reinmar der Alte und Walther von der Vogelweide*, pp. 55 ff.

1898. At about the same time the word was used in a Danish weekly newspaper with the English word in parenthesis, showing that at that time the English word was more familiar in that meaning than its Danish equivalent. Although this word is inferior to the English form, it is certainly to be preferred to the ponderous *Folkeuniversitetsundervisning*, (People's University Instruction) which occurs in the *Berlingske* a month earlier, or to *Folkeuniversitetsforening*, (People's University Union) which is apparently the latest addition to the verbal collection. All three are misleading, as they imply a new kind of university, not an extension of the university system already in existence. Finally we may note *Bevægelse for Folkets Oplysning* (Movement for the Enlightenment of the People), but this term, one is almost tempted to say sentence, is a description rather than a name. It is too clumsy for any but German ears.

Finally the third method, that of literal translation, has been employed, for the first time, so far as was noted, by the Norwegian-American newspaper *Amerika*. The word is *Universitetsudvidelse*, and it seems to possess the three main conditions of naturalization; it is Danish, it is descriptive, and it corresponds exactly to the English word for which it stands. It is not at all improbable, however, that the present tendency to use English loan words in Danish to designate English ideas will give the final victory to University Extension.

DANIEL KILHAM DODGE.

University of Illinois.

ELECTIVE COURSES.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Is there any 'Englandish' phrase for "Elective Courses," an expression so familiar to American youth? To judge by the following passages in the London *Anthænæum* of Sept. 2, 1899, the term is strange to English ears:

"This interesting study in literary evolution is of American provenance, and first took shape as 'a series of lectures given in elective courses'—whatever those may be—in Yale College."

It is clear that American institutions should

be named by a Committee of Englishmen if we wish to prevent inter-Anglosaxonian misunderstandings.

ANDREW INGRAHAM.

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GRETCHEN'S CONSCIENCE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Although agreeing in the main with the spirit of Prof. Eggert's views in the April number of this journal, I feel that there are some points in his article that would need careful consideration before their acceptance as proof of the soundness of the argument that the *Böse Geist* in the Cathedral scene in Faust represents more than the voice of Gretchen's conscience. Without desiring to enter into a controversy, I wish to call attention to the matters that should be weighed.

After declaring himself in harmony with the opinion held by the great majority of Faust scholars, the defence of which was the purpose of my article in the January number, Prof. Eggert says:

"The question may, however, be raised: was it the poet's intention to represent only her conscience? It would seem that the *Böse Geist* is an impersonation in the same sense that the *Erdgeist* is. We must, therefore, attribute to him a certain character. As the equivalent of Gretchen's conscience the conception would be merely allegorical. But Goethe shuns allegories as frigid,—with him everything becomes concrete, plastic, tangible."

In the first place, the entire situation in the *Erdgeist* scene is radically different from that in the Cathedral scene, and consequently there can be no comparison between them. In the sense in which Professor Eggert looks at the matter, Mephistopheles too is allegorical, as embodying "all that is negative, sceptical, indifferent, and flippant in human nature." His argument on this point is about as follows:

"If the *Geist* means simply the voice of Gretchen's conscience, the conception is allegorical, but since Goethe shunned allegory, this can not be."

That in itself is not a conclusive argument against such an interpretation, for Goethe did

not always avoid allegory. Though recent scholarship tells us that we must impute no allegorical meaning to certain scenes in Faust, and that we should, for example, regard the *Mütter* as a myth and not as an allegory, this teaching does not, of course, preclude the possibility of the presence of allegory in the drama. Moreover, the poet himself has confessed to the use of it in this work. When, in 1829, he and Eckermann were discussing the possibility of representing the *Mummenschanz* scene, Goethe evidently agreed with the latter's remark:

"Es ist doch eine Allegorie wie sie nicht leicht besser existiren möchte."¹

The conversation then turned to the identity of the Boy Charioteer with Euphoriön, and Goethe said, according to Eckermann:

"Der Euphoriön ist kein menschliches, sondern nur ein allegorisches Wesen. Es ist in ihm die *Poesie* personifiziert, die an keine Zeit, an keinen Ort und an keine Person gebunden ist."²

Prof. Eggert contends that the religious views that Gretchen's education had inculcated in her are also embodied in the *Böse Geist*. That is true so far as they were intended to guide and regulate conscience; they thus become a part of conscience, and so we get back to the same point, and our difference of opinion might be reduced to a difference in definition of conscience. The poet is charged, though, with committing "an artistic mistake," if he intended the *Böse Geist* only as the voice of conscience, for allowing the scene to take place in the cathedral and not in the privacy of her chamber. But the church is the place best calculated to arouse the voice of conscience, particularly in a person of Gretchen's faith, as Prof. Eggert's argument itself implies, when it makes the *Geist* reflect the training that she has received from the Church.

The further statement is made that Goethe evidently felt that he needed to give, at least in one scene, an outward form to the imaginary 'fiend' or 'tormentor' in whose existence Gretchen firmly believes, and, for this reason, he chose the *Geist* and the Cathedral scene.

¹ Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*. Leipzig, 1885, II, p. 108.

² *Ibidem*, p. 109.

Why give an outward form to the 'tormentor' in this scene? Why not everywhere, if at all? And, on the other hand, it is not reasonable to suppose that the *Geist* was intended to represent two things so totally different as Gretchen's conscience and the Devil.

CHARLES BUNDY WILSON.

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With sorry grace, AND SIMILAR FORMS OF IMPRECATION IN CHAUCER.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—We beg to call attention to a certain group of expressions which, in our experience, are commonly misunderstood by students of Chaucer, or not understood at all. Yet—as far as we can see—commentators are usually silent about them. Moreover, the evidence of erroneous rendering or imperfect punctuation shows that editors and translators have stumbled over them only too frequently.

Perhaps a simple reference to Tyrwhitt, that old Chaucer expert, might settle the whole matter. But since the information on the point in question vouchsafed by the two most modern editors, Skeat and Pollard, is, in many cases, either inadequate (if not altogether lacking) or directly misleading, it may not be otiose to present here the phrases concerned, together with a brief comment.

1. *The proudest of thise ryotours three*
Answerde agayn, 'what?' carl, with sorry grace,
Why artow al forwrapped save thy face?
C. 716 (*Pard. T.*).

Saunders, in his semi-modernized version, has: 'What! churl with sorry cheer!' Von Düring translates:

'Warum, bis auf dein trauriges Gesicht,
Verhüllst Du, Schuft, Dir Deinen Leib so dicht?'

2. *And whan this sytoure, with sorry grace,*
Had filled with wyne his grete botels three,
C. 876 (*Pard. T.*).

Skeat, in his Glossary, gives 'ill' as the meaning of *sorry* in this passage; Corson (*Selections from Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*), 'ill, bad.' [=ill grace?]

3. '... O nyce proude cherl, I shrawe his face!
Lo, sires,' quod the lord, with harde grace,
Who ever herde of swich a thing er now?
D. 2227 (*Somn. T.*).

Skeat's Glossary: 'displeasure, disgust.' The

same punctuation in Pollard's, Morris's, Bell's, and probably other editions which we are unable to consult here.

4. *This Chanoun took his cole, with harde grace,*
G. 1189 (*Chan. Yem. T.*).

Skeat, in his separate edition of *The Tale of the Man of Lawe, etc.*, renders *harde grace* by 'hardihood of demeanour, boldness,' but in his 'Oxford Chaucer' corrects it to 'ill luck (that is, a curse upon him).'

5. *This Eolus, with harde grace,*
Held the windes in distresse, Fame, 1586.

Skeat: 'severity.' von Düring: 'höchst verdrüsslich.'

The first point to be noted in glancing over this list is, that *sory grace* and *harde grace* are used without appreciable difference. In fact, a various reading of the first passage is *harde*; one of the fourth passage, *sory*.¹ As *grace* is found in the sense of 'chance, luck,' and *faire grace* in that of 'good luck,' so *sory (harde) grace* denotes 'bad luck.' Cf. *so fair a grace*, C. 783; also *graceless* ('unfortunate'), G. 1078, *For which he hadde at Thebes sory grace*, D. 746 (Skeat's translation 'disfavour' is at any rate ambiguous); *ful of torment and of harde grace*, Parl. 65, etc. The use of *harde* in this phrase suggests the colloquial 'hard luck'; *sory* may remind us of 'a sorry plight,' 'a sorry spectacle.' Of interest is *in sory honre*, R. of Rose 1639, = *de fort hore* of the original.

Harde (sory) grace naturally appears in imprecations: *god yeve it harde grace*, G. 665. *Go, blow this folk a sory grace*, *Fame* 1790 shows a similar use, at least. (Cf. *god yeve him goode grace*, in the late Middle English *Tale of Gamelyn*, l. 268.)

Now the phrases *with sory grace*, *with harde grace*, to be taken parenthetically, serve exactly the same purpose; they may be translated by 'bad luck upon him, etc.' On the function of *with*, see Einkenel's *Streifzüge durch die mittlenglische Syntax*, p. 224, where the better known *with meschaunce* is cited. It is significant that another variant of the first passage mentioned above is *with meschaunce*, and that in our fourth quotation *I schrewe his faas* is found as a various reading.

¹ As the Chaucer Society texts are out of reach, we have to rely on Pollard's edition of the *Canterbury Tales*.

In the third instance (D. 2227 ff.), the quotation mark has, accordingly, to be placed before *with harde grace*. It is evident that the lord is not 'displeased' or 'disgusted' at all; he enjoys the joke perpetrated on the friar immensely; and the strong language he uses certainly proves nothing to the contrary. The passage had been well explained by Tyrwhitt long ago.

Quite parallel are the expressions *with meschaunce*, *with sorwe*, *with yvel preef*.

Thus we find

- Is that a cook of Londoun, with meschaunce?* H. 11;
Thus endeth olde Donegild with meschaunce, B. 896;

D. 2215; H. 193; D. 1334 (*with mischance and with misaventure*); *Troil.* i, 117 (*lat your fadres treson goon/ Forth with mischaunce*—syntactically interesting), by the side of

god yeve him meschaunce, B. 4623.

Further

- But tel me this, why hydestow, with sorwe . . .*, D. 308;
That took his counseil of his wyf, with sorwe, B. 4443;
And bad him go with sorwe and with meschaunce, A. 4412;

by the side of

god yeve me sorwe, D. 151.

Also

- Thou comest hoom as dronken as a mous,*
And prechest on thy bench, with yvel preef, D. 246.

(See Tyrwhitt's Glossary; also Schaible, *Deutsche Stich- und Hieb-Worte*, p. 55). Skeat translates *preef* by 'proof, assertion'; in Bell's Chaucer *ewil preef* is rendered by 'a defective proof'; Pollard, as usual, says nothing. The context does not seem to justify the meaning of 'proof,' as these lines are to be interpreted in connection with those immediately following. But *with yvel preef* in the sense of *with meschaunce* fits admirably. We notice *yvel preef* in the sense required, in *The Babees Book, etc.*, 39, 63:

- Have þou not to manye wordis; to swere be þou not leefe,*
For alle such maners comen to an yvel preef.

Likewise, *good preef* = 'good fortune'—though Skeat explains *preef* simply as 'test, proof'—in

- For your good wil, sir, have ye right good preef*, G. 1379.

That in *all* the instances referred to we have to do with cases of malediction, would appear still more clearly from a comparison with similar phrases. They can easily be culled from Chaucer's large repertory of cursing formulas.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, November, 1900.

CORYAT AND THE PARDONER'S TALE.

THE famous porphyry figures that stand at the corner of the Treasury of St. Mark, in Venice, at the left of the Porta della Carta of the Doge's Palace,¹ are commonly thought to have been brought from Acre, or at all events from the East, in the thirteenth century.² The learned are not agreed as to what or whom they represent. The populace, however, are convinced that they are four of the earliest founders of the city, "i quali abbracciandosi a due a due esclamarono: Saremo amici!"³ This is quite as good as the conjecture of the sixteenth-century engineer Girolamo Maggi (d. 1572), who, confessing that nothing is known about the figures "except that they came from Greece," conjectures that they represent Harmodius and Aristogiton, and were set up as an object lesson in patriotism.⁴

Evelyn suggests a better story in his *Diary*, June, 1645:

"At the corner of the Church are inserted into the maine wall four figures as big as life cut in porphyrie, which they say are the images of four brothers who poisoned one another, by which means there escheated to the Republick that vast treasury of reliques now belonging to the Church."⁵

But it is to Coryat's *Crudities* that we must turn for the whole of the legend. Coryat heard it at Venice in 1608.

"Also there is a third thing to be seene in that place, which is very worthy your obser-

¹ The position of the reliefs may be seen in the plate that faces p. 3 of the text of Pasini's *Il Tesoro di San Marco*, Venice, 1886. A fine picture of them may be found in Ongania's *Dettagli di Altari, Monumenti, Scultura ecc. della Basilica di San Marco riprodotti dal vero in cliotipia da C. Jacobi*, Venice, 1881-7, vol. V, plate 191 (133).

² F. Zanotto, in Cicognara, Diedo, and Selva, *Le Fabbriche, e i Monumenti cospicui di Venezia*, 2d. ed., Venice, 1838, I, 14.

³ Pittre's *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari*, xv, 138.

⁴ Hieronymi Magii *Miscellaneorum* lib. II, cap. 6, in Gru-ter's *Thesaurus Criticus*, II, 1325-6 (Frankf., 1604).

⁵ Bray's 2d. ed., 1819, I, 187.

uation, being neare to the foresaid gallows, and pourtrayed in the corner of the wall as you goe into the Dukes Palace. The pourtraitures of foure Noble Gentlemen of Albania that were brothers, which are made in porphyrie stone with their fawchions by their sides, and each couple consulting priuately together by themselves, of whom this notable history following is reported, These Noble brothers came from Albania together in a ship laden with great store of riches. After their arriual at Venice which was the place whereunto they were bound, two of them went on shore, and left the other two in the ship. They two that were landed entred into a consultation and conspiracy how they might dispatch their other brothers which remayned in the ship, to the end they might gaine all the riches to themselves. Whereupon they bought themselves some drugges to that purpose, and determined at a banquet to present the same to their other brothers in a potion or otherwise. Likewise on the other side those two brothers that were left in the shippe whispered secretly amongst themselves how they might make away their brothers that were landed, that they might get all the wealth to themselves. And thereupon procured meanes accordingly. At last this was the finall issue of these consultations. They that had beene at land presented to their other brothers certaine poisoned drugges at a banquet to the end to kill them. Which those brothers did eate and dyed therewith, but not incontinently. For before they died, they ministred a certaine poisoned march-pane or some such other thing at the very same banquet to their brothers that had been at land; both which poisons when they had throughly wrought their effects vpon both couples, all foure dyed shortly after. Whereupon the Signiory of Venice seised vpon all their goods as their owne, which was the first treasure that euer Venice possessed, and the first occasion of enriching the estate; and in memoriall of that vncharitable and vnbrotherly conspiracy, hath erected the pourtraitures of them in prophyrie as I said before in two seuerall couples consulting together. I confess I never read this history, but many Gentlemen of very good account in Venice, both Englishmen and others, reported it vnto me for an absolute truth. And Sir Henry Wotton himselfe our Kings most Honorable, learned, and thrise-worthy Ambassador in Venice, counselled me once when he admitted me to passe with him in his Gondola (which I will euer most thankfully acknowledge for one of his vnderdeserued fauours he afforded me in that noble City) to take speciall obseruation of those two couples of men with fawchions

or curtlexes by their sides, pourtrayed in the gate wall of the Dukes Palace, as being a thing most worthy to be considered. Therefore, although I have not read this thing that I have before related in any authentically history, I for mine own part doe as farre forth beleue it, hauing receiued it from so good Authours, as if I had found it in a history of sufficient authority."⁶

This will be immediately recognized as a version of the legend which forms the plot of Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*, and of which various versions—Italian and other—have been already collected.

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DIE ANTEZEDENTEN DER HELENA IN GOETHE'S FAUST.

DER mir leider erst anfangs März 1900¹ bekannt gewordene Aufsatz von Adolph Gerber—er ist bereits im April 1899 in dieser Zeitschrift (Vol. xiv, No. 4, S. 204-215) erschienen ("The Homunculus-Helena Theory, and the Evolution of the Helena Drama and its Antecedents")—veranlasst mich keineswegs zu einer Widerlegung im einzelnen: dazu hätte das Auftreten des Schreibers doch dem eines wissenschaftlich Arbeitenden angemessener sein müssen. Ich werde mich möglichst auf die Sache selbst beschränken und nur gelegentlich Gerbers von seltsamem Geschmack zeugende Art des Urteilsfällens daneben stellen, um zu zeigen, wie berechtigt mein Verfahren ist. Wer sich, statt sachlich zu bleiben, zu leidenschaftlichen Invektiven hinreissen lässt, erweckt von vornherein ein starkes Misstrauen in die Tüchtigkeit seiner Sache: dieses Misstrauen erweist sich Gerber gegenüber nur zu sehr als gerechtfertigt.

I.

Es handelt sich zunächst um zwei Fragen: 1. ganz allgemein: Wie verhält sich Goethes dichterische Ausführung der Faustdichtung zu seinen Schemata?—und 2. speziell: Wie verhalten sich die Schemata der Antezedentien des Helenadramas zu des Dichters Ausführung?

⁶ Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, pp. 189-91; ed. of 1776, I, 239-41.

¹ Professor Valentin's article was received in April, but its publication was unavoidably delayed.—Ed.

1. Die sämtlichen früheren Entwürfe, die Schemata sowohl, die Pläne skizzieren, als auch Einzelentwürfe von Ausführungen einzelner Stellen, also alles das, was man jetzt als "Paralipomena" bezeichnet,² haben einen grossen Wert, wenn es sich darum handelt, nachzuweisen, was Goethe in einer ganz bestimmten Zeit, mag sie nun von uns datiert oder nicht datiert werden können, irgendeinmal geplant hat. Gelingt es, da wo sie noch fehlt, eine sichere Datierung nach und nach zu gewinnen, so ist für die Geschichte der Entwicklung der Goethischen Faustdichtung die Existenz der Paralipomena von höchster Bedeutung, und ihr Wert ist unter diesem Gesichtspunkt ein ganz unschätzbare. Handelt es sich dagegen um das Verständnis der fertigen Dichtung, so schwindet dieser historische Wert selbstverständlich dahin: aber auch ihr Inhalt kann keinen Aufschluss über den Inhalt der fertigen Dichtung geben, und zwar aus dem Grunde, weil es Thatsache ist, dass kein einziger Entwurf sich mit der Ausführung deckt. Ja sogar die einzelnen Motive sind in der Regel geändert, und selbst wo der Dichter sie beibehalten hat, sind sie doch so umgestaltet und anders gewendet worden, dass die Dichtung, und zwar speziell die des sogenannten zweiten Teils, sich mit den Entwürfen durchaus nicht deckt. Diese Thatsache hebt jetzt auch Pniower in seinem trefflichen Buche³ (so darf und muss man urteilen, auch wenn man mit manchen seiner Excurse nicht einverstanden ist) so hervor:

"Genau deckt sich keins der Schemata (104-106) mit der Ausführung, wie wir durchweg beobachten, dass Goethe bei der dichterischen Production selbst die in den Entwürfen niedergelegten Absichten ändert" (S. 207.)

Goethe war sich dieser Thatsache selbst sehr wohl bewusst. Gerade mit Beziehung auf die Klassische Walpurgisnacht erzählt Eckermann (14. Februar 1830: bei Pniower, wo alle bezüglichen Stellen jetzt am bequemsten nach-

² Eine eingehende Untersuchung habe ich diesem Gegenstande gewidmet in der Abhandlung: "Goethes erste Walpurgisnacht und ihre Paralipomena," *Euphorion* II, S. 100-118.

³ Goethes Faust, Zeugnisse und Exkurse zu seiner Entstehungsgeschichte, Berlin, 1899.

gelesen werden können, weshalb ich ihn gern hinzuzitiere, N. 783, S. 246):

"Goethe erzählte mir von seiner 'Klassischen Walpurgisnacht,' dass er damit jeden Tag weiter komme, und dass ihm wunderbare Dinge über die Erwartung gelängen."

Denken wir uns das, was er als die Erwartung bezeichnet, als das in den Schematen Niedergelegte—aber erstens sind uns freilich nicht alle Entwürfe erhalten, und zweitens arbeitet ein schaffender Genius unablässig weiter, auch wenn er nicht alles gleich oder überhaupt als Entwurf zu Papier bringt,—so sagt also Goethe selbst ganz ausdrücklich, dass auch bei der künstlerischen Durchführung der dichterische Genius immer weiter arbeitet und den Schematen gegenüber Neues schafft, und dass dies Neue gerade "wunderbare Dinge" sind, an die er früher noch nicht gedacht hat. Aber selbst wenn Goethe das nicht ausdrücklich selbst bezeugte, so ergäbe sich die Notwendigkeit dieser Thatsache aus der Natur des künstlerischen Schaffens überhaupt. Das hat jeder Künstler auf seinem Gebiete der Kunst erfahren: je lebendiger der werdende neue Organismus, wie es jedes Kunstwerk in seiner Schöpfungsperiode erscheint, in die Entwicklung kommt, desto mehr macht der Künstler die Entdeckung, wie dieser Organismus gleichsam von selbst aus dem Unbewussten der schaffenden Seele herauswächst und neue Sprossen treibt, und gerade dieses Wachstum stellt uns recht eigentlich das Geniale in dem künstlerischen Schaffen dar.⁴ Als Zeugnis eines, der aus eigener Erfahrung mitreden darf, führe ich hier den Passus an, den Schiller an Körner schreibt, und zwar am 27. Dezember 1796, also in der Zeit der eifrigsten schöpferischen Thätigkeit Schillers und seines dichterischen Gefährten, Goethes: es handelt sich um Wallenstein. Schiller sagt:

"Über dem Anstaltmachen und Meditieren kam ich in die Ausführung selbst hinein, und finde, dass selbst der Plan, bis auf einen gewissen Punkt, nur durch die Ausführung selbst reif werden kann. Ohne diese ist man

wirklich in Gefahr, kalt, trocken und steif zu werden, da doch der Plan selbst aus dem Leben springen muss."

Wer daher Entwürfe zum Beweismittel für die ausgeführte Dichtung machen will, wer annehmen kann, der schaffende Genius fühle sich je durch einen früheren Plan gebunden und betrachte diesen nicht vielmehr nur als einen Stützpunkt, von dem aus er einen neuen, ihn höher tragenden Aufschwung nehmen kann, der—nun, der steht auf dem Standpunkt Gerbers, der seine kleinlichen Anschauungen vom künstlerischen Schaffen als Basis nimmt und sich erdreistet, eine Theorie, die den für den Dichter veralteten Schematen nicht entspricht, sondern auf den Thatsachen des fertigen Kunstwerkes beruht, ihrem Urheber vorzuhalten als "nothing but a fantastic lubrication of his own brain!"

2. Die zweite, specielle Frage ist weiter die: Wie verhalten sich die Schemata der Antezedentien des Helenadramas zu des Dichters Ausführung?

Für jeden, der Augen hat und lesen kann, ist es offenkundig, dass das Helenadrama abgeschlossen war, als Goethe sich dazu wendete, die "Antezedentien" des Helenadramas auszuführen, d.h. die zwei ersten Akte des sogenannten zweiten Teiles, und damit das dichterisch zu gestalten, was er in der "Ankündigung" zum Helenadrama zum Verständnis dieser Episode der Faustdichtung hatte mitteilen wollen, "damit die grosse Kluft zwischen dem bekannten jammervollen Abschluss des ersten Teiles und dem Eintritt einer griechischen Heldenfrau einigermaßen überbrückt werde."

Nachdem die Ausführung des ersten Aktes vollendet war (1829), wächst die Sorge, ob es ihm auch mit dem zweiten Akte gelingen werde:

"Meine einzige Sorge und Bemühung ist nun, die zwei ersten Akte fertig zu bringen, damit sie sich an den dritten, welcher eigentlich das bekannte Drama, Helena betitelt, in sich fasst, klüglich und weislich anschliessen mögen" (Goethe an Zelter, 16. Dez., 1829: Pniower N. 737 S. 237).

Aber dieser "klügliche und weisliche Anschluss" sollte eben diesem Helenadrama eine ganz andere Stellung geben, als es sie durch sein gesondertes Erscheinen hatte

⁴ Diese Thatsache habe ich in meiner Festrede zu Goethes hundertfünfzigjähriger Geburtsfeier näher für Goethe ausgeführt (Vgl. Erich Schmidt und Veit Valentin, Festreden bei der Akademischen Feier in Frankfurt am Main zu Goethes 150. Geburtstag. Veranstaltet vom freien Deutschen Hochstift und der Goethe-Gesellschaft. Frankfurt, 1899.

erlangen können: bei diesem war es bezeichnet als: "Helena, klassisch-romantische Phantasmagorie. Zwischenspiel zu Faust." Schon am 21. November 1827 schreibt Goethe an Zelter:

"Der zweite Teil des Faust (d.h. hier die zwei ersten Akte) fährt fort, sich zu gestalten; die Aufgabe ist hier wie bei Helena: das Vorhandene so zu bilden und zu richten, dass es zum Neuen passt und klappt, wobei manches zu verwerfen, manches umzuarbeiten ist" (Pniower N. 588, S. 206).

Goethe erklärt hier also ganz ausdrücklich, dass auch bei dem schon Vorhandenen eine Umbildung stattfindet, damit es zu dem Neuen "passt und klappt." Dies ist aber nur dann denkbar, wenn die künstlerische Gestaltung nicht bloß eine Ausführung des früher gemachten Schemas bringt, sondern der Dichter zugleich von seinem Rechte Gebrauch machte, solches hinzuzufügen, was früher in dem Entwurfe überhaupt noch nicht vorhanden war, und im Hinblick auf das Neue auch das Alte, wie es frühere Schemata gaben, sachgemäss und der neuen dichterischen Gestaltung entsprechend umzugestalten. In welchem Sinne diese Umgestaltung stattgefunden hat, lehrt der Brief an Zelter vom 24. Januar 1828:

"Ich fahre fort an dieser Arbeit, denn ich möchte gar zu gern die zwei ersten Akte fertig bringen, damit Helena als dritter Akt ganz ungezwungen sich anschliesse, und genugsam vorbereitet, nicht mehr phantasmagorisch und eingeschoben, sondern in ästhetisch-vernunftgemässer Folge sich erweisen könnte."

Und wie Goethe dem alten Freunde am 4. Januar 1831 berichten kann. "die zwei ersten Akte sind fertig," da fügt er hinzu:

"Helena tritt zu Anfang des dritten Aktes nicht als Zwischenspielerin, sondern als Heroine ohne Weiteres auf" (Pniower N. 846, S. 254-5).

Sie kann das aber weil sie nun "genugsam vorbereitet" ist, weil der dritte Akt dem zweiten "ganz ungezwungen" sich anschliesst, freilich nicht ohne "etwas aufzurathen" zu geben. Dass in der That gerade diese zwei ersten Akte die Aufgabe haben sollten, die "Helena" verständlicher zu machen, beweist dies schon vom 23. September 1827 herrührende Stelle im Konzepte eines Briefes an K. I. L. Iken:

"Hierbei darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben, dass ich mit der dritten Lieferung meiner Werke zu Ostern die ersten Szenen des zweiten Teiles von Faust mitzuteilen gedenke, um auf manche Weise ein frisches Licht auf Helena, welche als der dritte Akt des Ganzen anzusehen ist, zurückzuspiegeln."

Diese Absicht hätte bei dem Dichter überhaupt nicht entstehen können, wenn nicht der innigste sachliche Zusammenhang zwischen den zwei ersten Akten und dem dritten, dem "Helenadrama," bestanden hätte, eine Absicht, die freilich, sobald es sich um ein künstlerisches Ganzes handelt, für jeden denkenden Menschen von vornherein selbstverständlich ist.

Dieser ganze Prozess zeigt eine beständige "Gestaltung, Umgestaltung," neben der die Schemata ganz zurücktreten. Will man unter Ablehnung dieser Tatsache das Dogma aufstellen, dass mit Abschluss des Helenadramas eine Abänderung der beim Abschluss dieses Dramas fertigen Entwürfe für die zwei ersten Akte nicht mehr möglich gewesen sei, so müsste man eine solche kindische Behauptung für unmöglich halten, wenn nicht ganz ausdrücklich bei Gerber zu lesen wäre, der von mir nachgewiesene sachliche Zusammenhang zwischen Homunculus und Helena sei unmöglich, "because the time for further changes had expired with the completion of the drama" (1899, S. 213): also weil das Helenadrama 1827 fertig war, durfte Goethe an den vor 1827 gemachten Entwürfen für den ersten und zweiten Akt, den Antezedentien der Helena, nichts mehr ändern! Auch eine solche Behauptung ist ein Dogma, und von den Dogmen heisst es: *credo quia absurdum*.

II.

Wenn man die Dinge vernünftig prüft, so ergeben sich zwei wohl zu unterscheidende Gesichtspunkte für das Verständnis der Antezedentien der Helena und ihres Auftretens im dritten Akte: die Tatsache der Wiedererscheinung der bereits längst abgeschiedenen und nur noch in der Unterwelt als Schatten existierenden Helena, und die Art, wie diese Wiedererscheinung bewirkt wird. In der ersten Tatsache bleibt sich Goethe, trotzdem sich Helena sonst im Laufe der Jahre vielfach "gestaltet und umgestaltet" hat (26. Mai 1827 an Nees von Esenbeck: Pniower N. 527, S.

188), dennoch stets gleich, und zwar nicht erst seit 1824 und 1826, sondern schon seit September, 1800, als Goethe Schillern verkünden konnte:

"Glücklicherweise konnte ich diese acht Tage die Situationen festhalten, von denen Sie wissen, und meine Helena ist wirklich aufgetreten."

Eine folgerichtige Anwendung des Gerberschen Dogmas müsste nun erklären, dass seit 1800, d. h. seitdem das Helenadrama in seiner unverrückbaren Basis festgelegt ist, keine Umgestaltung der Antezedentien der Helena hätte stattfinden können: nur hat aber leider Schiller Goethes damalige Pläne mit ins Grab genommen, und die späteren Entwürfe zeigen beständige Umgestaltung — aber was kümmert uns weiter das Dogma Gerbers: es ist so kläglich! Seit Schillers Tagen nun steht die Thatsache des Wiedererscheinens in der stets festgehaltenen Art des Auftretens fest, aber das Auftreten selbst sollte noch im Anschluss an Legende und Puppenspiel durch die Beihilfe des Teufels stattfinden. Damit tritt der zweite Gesichtspunkt in sein Recht durch die Frage, wie diese Wiederbelebung bewirkt werden soll. Geschieht sie durch den Teufel, so wird mit der klassisch schönen Gestalt der Helena der mittelalterlich hässliche Teufelsspuk unmittelbar und unlösbar verbunden: dieser Umstand widersteht Goethe so sehr, dass er für ihn der Grund wird, die Arbeit an der Helenadichtung noch zu Schillers Lebzeiten aufzugeben: er lässt sie gerade an der Stelle im Stich, wo durch das Eingreifen der trojanischen Mädchen die Teufelsnatur der Phorkyas zur Offenbarung ihres Wesens veranlasst wird. Noch in der "Skizze der Urgestalt," die, 1816 "sorgfältiger geschrieben" (Pniower N. 315, S. 115), bestimmt war, in das 18. Buch von "Dichtung und Wahrheit" eingereiht zu werden, und die infolge von Eckermanns Eingreifen (1824, und hier weiterhin mit diesem Jahre angeführt) ungedruckt blieb — Gerber bezeichnet sie naiver Weise als "Urplan von 1775," während schon Erich Schmidt in seiner besonnenen Weise darauf hingewiesen hat:

"die Erzählung bietet gewiss z.T. eine Ergänzung alter Intentionen durch die nachschaffende und verbindende Phantasie" und

"Bruchstücke aus jener Frühzeit 1775 sind nicht erhalten" —

heisst es, Faust

"verlangt dass der Tausendkünstler (Mephistopheles) sie herbeischaffen und ihm in die Arme liefern solle. Es finden sich Schwierigkeiten. Helena gehört dem Orkus und kann durch Zauberkünste wohl herausgelockt, aber nicht festgehalten werden" —

was Gerber nicht abhält, das weitere Dogma aufzustellen, dass

"corporeal being is implied in the release and not, as Valentin surmises, obtained by the "Zaubermittel" of a sojourn in a certain place!"

Goethe selbst freilich sagt ausdrücklich, dass "Zauberkünste" die Helena hervorlocken müssen: das unternimmt Mephistopheles, und wie die Helena erschienen ist, sagt Goethe weiter: "durch einen magischen Ring ist ihr die Körperlichkeit wiedergegeben" — ist ein "magischer" Ring kein "Zaubermittel" und wirken somit nicht Zauberkünste und Zaubermittel zusammen, — die Zauberkünste, um Helena aus dem Orkus hervorzulocken, die Zaubermittel, um sie auf der Erde festzuhalten, indem ihr durch Zaubermittel die Körperlichkeit wiedergegeben wird, ohne die sie auf der Erde weder verweilen, noch ihre Aufgabe, sich mit Faust zu verbinden, lösen kann? Und solche Thatsachen abzuleugnen hat Gerber "the boldness," um seinen eleganten Ausdruck zu gebrauchen. Wie kläglich!

Aber die enge Verbindung zwischen Helena und Mephistopheles, die Goethe schon zur Zeit Schillers abgestossen hatte, löst sich zum Glück für die Fortführung der Faustdichtung. Schon in der ungedruckt gebliebenen Ankündigung zur Helena vom 10. Juni 1826 heisst es:

"dem alten, auf die ältere von Faust umgehende Fabel gegründeten Puppenspiel gemäss, sollte im zweiten Teil meiner Tragödie gleichfalls die Verwegenheit Fausts dargestellt werden, womit er die schönste Frau aus Griechenland in die Arme begehrt. Dieses war nun nicht durch Blocksbergsgenossen, ebensowenig durch die hässlichen nordischen Hexen und Vampyren nahverwandte Enyo zu erreichen, sondern, wie in dem zweiten Teile alles auf einer höheren und edleren Stufe gefunden wird, in den Bergklüften Thessaliens unmittelbar bei dämonischen Sibyllen zu suchen, welche durch merkwürdige Verhandlungen es zuletzt dahin vermittelten, dass

Persephone der Helena erlaubte, wieder in die Wirklichkeit zu treten."

Hier ist die hochbedeutsame Veränderung eingetreten, dass Faust selbst handeln muss, und dass Helena durch Persephone entlassen wird: aber das Zaubermittel, sie auf der Erde zu halten, bleibt noch unangetastet. Nur tritt an Stelle des magischen Ringes (1824) die Bedingung, dass Helena "sich nirgends als auf dem eigentlichen Boden von Sparta des Lebens wieder erfreuen solle;" ebenso müsse alles Übrige, sowie das Gewinnen ihrer Liebe, "auf menschlichem Wege zugehen." Das ist freilich nur möglich, wenn Helena ein Wesen von Fleisch und Blut geworden, wenn sie also nicht mehr leeres Schattenbild geblieben ist. Die Wiedergewinnung dieser Körperlichkeit war früher an das Zaubermittel des magischen Ringes geknüpft; jetzt geschieht sie durch den Aufenthalt in beschränktem Kreise, der als "Zaubergränze" bezeichnet wird: streift Helena den Ring ab (1824), übertritt sie die Zaubergränze (1826), so entschwindet das Körperliche, und der Schatten geht selbstverständlich sofort wieder in den Orkus. Ein Schatten ohne Körperlichkeit hat auf der Oberwelt keine Daseinsmöglichkeit.

Es ist keine Frage, dass die Erteilung der Körperlichkeit durch Persephone als etwas über ihr Bereich des Wirkens Hinausgehendes erscheint, und dass zudem die Beschränkung dieser Körperlichkeit an ganz äusserliche Bedingungen etwas Gewalttames an sich hat. In der endgiltigen Ausführung ist beides verschwunden: Persephone entlässt den Schatten ohne Weiteres, eine Bedingung wird nicht mehr gestellt—was ist nun zur Erlangung der Körperlichkeit an die Stelle der früheren Auffassung getreten?

III.

Aber diese Körperlichkeit ist vielleicht doch nur ein Schein? Im Entwurf 1824 ("the plan of 1775" nach Gerber!) soll nach demselben Autor Helena eine "Halbwirklichkeit" genannt werden: richtig ist, dass nicht Helena allein, sondern sie samt ihrer ganzen Umgebung, also alles, was mit ihr von Troja zu kommen vermeint, bezeichnet wird als: "diese Halbwirklichkeiten." Damit ist betreffs der Natur der Helena, für Gerber wenigstens, die Sache sofort klar: "A semi-reality is not a mate-

rial reality of flesh and blood;" wer kann auch in das Rechenexempel Zweifel setzen: material reality minus flesh and blood = semi-reality? Wenn daher im Entwurf 1826 Helena als "wirklich lebend" bezeichnet wird, so heisst es zur Hebung dieses Widerspruchs: "She is to appear alive, or 'truly alive';" nun ist die Klarheit und Wahrheit hergestellt: Helena hat nur den Schein einer wirklichen Körperlichkeit zu erwecken—Goethe weiss zwar nichts davon, aber Gerber sagt es—da muss es ja wohl wahr sein. Minder gläubige Leute werden sich zunächst die willkürliche Einsetzung "She is to appear alive" für "truly alive" nicht bieten lassen, sondern sie nur als merkwürdigen Beleg für Gerbers wissenschaftliches Verfahren registrieren, im Übrigen aber sagen: entweder wir müssen zugeben, dass von 1824 bis 1826 eine Weiterentwicklung bei Goethes Plan stattgefunden hat: dann hat natürlich die spätere Auffassung Goethes zu gelten, zumal sie mit der Fertigstellung des Helenadramas zusammenfällt, und die "Halbwirklichkeit" wird überhaupt hinfällig; oder aber Gerbers Einsicht reicht nicht aus, um durch den scheinbaren Widerspruch den wirklichen Sachverhalt zu erkennen: das hat die grösste Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich, und so ist es in der That. Die Natur der Helena bei ihrem Wiedererscheinen stand für Goethe natürlich nicht erst seit 1824 und 1826, sondern schon seit 1800 fest und hat sich seitdem nie geändert: Helena ist das Ergebnis einer künstlichen Wiederbelebung, nicht das Ergebnis einer natürlichen Zeugung: insofern ist ihr Wesen das einer Halbwirklichkeit: eine Vollwirklichkeit kann nur einem solchen Wesen eignen, das seine Natur auf dem ihrem Wesen eigentümlichen Wege erhalten hat. Helena hat nun bei ihrer Wiederbelebung ihr Dasein nicht auf natürlichem Wege der Zeugung, sondern auf dem Wege eines Zaubers erhalten—also ist sie den natürlich erzeugten Wesen, hier besonders dem Faust, gegenüber eine "Halbwirklichkeit." Ist sie dies durch die Art ihrer Neubelebung, so ist sie doch infolge dieser Neubelebung in der Thatsache ihres Daseins nicht etwa nur halbwirklich, so dass sie nur Schatten und nicht wirklicher Körper wäre; im Gegensatz zu ihrem bisherigen Schattendasein im Hades tritt sie jetzt auf der

Erde als "wirklich lebendig," d.h. als ein körperliches Wesen auf, wie es schon im Entwurf 1824 sehr klar und deutlich heisst: "durch einen magischen Ring ist ihr die Körperlichkeit wiedergegeben." Zwischen der vollen Körperlichkeit der Helena, die notwendig ist, wenn sie auf der Erde verweilen und wenn Faust ihre Liebe auf menschlichem Wege gewinnen soll, und ihrer infolge ihrer künstlichen Neubelebung vorhandenen Halbwirklichkeit den natürlich erzeugten Wesen gegenüber ist also keinerlei Widerspruch: man muss nur instande sein zu erkennen, dass, wo Goethe ihr zauberhaftes Dasein betonen will (Entwurf 1824:

"Nun muss man wissen, dass das Schloss mit einer Zaubergrenze umzogen ist, innerhalb welcher allein diese Halbwirklichkeiten gedeihen können"),

er dies mit dem treffenden Ausdruck "Halbwirklichkeit" thut, dass aber, wo die Realität ihrer Fleisch- und Blutkörperlichkeit hervorgehoben werden muss (Entwurf 1826, 17. Dez.: "um als wahrhaft lebendig aufzutreten;" 10. Juni: "wieder in die Wirklichkeit zu treten"), weil es hier auf ihre körperliche Verbindung mit Faust ankommt, diese Wirklichkeit zum Ausdruck kommt.

Durch die Verbindung der Körperlichkeit mit der Wirklichkeit, aus welcher sich der Zustand des "wahrhaft Lebendigen" bildet, steht die Wiederbelebung der Helena zu gunsten Fausts in bedeutsamem Gegensatz zu der Wiederbelebung Helenas zu gunsten des Achilles. Goethe wusste sehr wohl, dass Achill auf der Insel Leuke sich befand, weil die Alten sich dort die Gefilde der Seligen dachten, wo die Heroen und die Heroinnen in Seligkeit lebten, nachdem sie aus dem Orkus dahin entlassen waren. Eine Rückkehr ins Leben mit diesem seligen Geiste ward nun Helenen als ebenso geistig geartetem Wesen vergönnt. Dort konnten sie beide als Geister sich verbinden. Als solchen kam ihnen die Wirklichkeit zu, aber nicht Körperlichkeit, die entweder durch natürliche Zeugung oder bei einer Rückkehr aus dem Hades in die Menschenwelt durch Zaubermittel erreicht werden muss. Wie Helena zu gunsten Fausts aus dem Hades entlassen wird, kann sie als geistiges Wesen sich mit dem Menschen Faust nicht verbinden,

es sei denn dass ihr zugleich die Körperlichkeit, das materieerfüllte Dasein verliehen wird. Zwischen beiden Entlassungen besteht somit eine "Ebenmässigkeit," soweit es sich um die Entlassung aus der Unterwelt handelt: hierfür kann die erste Entlassung eine Begründung für die Annahme einer zweiten Entlassung für den Dichter und für Persephone werden. Soweit es sich aber um die Art der Wiederbelebung handelt, ist zwischen beiden Entlassungen von Ebenmässigkeit nicht mehr die Rede: zu gunsten Fausts muss die neue Entlassung unter Bedingungen stattfinden, wie sie bei der ersten nicht obgewaltet hatten. Diese Bedingungen sind für Helena zur Gewinnung der hier notwendigen Körperlichkeit zuerst der magische Ring, dann der Aufenthalt innerhalb einer Zaubergrenze—denn die Körperlichkeit, die durch die natürliche Zeugung nicht zu gewinnen war, muss durch ein solches Zaubermittel erlangt werden. Goethe war sich dieses Gegensatzes sehr wohl bewusst. Nachdem er (Entwurf 1826) von der frühern Bedingung "ihres Wohnens und Bleibens" auf der Insel Leuke gesprochen hat, sagt er weiter:

"Nun [für Faust] soll sie ebenmässig [wie sie schon früher aus dem Hades entlassen worden war, aber diesmal unter die Menschen selbst, und zwar in ihre früheren Verhältnisse] auf den Boden von Sparta zurückkehren, um, als wahrhaft lebendig [d.h. nicht nur wirklich, wie es auch bei Achill der Fall war, sondern auch körperlich, wie es Faust brauchte], dort in einem vorgebildeten Hause des Menelas aufzutreten."

Gerber hat von diesen Unterschieden keine Ahnung: für ihn ist vielmehr die "analogy" des Wiederauftretens der Helena bei Faust mit dem bei Achilles der Grund zu schliessen, dass Helena hier keiner materiellen Verkörperlichung bedurft habe: nach Gerber ist die für Faust wiederbelebte Helena kein Wesen von Fleisch und Blut: sie mit ihren Gefährtinnen, alle sind ausschliesslich Geister und Gespenster, und der dritte Akt behält bei ihm ausschliesslich "the phantasmagorical character"—Goethe freilich erklärt, dass mit Fertigstellung der zwei ersten Akte dieser phantasmagorische Charakter, der nur so lang Sinn hat, wie Helena als besonderes Drama existierte, aufgehört hat—aber was geht Gerber an, was Goethe sagt? Die Sache liegt nach Goethe selbst

vielmehr so, dass im ganzen dritten Akte Helena mit den Ihrigen sich der künstlichen Vereinigung ihres Schattendaseins in der Unterwelt mit der körperlichen Materie auf der Oberwelt stets bewusst bleibt: sie alle müssen es sein, das sie sonst nicht diese Verbindung willkürlich lösen könnten, wie es bei all den aus der Unterwelt zauberhaft in die Oberwelt Zurückgekehrten wirklich der Reihe nach der Fall ist; eben deshalb ist diese besondere Art ihres Scheidens von der Oberwelt ein Beweis für die Art, wie ihre Wiederbelebung bei dem Übergang des Schattens aus dem Hades in die Oberwelt zustande gekommen ist. Mephistopheles hat besonders den Mädchen gegenüber im Gegensatz zu ihrer Freude an der Wiederverkörperlichung eine in der That teuflische Freude, ihnen ihr zauberhaftes Dasein stets aufs neue vorzuhalten; er hebt immer wieder hervor, dass sie thatsächlich in den Hades gehören, was die Lebenslustigen gar gerne zeitweilig vergessen möchten, und dass das Leben auf der Oberwelt ihnen in noch ganz anderem Sinne nur geliehen ist, als dies schon bei den natürlich Erzeugten der Fall ist. Helenen gegenüber benutzt dagegen Mephistopheles diesen Zustand, um durch dessen Hervorhebung sie für die Flucht vor Menelas und die Verbindung mit Faust gefügig zu machen.

IV.

Diese Verbindung des unterweltlichen Schattenlebens mit dem oberweltlichen materiell-körperlichen Leben, wodurch Helena, so wahrhaft lebendig sie auch ist, den echten Naturerzeugten gegenüber doch stets eine Halbwirklichkeit bleibt, ist der unabänderliche Charakter, den der Dichter nicht erst seit 1826, sondern seit 1800 für Helena festhält: die Art, wie sie zu dieser Verbindung kommt, gehört jedoch nicht zu den unabänderlichen Dingen. Auf welchem Wege diese künstliche Verbindung eintrat, welcher Zauber angewandt wurde, ja ob dieser Zauber von Mephistopheles oder von Persephone oder von anderer Seite her ausging—der Effekt war stets derselbe. So konnte Goethe auch ehe er sich über diese Art endgiltig entschieden hatte, das Helenadrama nicht nur anfangen, sondern auch fertig dichten, da seine Grundvorausset-

zung in mindesten 26 Jahren stets unverändert blieb. Der Versuch jedoch, die Art der Verkörperung glaubhaft und dem Charakter der Gesamtdichtung entsprechend zu gestalten, gelang nicht ohne weiteres: je mehr die Gesamtdichtung sich ihrem Ende näherte, je klarer also der Grundzusammenhang nicht nur dem allgemeinen Vorsatze nach, sondern in der praktisch-künstlerischen Durchführung sich offenbarte, desto deutlicher mussten auch dem Dichter die Wege werden, die am sichersten die Antezedentien der Helena zu Ende zu führen ihm stände waren. Die Bewirkung des Zaubers durch Mephistopheles, die dem Dichter, sobald er die Heroine in echt antikem Charakter hatte auftreten lassen, sofort widerstand, diese "Synthese des Edlen mit dem Barbarischen," wie Schiller es nennt (an Goethe, 23. Sept. 1800: Pniower N. 183, S. 76), oder die Notwendigkeit, wie Goethe selbst sich ausdrückt, "Schönes mit dem Abgeschmackten durchs Erhabene," d.h. durch das Erhabene der Behandlung zu vermitteln (26 Sept. 1800. Tagebuch: Pniower N. 187, S. 76), hatte Goethe von der Fortführung der Helenadichtung zurückgeschreckt: diese erste und durch die Faustlegende nächstliegende Möglichkeit musste also fallen. An ihre Stelle trat die Einwirkung der Persephone, die zur Festhaltung des Schattens auf der Oberwelt in derfu das Leben auf dieser notwendigen Verkörperlichung zuerst einen magischen Ring, sodann den Aufenthalt innerhalb einer "Zaubergrenze" als Mittel benutzte: dieser Weg liess sich schon eher mit der reinklassischen Existenz Helenas, wie sie im Helenadrama verwendet wird, dem inneren Wesen nach in Verbindung bringen: Mittel und Zweck bewegen sich ebenmässig auf dem Boden des Altertums. Sollte aber der Weg der Verkörperlichung vollständig glaubhaft werden, so musste er—und dies ist eine ganz neue Forderung, die erst bei der künstlerischen Durchführung in voller Kraft sich als notwendig erweisen konnte—dem Wege der natürlichen Erzeugung möglichst ähnlich werden: je mehr die beiden Wege—Erzeugung durch die Natur und Erzeugung durch den Zauber—übereinstimmten, desto glaubhafter und selbstverständlicher musste der Eindruck von der Wiederverkörperung der Helena werden. Diesen Weg aber

fand Goethe erst in der Zeit, in der seine ganze Dichtung den Charakter seiner naturwissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisse annahm. Es geschah dies natürlich nicht so, dass Goethe die Dichtung dazu missbraucht hätte, um naturwissenschaftliche Überzeugungen auszusprechen; so soll er es nach Gerbers kläglichster Anschauungsweise bei Homunkulus gethan haben, dessen Zweck sein soll "to embody one of his long-cherished scientific ideas" (Vol. xii, N. 6, s. 78); sondern so, dass Goethe, ganz anders als er es in früheren Zeiten gethan hatte, jetzt seine dichterischen Schöpfungen in möglichst genaue Übereinstimmung mit seinen wissenschaftlichen Überzeugungen brachte: ich habe dies Verhältnis genauer dargelegt in der Abhandlung "Die Wolken in Vision und Wissenschaft bei Goethe" (Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik von Dr. I. Ilberg und Dr. R. Richler: 1899, I Abt., S. 385-401), auf die ich daher hier verweisen kann.

So soll denn auch hier die Verkörperung der Helena und aller mit ihr aus Troja Gekommenen auf einem der wissenschaftlichen Überzeugung Goethes von dem Wesen der natürlichen Erzeugung möglichst entsprechenden Wege vor sich gehen. Das ist die letzte Phase in der historischen Entwicklung der Antezedentien der Helena: sie trat ein, als Goethe sich an die endliche Ausführung machte. Darüber dem Publikum etwas erläuternd mitzuteilen, lag nicht die geringste Veranlassung vor: 1824 und 1826 hatte Goethe solche Mitteilungen machen wollen und schliesslich auch sehr abgekürzt gemacht, weil er das Helenadrama, aus der Gesamtdichtung herausgerissen, allein veröffentlichte: da musste das Publikum einigermaßen Bescheid über die Voraussetzungen der Helenädichtung erhalten. Die künstlerisch endgiltig ausgeführten Antezedentien der Helena dagegen sollten dem Publikum erst im Zusammenhang der ganzen Dichtung bekannt werden; da konnte das Kunstwerk für sich selbst sprechen. Das ist der Standpunkt, den Goethe allen Anfragen gegenüber stets festgehalten hat. Dass dies aber das Kunstwerk vermöchte, davon war Goethe gerade in der Zeit überzeugt, als er das Helenadrama abgeschlossen hatte und

über die beste Gestaltung der Antezedentien nachzusinnen begann. Es geschah dies nach Pniower (N. 541, S. 197) etwa seit Mitte 1827. In jener Zeit schreibt er an Knebel über sein Helenadrama, was aber zugleich für seine ganze Faustdichtung galt: es habe zu "einem Kunstwerk anwachsen müssen, "welches, ungeachtet seiner Einheit, dennoch schwer auf einmal zu übersehen ist." Aber

"die Hauptintention ist klar und das Ganze ist deutlich; auch das Einzelne wird es sein und werden, wenn man die Teile nicht an sich betrachten und erklären [wie es Gerber mit seiner Erklärung des Homunkulus thut], sondern in Beziehung auf das Ganze sich verdeutlichen mag" [wie ich bestrebt bin es zu thun] (14 November 1827: Pniower N. 585, S. 204).

Dabei ist Goethe

"überzeugt, dass wer das Ganze leicht ergreift und fasst, mit liebevoller Geduld sich auch nach und nach das Einzelne zueignen werde" (An Iken, 23. September 1827: Pniower N. 563, S. 200).

Und wenn nun dieser stets aufs Ganze gerichtete, den Zusammenhang des Ganzen festhaltende Blick für etwas Einzelnes eine Beziehung, findet die bis dahin, noch kein anderer entdeckt hatte, so bedurfte es eines erleuchteten Denkers, wie es Gerber zu sein glaubt, um einen Grund für die Unrichtigkeit dieser Entdeckung in der Thatsache zu finden, "that no one before Valentin had ever thought of such a combination of Homunkulus and Helena." So sind auch, um Kleines an Grosse klar zu machen, nach Gerberscher Logik Kopsrnikus, Kolumbus, Galilei, Newton, James Watt, usw. usw. selbstverständlich auf dem Holzwege gewesen, weil, "no one before" ihnen an die Dinge gedacht hat, die sie aufgestellt haben—diese "delphische Weisheit" ist allerdings von ganz besonders überwältigender Kraft der Überzeugung, zumal wenn man bedenkt, dass es auch damals nicht an Leuten fehlte, die die neue Erkenntnis als etwas ihre eignen Kreise Störendes empfanden und daher bekämpften, ohne freilich der neugefundenen Wahrheit den Weg bleibend versperren zu können.

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(TO BE CONCLUDED IN THE NEXT NUMBER.)

MILTON'S CONCEPTION OF THE
TEMPTATION AS PORTRAYED
IN *PARADISE REGAINED*.

MILTON'S second epic, it will be remembered, was an afterthought, the result of a suggestion from one of his friends: "What hast thou to say of *Paradise Regained*?" Then Milton turned from the old Hebrew legend that had furnished so admirable a framework for his more expanded mythology, to find in the Gospel accounts of the life of Jesus the material for his new poem. *Paradise* had been lost to mankind through the weakness of the first Adam in yielding to the wiles of Satan; it had been regained by the strength of the second Adam in resisting his wiles. Here was the *motif* for the new poem. And right to hand were the accounts by Matthew and Luke of the ignominious failure of Satan's three attempts upon Jesus. Expand these and you have your epic poem.

But there was a radical difference in the materials out of which Milton wrought his two epics. The story of *Genesis* is primitive man's first account of himself and the world; everything is objective and symbolic. According to Milton, Adam is a healthy boy lost in wonder at the revelations of his five senses. His Creator is himself writ large. The Son of God is a theological shadow thrown back, that possesses no personality, and need not square with anything historical. The Omnipotent is surrounded by angels near enough like Himself to be governed by the same psychological laws. Only one among these types seems to possess any real individuality, and that is Satan. Under these conditions Milton can give free rein to his imagination without much heed to the later development of mankind.

But in *Paradise Regained* Milton enters new territory. The Christian Gospels are not pre-historic folk-lore; they spring from an historical personality. And in making the Son of God of *Paradise Lost* the second Adam of *Paradise Regained*, Milton passes from the mythical and symbolic to the real and subjective. The second Adam, the theological Christ, is the historical Jesus; and incidents upon which the epic is based have come down to us as real personal experiences. This new

material would seem to demand a different treatment. Satan is no doubt the same as in *Paradise Lost*, and we should expect him to go about his business in much the same way. But the temptations which are to form the epic are a part of human psychology, and before they can be amplified they must be understood. If Milton does not understand them, but simply uses them as new material that may be worked in somehow with the old, then the second epic becomes merely a repetition of the first—we have the same Satan and the same impersonal Son of God, and the only difference is in the ending.

This, it seems to me, is the criticism of the Rev. Stopford Brooke in his little primer on Milton. He thinks the poem an attempt to do again what had been better done in *Paradise Lost*. "The error is not in the sameness of the subject, but in the treatment of the same subject a second time along the same line."

In developing the temptations Milton follows the order of Luke. Jesus is lead by the Spirit into the wilderness; he fasts for forty days, at the end of which he is hungered. Then occurs the first temptation—that he turn the stone into bread. Milton paraphrases this in nineteen verses, after which Jesus and Satan converse to the end of the first book. Midway in the second book Satan returns and renews the temptation, this time with an elaborate banquet of his own contriving.

"The first temptation," says Mr. Brooke, "is treated so lightly that we see that Milton had no idea of its meaning. The conversation which follows, being founded on no clear view of the situation, is heavy and loses the solemnity of the hour."

He severely censures Satan's second attempt:

... "the truth is" Milton not having formed a clear idea of the temptation, tried to get one by repeating himself, and the Nemesis of unintelligent repetition fell upon him."

Milton's treatment of the second temptation meets with Mr. Brooke's approval. Satan offers Jesus the kingdoms of the world in fief, which Jesus indignantly rejects. Milton expands this temptation under four heads: the appeal to riches, glory, dominion, and wis-

dom—all as forms of earthly power. Says Mr. Brooke:

"Milton understands this, and his success in this part of the poem is owing to his clear conception of his subject. For when a poet possesses that, he works with unconscious rightness; when he does not, his work will be wrong in treatment, in ornament, in everything, and the more he attempts to finish it, the more wrong it will become."

In the third temptation Satan invites Jesus to cast himself down from the pinnacle of the temple, assuring him of divine aid, but is repulsed as before. Milton paraphrases this briefly, and then describes the fall of Satan, who, "smitten with amazement," "fell whence he looked to see his victor fall." This description is expanded by allusions to Antæus and to the Sphinx, both of whom suffered a like misfortune. In this temptation, says Mr. Brooke, as in the first,

"Milton is driven into sensationalism because he did not understand his subject. The additions he makes to the story in the Gospel violate the meaning of the story. Even with the addition he could find no ideas on which his imagination could truly employ itself in this temptation, and he only glances over it."

As Mr. Brooke does not tell us what he conceives to be the true interpretation of the first and the third temptations, I have endeavored to discover his point of view, or at least to reach an interpretation that will explain Milton's alleged failure.

No event in Biblical history has led to more conflicting explanations, some of them over subtle, many of them childish, some even ludicrous. But we soon see that we can divide all commentators roughly into two classes:—

1. Those who take the temptation literally and from the objective point of view.

2. Those who interpret it symbolically and from the subjective point of view.

Those who hold the objective view regard Satan as a real, objective personality, whose actions need bear no relation to the previous mental condition of the one tempted. Mental processes begin only when the tempter appears, and the next temptation will depend upon the caprices of the tempter, not upon the mental state of the tempted. Those who hold

the subjective view regard the temptation as a real struggle in Jesus' own mind, of which the Scriptural narrative is a symbolical version as related in Eastern fashion by Jesus himself to his disciples.

The earliest commentators, of course, held to the literal and objective view. But the absurdities and inconsistencies of this explanation soon broke it down. As early as the time of Milton we find in the writings of the French theologian, Samuel Bochart, some question as to whether Jesus was led to the mountains by the devil, *re ipsa*, or only in imagination; and the discussions of a Dutch theologian of the same period (Spanheim) reveal the fact that the temptation was by some considered merely a vision. But in England the literal, objective view seems to have prevailed till about the middle of the eighteenth century, when John Mason, a dissenting divine, maintained in a sermon that the temptation was a trance, dream, or vision, in which the devil painted the scenes. But this diabolic-vision theory was no very radical change, for it still preserved the devil. "Whether Christ's being tempted by the devil passed in vision or not," said Bishop Warburton, "the reality of the agency is the same on either supposition."

The first thorough-going attack on the prevailing literalism was made by Hugh Farmer, a liberal divine, in 1761.¹ According to his theory the temptation was a

"divine vision with a wise and benevolent intention, as symbolical predictions and representations of the principal trials and difficulties attending Christ's public ministry." "The devil was not really and personally present with Christ, but only in mental representation, and consequently could act no part in this whole transaction."

From this view of Farmer's it is obviously but a step to the purely subjective treatment by modern theologians and historians, in which the devil is wholly eliminated as anything more than a symbol for the weakness of the flesh.

This brief sketch of the development of the several theories clearly indicates that Milton's conception of the temptation must have been the literal and objective interpretation of his

¹ *An Inquiry into the Nature and Design of Christ's Temptation.*

day. And to this view he was already predisposed, since he brought to the work the real Satan of his first epic. A comparison of his treatment of the temptations with the explanations given by commentators of the objective school shows that he practically agreed with them. In all objective explanations there is bound to occur a certain subjective element that is part of the Scripture narrative—despair, distrust, presumption. But always more important than this is the feeling that the real sin consisted in accepting a hint from Satan simply because he *was* Satan. Milton shows this feeling in his repetition of the first temptation. Satan asks,

"Tell me, if food were now before thee set,
Wouldst thou not eat?"

To which Jesus replies,

"Thereafter as I like
The giver."

If, therefore, Milton fails to understand the first and the third temptations, so do all who interpret the temptation objectively, and Mr. Brooke must belong to the subjective school.

According to the subjective explanation the form of the temptation is symbolic and represents a real struggle in Jesus' own mind. For, says Professor Sanday,²

"Only in the form of symbols was it possible to present to the men of that day a struggle so fought out in the deepest recesses of the soul."

The great difference between an objective and a subjective temptation as defined above becomes apparent. The subjective temptation, if the tempted one be at all rational, must possess a well defined unity, it must centre around some supreme desire or problem. Not so with the objective temptation. The wily Satan as a real, objective personality may seize upon one expedient after another with no apparent connection between them. This is well illustrated in Milton's two epics. In both Satan is the tempter, in both he is the real, objective personality, free to vary his means as suits his fancy; but there is a difference between the two poems, and that difference accounts for the success of the one and the failure of the other. In *Paradise Lost*, although Satan is free to choose his means,

² The Hastings Bible Dictionary, vol. ii, "Jesus Christ."

he is restricted to one definite object, to tempt our first parents to eat the apple, and all his efforts as directed toward that object must therefore possess unity. Not so with *Paradise Regained*. The subjective interpretation, the only one that could give unity to the temptation, not being understood by Milton, the various attempts of Satan are seemingly without connection, the transitions are lame, and the unity of the poem is lost.

But why did Milton understand the second temptation and develop it so well, while he failed with the first and the third? Let us consider the subjective explanation more closely. The instances related are regarded as representing actual mental experiences, things that were real problems to Jesus. Born at a time when Israel looked to the promised Messiah for deliverance from the Roman yoke, Jesus must naturally have shared the aspirations of his countrymen. The growing consciousness of some high mission, the assurances of the prophets, the dire need of his people, all forced upon him the question, Might not he be the promised Messiah? And the impetuous John stood ready to proclaim him, and the populace was eager to follow the deliverer who, coming on the clouds of Heaven, was to destroy his enemies by the breath of his nostrils. But Jesus must soon have found his nature at variance with this popular conception of the Messiah? In Isaiah, Zechariah, and the Psalms he found another Messiah, the lowly, loving Messiah of the poor, the humble, the wretched, more consistent with his conception of God as a God of Love. But to reject the rôle of the first Messiah meant to disappoint his dearest friends and begin a life that might end in persecution and death. Might he not therefore enact the two rôles; first inaugurate the new kingdom as the conquering Messiah, then continue it as the peaceful, loving Messiah? Therein lay the struggle, and in his perplexity he retired to the wilderness to fight it out alone. And the three temptations are all directly related to this struggle. The second is the central one: Shall he not deliver Israel from political oppression before he tries to free the individual from himself—his true mission? And the two other temptations are merely the means to

this end. Shall he prostitute his spiritual gifts to making bread of stones? Shall he leap from the temple and light unharmed among the astonished multitude, thus winning their adherence by a feat of magic—another prostitution of spiritual gifts? The result is decisive. He casts aside all thought of political reform—he will devote himself to his proper mission, the moral and spiritual elevation of the individual. To accomplish this he need not turn a stone into bread, or win the populace by the cheap magic of an aërial flight.

So closely, then, are the three temptations related, that to understand one is to understand all. If Milton did not understand the first and the last, he could not have rightly understood the second. But the second was so well suited to objective treatment that Milton could not fail to see its possibilities, and he made the most of them, working, as Mr. Brooke has well said, with "unconscious" rightness.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD "RÄZEL" IN GOETHE'S DICH-TUNG UND WAHRHEIT.

In the tenth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*,¹ Goethe tells us how he assumed the disguise of a young countryman in order to mystify the good people at the Sesenheim parsonage.

"So fand ich's lustig seine dichterischen Augenbrauen mit einem gebrannten Korkstöpsel mässig nachzuahmen und sie in der Mitte zusammenzuziehen, um mich bei meinem rätselhaften Vornehmen auch äusserlich zum *Räzel* zu bilden."

At first reading one is apt to look upon the form *Räzel* as merely an old-fashioned spelling for *Rätsel* = riddle. *Räzel* = *Rätsel*. "riddle" is common enough in the eighteenth century (Weigand, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* ii). In this sense the word has often been taken. Oxford in his English version of Goethe's autobiography (London, 1848) translates "riddle," and Jacques Porchat (*Mémoires de Goethe*, Paris, 1862) translates "*une autre énigme*," German commentators, too, have sometimes

¹ Weimar edition, v. 27, p. 361.

taken the word in the sense of riddle. The older American editions of this part of Goethe's autobiography (those of Professor Hart and Professor Huss) write, respectively, *Räthsel* and *Rätsel*, and take it in the sense of riddle. At least, that must be inferred from the orthography and the absence of any comment.

But the word occurs also in the ninth book.² In characterizing his table-companion Meyer at Strassburg Goethe says:

"seiner ganzen Physiognomie gab es einen eigenen Ausdruck, dass er ein "*Räzel*" war, d. h. dass seine Augenbrauen über der Nase zusammenstiessen, welches bei einem schönen Gesicht immer einen angenehmen Ausdruck von Sinnlichkeit hervorbringt."

Here it is clear that *Räzel* has a meaning quite distinct from *Rätsel* = riddle. Loeper³ and Düntzer⁴ recognized that the word in book 10 must have the same meaning as here. They connect it with *Rad*, and in support of this etymology Loeper quotes the form *Rädselbrauen*. Professor von Jagemann in his edition of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* after giving the correct meaning of *Räzel* in book 10, adds: "the origin of this expression is obscure."

Heyne (D. W. viii, 197) does not know whether *Räzel* in the sense used by Goethe has any connection with *Rätsel* = riddle. However, he does not treat Goethe's *Räzel* as a separate word. This is what he says:

"rätsel, räzel, von einem menschen mit zusammengewachsenen augenbrauen."

After quoting the two passages from *Dichtung und Wahrheit* given above he continues:

"ob diese bedeutung mit der vorigen (that is: *rätsel* = riddle) zusammenhängt, erhellt nicht. in der Oberpfalz sind rätsel hausgeister, kbolde, die rätsellöcher bei Roding unterirdische gänge, wo die rätseln aus- und eingingen und hausarbeiten verrichteten."

Sanders also gives Goethe's *Räzel* under *Rätsel* = riddle. He quotes our two passages and several from other authors where the word refers to a person whose eyebrows meet, but offers no comment. Hoffmann⁵ gives "*Räzel*" under a special heading, making it masculine.

² Weimar edition, v. 27, p. 232.

³ Hempl'sche Ausgabe v. 21, p. 229.

⁴ Erläuterungen zu D. und W., 2nd part, p. 102.

⁵ *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1857, v. 4, p. 494.

It is a curious fact that lexicographers and Goethe commentators have in this case entirely overlooked the results of folklore investigations. The first to suggest the proper etymology of this word was Rochholz. In his fine collection of Swiss folklore (*Schweizer-sagen aus dem Aargau*, Aarau, 1856, v. i, p. 358) he states that in Alsace, Switzerland and Bavaria it was customary to apply the name *Rätzel* to people whose eyebrows meet. In this connection he refers to Goethe's use of the word in the ninth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. But the word *Rätzel* is also applied to dwarfs. Rochholz mentions *Rätzel-löcher* in the Bernese *Oberland* which the people look upon as the dwellings of dwarfs or goblins, also a *Rätzliberg* in the same vicinity. But these same *Rätzel* are also called *Schräzel*, which is the diminutive of *Schratz* (*Schrat*). There is other material to show that the names *Räzel* (*Rätzel*) and *Schräzel* (*Schrätzel*) are used to denote the same mysterious beings. Meier (*Schwäbische Sagen*, p. 171) relates that the incubus in some parts of Suabia is called *Schrettele* (diminutive of *Schrat*), in other places *Rettele*. Panzer⁶ tells of a cave which was the dwelling-place of the *rätzel*, a race of goblins. But we know that one of the most common names for goblins in Southern Germany is *Schräzel*.⁷ Panzer (*ibid.* i, 111) also supplied Heyne with the information about the *Rätzellöcher* at Roding and mentions in the same connection forms like *Schrätzenlöcher* and *Schrätzenlöcher*. In Alsace, too, we find the two forms used indiscriminately. The incubus is called *Schrützmännel* in the valley of Münster; in Strassburg he is called *Letzel* or *Rätzel* (Stöber, *Sagen des Elsasses*, p. 279). In view of these facts it may be safely assumed that *Rätzel* and *Schrätzel* are identical.⁸

But why should a person with eyebrows that meet be called a *Räzel*? It is one of the most widely spread superstitions that a person who goes about at night tormenting people as an incubus may be recognized by eyebrows

that meet above the nose. Witches, too, are said to have such eyebrows.⁹

Simrock (*Deutsche Mythologie*,³ p. 422) has given the results I have just stated. I can add one more testimony as to the identity of *Rätzel* and *Schrätzel*. Charles Schmitt in his *Wörterbuch der Strassburger Mundart* (Strassburg, 1896) p. 83, says:

Rätzel neutr. nach dem volksaberglauben ein schädliches, besonders die kleinen kinder plagendes gespenst. Wenn man eine gewisse sympathie anwandte, so 'Wenn's Kind am Morjes ufferwacht, het's Rätzel sich dervon gemacht.'

The word is clearly used in the sense of incubus, but the incubus, as we have seen, is frequently called *Schrätzel*. Cf. also Grimm, D. M.,⁴ Anh., p. 133. W. Hertz (*Deutsche Sagen in Elsass*, p. 212) says: "*Raz, Räzel ist ohne zweifel durch aphäresis aus Schratz, Schräzel entstanden.*" He quotes from Schönwerth (*Aus der Oberpfalz* ii, 291): "*Razen, Razeln heissen im Südosten der Oberpfalz die Zwerge, neben Schrazen, Schrazeln.*" This corroborates what Panzer says about the use of the two forms in the Oberpfalz. Laistner (*Nebelsagen*, p. 337) mentions as a parallel development the MHG. forms *ratzen* and *schratzen*, 'to scratch.'

Goethe's *Räzel* is, therefore, ultimately connected with *Schrat*, which is of doubtful etymology.¹⁰ As it is a diminutive form, it must be neuter and not, as Hoffmann states, masculine. Whether Goethe knew how the word came to have its peculiar meaning does not appear. From the passage in book 10 it would almost seem that he connected it with *Rätzel* = riddle.

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LEXICAL AND GLOSSOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

I.

THE following words on record in Salesbury's *Welsh-English Dictionary* (of 1547) seem to

⁶ *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, 1, 106.

⁷ Wuttke, *Deutscher Volksaberglaube*, §§ 45, 402; also *Schrätel*, *Schrattelle*, cf E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, pp. 76, 101, 124.

⁸ See also I. Peters, *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht* x, 512.

⁹ Wuttke, §§ 213, 405; E. H. Meyer, p. 122; Witzschel *Thüringer Sagen* ii, 266.

¹⁰ Cf. Grimm, D. W. s. v. *Schrat*; Weinhold connects the word with *√srt* o split (*Riesen des german, Mythos*, p. 268). The name m y be applied to any demoniac being Golther, *Germanische Mythol.*, p. 126.

have escaped the vigilance of Dr. Murray and his able staff of co-workers, as they are absent from the *NED*: *agey*, *Anglyshlyke*, *barondum*, *behytten*, *blamed*, *cattalled*, *crobed*, *craftemanlyke*, *cultayled*, *doughte*, *esquare*, *hawethornel*: *hædloc*, *Agey*, from *hædyl* *Age*; *Seisnigaidd*, *Anglyshlyke*; *barwneth*, *barondum*; *kachlyt*, *beshytten*; *keryddus*, *blamed*; *kattelus*, *cattalled*, from *kattel*, *cattel*; *krum*, *crobed*; *crobed* may be a by-form of *crabbed*, *crooked*; Jones' *Dictionary* of 1688 has *crum*. *A crump* or *hunchback*'d.' Murray's first quotation for *crump* sb. 'hunchback' bears the date 1698; *krestwraidd*, *craftesmanlyke*; *kwlla*, *cuttayled*; a distinct by-form of *curlailed* 'bob-tailed.' *tws*, *doughte*; cp. *WW*. 725, 21 *hoc fermentums urdowght*; *ibid*. 740, 10 *hec pasta doght*; similar formations are *bught* (*ibid*. 718, 1 *hic frons*, -dis *a gren bught*), *trowght* (*ibid*. 725, 13 *hic alvus*, *a trowght*), *margthe* (*ibid*. 678, 36 *hec medulla margthe*). *ycswario*, *esquare*; a by-form of 'to square'; *yspaddat* *hawelhornel*.

Salisbury is also authority for a number of forms and spellings not noticed in the *NED*. Such are *aukwwar* 'awkward,' *to aume* 'aim,' *a nauquayre* 'auger,' *broude henne* 'brood-hen,' *to chamme* 'champ,' *a coule* 'caul,' *a festue* for the usual *fescue*, *a nycke hole* 'hickwall,' *ysehatchelles* 'icicles,' *hyndmasse* 'hindmost.'

chwyllic, *aukwwar*; *dysaly*, *amkany aume*; cp. *amkanayme*; *ebill*, *nauquayre*; *iar orllyd*, *a broude henne*; *knoi bwyd*, *chewe*, *chame*; *huc*, *A coule*; *sector i ddangos lythyrenneu*, *a festue*; *kasec y ddrikkln ederyn*, *a nycke hole*; *pihony*, *yse hatchelles*; *olaf*, *hyndmasse*.

Perhaps mention might also be made of the spellings *compenable* for 'companionable,' and *fedder fewe* for 'featherfew': *cumpeinius*, *compenable*; *wermod wenn*, *fedder fewe*.

No notice is taken in the *NED* of *dally* as a noun 'jest,' nor is *exceptaj*, noticed in the sense of 'rare, exceptional.'

arabeddieth dalye, *jape*; *odid*, *exceple*.

As to quotations more than those adduced in the *NED*, Salisbury might have been drawn upon in a number of instances; so for *accused*, *archdeaconry*, *armful*, *arbitrate*, *assign*,
1 Cf. *trothe* in *a knedyngs trothe*, *magie*, *pinsa*, *Cath. Angl.* 2056.

bennet, *bleak*, *bleakness*, *bow-knot*, *boiling-hol*, *camp* 'field,' *chained*, *cheese-rack*, *confessed*, *conscionable*, *countrylike*, *to courtesy*, *dispraised*, *entangled*, *exceding* of superior excellence, *to ere*, *filled hospice*: *kuhuddedic*, *accused*; *archddiacondol*, *archdeaconrye*; *kofylaid*, *an armefull*; *kylafareddy*, *arbitrate*, *cō-pounde*; *sein ne assein*, *assyne*; *kawnen*, *benet*; *gwineu*, *bleke*, *brown*; *gwineuder*, *bleknesse*; *kwilm dalen*, *a bowe knol*; *krychias ne verwedid*, *boyling hole*; *kamp mæs*, *campe*, *a felde*; *kadwynoc*, *chayned*; *karh caws*, *chese rake*; *kyffesol*, *confessed*; *kydwybodus*, *cōscionable*, *gwladaidd*, *eountrelyke*; *kwurteist*, *courtesy*, *angamoledic*, *dispraysed*; *ruystrys*, *entangled*; *odidoc*, *exceding*; *eredic*, *plough*, *ere*; *lloneid*, *fylled*, *full*; *yspyly* *An hospylys*.

Some of the rarer words might also have been instanced from Salisbury, such as the following: *kam arfer*, *abusion*; *dyddhau*, *adawe*, *dawne*; *groneulthur marchoc*; *curddol*, *adubbe*; *kyreuddyt*, *areche*; *pwynutyl carey*, *an agglet*; *kessail*, *arme hole*; *amner*, *amner*; *ryddhau o effeirat*, *assoyle*; *awgrym*, *augrym*; *kryd kryny*, *axes*, *ague*; *synnedigaeth*, *astonysshednes*; *madrondot*, *astonysshednesse*, *ystillum*, *a backe*, 'a bat,' *kyfebyr val ewic*, *bagged* 'being with young'; *gwrthmnlloc*, *barbed*, (of a horse); *verth lec*, *beau*; *erchwyn*, *bedstocke*; *trwscwl*, *boystouse*; *bwsman*, *bushe-ment*; *pigln gwisc*, *a byggen*; *bickre*, *bicker*; *glas val llw clais ar gnawd*, *blo*; *kydio o darw a bwch*; *bull* (of animals); *kcispwl*, *catchepole*.

I may be permitted to draw attention here to the fact that the OE *caepol* is absent from Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, though Kluge had pointed out the proper reading for the corrupt *hæcewol* (*exactor*) *WW*. III, 9, and Murray had availed himself of it for the *NED*. But then, the word is absent also from Hall's *Dictionary*.

Vn yn kroy getrieu, *a captious felowe*; *mursen*, *a calat*. As there is some doubt about the use of 'coy' in the sense of lascivious, I may mention here that Jones' *Dictionary* renders *mursen* by 'a coy dame;' *gobet*, *cobbe iron*; *kodpis*, *a codepece*; *ymoneuthur*, *confeder*; *rod-di yn siel*, *confyske*; *klwyfo march a hoyl yn y byw*, *cloye* 'prick a horse in shoeing'; *oerfel*, *coulthe*; *kostus*, *costyouse*; *teistio morwyn*, *de-uoure* (read *defloure*) *a mayden*; *kerddet dan*

dwylo, go darkelyng; *tremyg*, despyte, 'contempt'; *fossur*, a dycher; *dichell*, drift, policy; *llai llw ar varch*, dunde; *hundy*, a dortoure; 'dormitory'; *ewythyr*, an uncle, eme; *egry*, to eygre; *elwtan*, ysyle 'hot ashes'; *kynnes*, er whyle; *yscymyn*, cursed, excommunicat; *siampler*, *exampler*; *syppyn*, a fardell; *farsiron*, *farsion*; *filoc*, *fyloke*; *flair*, *fyest*, 'breaking wind'; *fleirio*, *fyest*; *newydd tanlliw*, *fyre newe*; *ascyrnygy dannedd*, *fleere*; *torchy llewys i vyny*, *flype vp slenes*; *poethder*, *feruentnesse*; *llawrtuy*, *florthe of a house*; *brath ac arf*, *foyne* 'thrust' *brathy ac arysf*, *foyne*; *from*, *sumesshe*; *gwretnyn*, an hāde worme; *kymeryd kyssur oer newyd*, *take herte a gresse* (printed *gcesse*); *kalandit*, *hertlynesse*.

As from Salesbury's *Dictionary*, so from other vocabularies, supplementary evidence might be gathered in addition to that printed in the *NED*. So under *glade* sb.² 'opening' I see no mention of Levins *Manip. Vocab.* 8, 26 *a glade sinus, us*. For *slaught* (*flafte*) sb.³ 'instrument used in preparing wool' the only evidence adduced is of 1875, *Ure's Dict. Arts.* ii, 402, but Levins *Man. Voc.* 9, 29 *a flafte*, *carmen-tum* offers a far earlier instance. Under *flock-meal* there is no mention of *Man. Voc.* 207, 39 *flock-meale minutim* (read *minatim*, from *mina* drove' evidently) nor under *flack*⁴ 'to beat with flail' of *Man. Voc.* 54, 14 *to fleck*, *plectere* (printed is *flock flectere*, but as it appears among words in *ecke*, it is no doubt a mistake for *fleck plectere*). Under *hap* sb.¹ there is lacking the quotation from Levins *Man. Voc.* 26, 47 *happe*, *fortuna, ae*; under *hap* v.¹ there is missing Levins *Man. Voc.* 27, 17 *to hap*, *chaunce*, *contingere*, nor does Levins *Man. Voc.* 27, 18 *to happe*, *couer*, *tegere*, *velare* appear under *hap* v.² or *ibid.* 28, 17 *hapte*, *tectus*, *a*, *uelatus*, *a* under *happed*. Under *fieldfare* we miss Levins *Man. Voc.* 28, 42 *a fildfare*, *turdus*, *di*, under *heskard*, *ibid.* 30, 25 *an haskarde*, *proletarius*, *ignobilis*, under *dizzard* *ibid.* 32, 39 *a dysert*, *player*, *histrion*, *onis* and 30, 15 *a disarde*, *pantomimus*, *sannio*, *hic*. Under *frail* sb.¹ 'kind of rush basket' we do not find *Prompt. Parv.* 175^b *frayle of frute palata*. Because of the (M Du.) form *vōre* under *furrow* sb. mention ought to have been made of *Prompt. Parv.* 171^a *fore or forowe of a loude salcus*.

2 o'r.

From the same vocabulary p. 170^b *forcelet*, *stronge place*, might have been quoted under *forcelet*¹, *ibid.* p. 169^b *fondyn*, or *a-sayyin* 'attempto' under *sand*, *fond*, v., *ibid.* p. 170^a *fonydng*, or *a-sayng* *attemptatio* under *sanding*, *fonding*. *Cath. Angl.* 178^b *an havyn-town baic*, fails to appear under *haven-town*. Under *brush* sb.² there is no mention of Levins *Man. Voc.* 193, 33 *a brushe*, *verres*, *is*, *hæc*, nor of *ibid.* 193, 44 *to brushe verrere* under *brash* v.². Under *card* vb. we miss *to cour* [*d*] as *milke coagulare*, *ri* *ibid.* 224, 18.

As to the etymology of *curse* (vb. and sb.) a valuable hint is given us in the dialectal *cursen*=*christen* when compared with *Cath. Angl.* 171^a, *halfe cursyd semipaganus* and Diefenbach's *catechumenus halber christen*. It is noteworthy that in the Irish Lives of Saints *exorcizatus* is equated with *catechumenus*, if I am not mistaken in supposing that the *exorcista*, appearing as cognomen of young S. Martin by the side of *catechumenus*, is meant for *exorcistsatus*=*exorcizatus*. *Cristnian* is in Beda as well as in the glosses the usual rendering of *catechizare*. So we read Beda (ed. Miller) p. 168, 1. *hine gecristnade* where the Latin text has *catechizatus*; *WW.* 372, 21 *catechizatus gecristnad*=507, 13. I expect to treat this interesting subject more fully at some later time. The OE. *draht*, required for *draught* sb. by Murray, I suggest, is supplied by the *draht*, on record as *droht*, *WW.* 486, 27 *tractibus drohtum*. In regard to the OE. quotation for *haw* sb., of c. 1000, *WW.* 138, 39, *gignalia hagan*, it should be noted that E. Zupitza, *Die German. Gutturale*, p. 104, following Kluge, compares with it MHG. *hagen*, 'Zuchtstier,' *hecken* 'to hatch,' OHG. *hegidrnosa*, 'inguen': OSI. *kočani* 'penis.' Though Pogatscher approves of it, I believe we are justified in being slow to accept it. There is no evidence sustaining the supposition that *gignalia* is a derivative of *gign-o*, or that there ever was such a word in Latin as *gignale* 'procreating thing'. On the contrary, the word, occurring among names of trees, looks very much like a corruption of *quisquilia*, and in fact, we read *quisquilia hagan*, *WW.* 269, 5, in very much the same neighborhood in which *gignalia* ha-

³ This is an Aldhelm gloss as well as Corpus T, 311, *tractibus, nascum* (= *rascum*?)

gan appears. That *quisquilia* well fitted the idea commonly connected with the fruit of the hawthorn is evident. Among the cognates of *drile* v. quoted by Murray, there does not appear any from OHG. but we find *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 504, 2 *megio drizo* after *megitum quat* and *ibid.* 623, 5 we have *lasanus trizstuol*.

The OE. prototype required by Murray for *brook* vb. is, I think, extant in the *brōce* 'usus' we find Beda, p. 224 13 *oðþe in hwylchwugu fatu geheowad waeren menniscas broces* (Ca: bryces). The Latin text has *vel in uasa quaelibet humani usus formarentur*.

No notice of the peculiar use of *hire* in Tusser's *Husbandry*, p. 62, is taken under *hire* sb., though the passage is quoted under *beath* vb: *Aud after at leasure let this be his hier* (= *curae ei sit*), *to beath them* (the wood for yokes, forks, etc.) *and trim them at home by the fier*. In regard to the OE. quotation for *hailstone* from *Ælfr. Hom.* i, 52 attention might have been drawn to the fact that *hagolstān* does not occur there in the usual sense of hailstone, but rather refers to cobblestones, picked up by the angry Jews to shower upon St. Stephen: *ðurl þa soðan lufe wæs þes halga martyr swa gebyld þæt he bealdlice ðæra Iudeiscra ungeleaffulnysses ðreade and he ðrsorh betwux ðam greatum hagolstanum purhwunode*. The OE. *crymman* presupposed by dial. *crim.* vb. is, I think, supplied by *gecrym(m)an* on record in *Leechd.* iii, 290 *nin of ðam gehalgedan hlafes þe man halige on hlafnæsse dæg feower snæda 7 gecryme on þa feower hyrnan þæs berenes*; *ibid.* iii, 14, there is on record the OE. *fleotan* required for mod. *fleet* v²=to skim: *cnocie man þa ban mid æxes yre 7 seoðe 7 fleote þ sneru wyrce to trindan*, *ibid.* ii, 104 *fleot simle þ fām ðf*; *ibid.* ii, 96 *fleot of þ fām*. *Gecrymman* as well as *fleotan* are absent from Sweet's Dictionary.

German *Alaun* is according to Kluge not on record in OHG. but cp. *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 407, 66 *alumen alune ð beize*. For *Ähren* the same authority presupposed an OHG. **erin*, but it is actually on record cp. *Ahd. Gl.* iii 351, 34 *bnuta* (= *bunia* Steinmeyer) *ern*, *ibid.* iii, 400, 63 *aniziz erin*.

For *Duft* Kluge quotes an OHG. *tuft* 'frost,' but cp. *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 350, 55 *cauma duft 7 estus* *Duft* undoubtedly signifies there 'hot breath.'

Buhle is according to Kluge on record in OHG. only as a proper name *Buolo*, but cp. *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 51, 1 *emmulaciones pulakhti*. *Garstig* is 'weitergebildet aus spät mhd. garst 'ranzig'; dazu anord. Gerstr 'müssisch';' but cp. also *Ahd. Gl.* ii, 321, 10 *rancor gersti*; and (?) i, 782, 12 (in *exacerbatione*) *inderu grestti*. Does *Prompt. Parv.* p. 14 belong here? We read there *arestenesse or a-restenesse of flesshe rancor, rancitas*. The editor quotes from 'a MS. in possession of Sir Thom. Philip-pus' a recipe 'to sauen venesone of rastichipe' and in the Roll of A. D. 1381 'to do away restyng of venison, in the *Lib. Curæ Cocorum* (a. 1440) p. 33, *for to saue venysone so restyng*. Cp. also *WW.* 662, 17 *caro rancida rest flesche*. For *Gicht* cp. OHG. *gegiht* (*paralysis*) *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 171, 34, for *Grat*, *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 354, 5, *spina rügbein 7 grat*. *Hebamme* appears according to Kluge usually as *hevianna* in OHG. but cp. *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 408, 56 *obstetrices heuammen*. Kluge does not record an OHG. form of *Knan* 'namesake', but cp. *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 233, 7 *cognominalis ghanno*. As to *Knäuel*, cp. *Ahd. Gl.* iv, 187, 2 *globus 7 globellum spera filorum. i. claeuel*. About *ledig* Kluge says that OHG. **lēdag* *lēdig* is not on record, but there is the verb *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 418, 64, *expediant lidigen*, *ibid.* iii, 418, 65 *expiaith gelideget*.

In regard to *töten* cp. *Ahd. Gl.* iv 194, 22 *ferruminare quod est lodeu*. As to *Hag*, cp. *ibid.* iv, 194, 23 *indago circuitio regia in silua. s. hage*. Does the Northumbrian *hægū* (*siluis*), *Durh. Rit.* p. 118 belong here? I am rather inclined to think we have to do there with *hæg* 'cæsa' so that *hæg* (*silua*) would be on a par with *snād* (*silua*). Another similar expression for *silua* may be the *scaed* occurring in the Corpusgloss S. 173 *scara, scaed*. For we find in *Epinal-Erfurt* (C. G. L. v. 391, 25) *scara* explained by *arborum tensitas* (= *densitas*) and this is confirmed by the Bollauidist explanation *scara, uirgultorum silua* in the ninth volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*. I will put here the passage to which it refers (p. 631a). *Ego Thegenbaldus, filius quondam Hrebaldi, tradidi partem hereditatis meæ Liudgero abbati in uilla quæ dicitur Fislacu iuxta ripam fluii Ruræ, id est illam Hovam integram, Alf-gating-houa cum pascuis et peruiis et aquarum decursibus et SCARA in silua, iuxta*

formam Houæ plenæ. *Scara* then means a coppice, and such would have to be the meaning to be attributed to *scæd*. *Scara* itself seems to be a Teutonic-Latin coinage; cp. OHG. *scara* 'section.' For the original meaning of *mūde* cp. *Ahd. Gl.* ii, 539, 61 *anhelos muode* 'out of breath, panting.' *Lichten* is according to Kluge 'erst nhd.', being first on record a. 1652, but cp. *Ahd. Gl.* ii 548, 41 *leuarat kelihta* and OE. *underlihtan* (*subleuare*) Durh. Rit. p. 51.

Among the sources of the glossary printed in Wright-Wülker, p. 192-247 (Harl. MS. 3376, Brit. Mus.), there must have been a *Hymnarium*, to judge by the following glosses: *WW.* 225, 25 *duodeno solio twelffealdum setle* seems to refer to the *hymnus De Sancto Mathia*, l. 1, *Matthia juste duodeno solio* (see *Anglo-Sax. Hymn.*, Surtees Soc. Public., vol. 33, p. 128)4. Undoubtedly to the *Hymnus S. Columbæ* '*Altus Prosator*' are to be referred the following glosses:

WW. 203, 5 *ceruleis turbinibus lageflodum podenum* = *Altus Prosator* l. 52 *maris caeli climatibus ceruleis turbinibus*; *WW.* 207, 26 *compagine i. coniunctiones iuncturæ gefeg* = *Altus Prosator* l. 113 *undique conglobantibus ad compagine ossibus*; *WW.* 221, 6 *debitis gedefum congruis* = *Altus Prosator* l. 115 *runsnque redeuntibus debitis in mansionibus*; *WW.* 226, 29 *effectibus, i. operibus monitionibus uel dædum* = *Altus Pros.* l. 105 *reddemusque de omnibus rationem effectibus*; *WW.* 221, 16 *dealibus i. deificis godlicum* = *Altus Prosator* l. 68 *magni dei uirtutibus appenditur dialibus*; *WW.* 239, 17 *flammaticus ligen* = *Altus Prosator* l. 79 *ubi ardor flammaticus sitis famisque horridus*.

That *WW.* 208, 32 *congelaerat tosomne geraet* refers to *Passio Sanct. Apost. Petri et Pauli* 32, 18-16 (ed. Lipsius et Bonnet, p. 147), *sanguis uero ibidem congelauerat* and *geraet* is error for *geræc* has lately been made quite probable by Pogatscher. Perhaps to (*inuenit caput*) *berbicinum*, *ibid.* 32, 15, may be referred *WW.* 196, 35 *brugma barice* if that stands for

beruigina = *ueruicinū barige*. The reading *baruhina* (*WW.* 357, 36), *braugina* *Corpus Glossary*, B 196, *baruina* *ibid.* B 55 can be explained from the *barbicinum*, extant in Codex U, and a confusion of *ueruicinū* with *uerrinū* may have led to the interpretation *barige*. *WW.* 241, 30 read *witecylle* for *hwit cylle*, (*folle bubulum i. vas piceum uel hwite cylle*); the Latin is shortened from *in culleum follē bubulum i. uas piceum* and refers to *Oros.* v. 16, 23 *damnatus parricidii insutusque in culleum in mare proiectus est*.

WW. 216, 17 *crustus cyrten* probably represents an original Latin *crustus ornatus*. The OE. interpretation *cyrten* is either based on *ornatus* being mistaken for the participle adjective or *cyrten* is truncated from *cyrtenesse*. The reference is undoubtedly to Aldh. *de Laud. uirginit.* cap. 58 (ed. Giles, p. 77): *ut crustu interdito phalerataque uenustate carnalis statura comatur*. The original *crustu* is on record in the *Erfurt*1 (C. G. L. V. 353, 3 = *Corpus Glossary*, C 897) *crustu ornatu*. The Epinal's reading *crustu ornato* shows the same mistake on which the above *cyrten* is seemingly based.

WW. 225, 12 *dodrante [e] dreariende* (= *ed-ræsiendū*?) refers to *Hisperica Famina* cap. 15, *gemellum Neptunius collocat ritum fluctus, protinus spumaticam pollet in littora adisam refluamque prisco plicat recessam utero, geminum solita flectit in orgium dissurrimina, afrionosa luteum uellicat mallina terminum, marginosas tranat pullulammina metas nastaque tumente DODRANTE inundat freta*. As to *dodrants* 'reflux' cp. *Revue Celtique* xi, 86 where *dodrantibus* is explained by *adsissis*, i. *adlauon*. *WW.* 216, 36 *curuanas scethas* refers to *ibid.*, cap. 18, *nitantes ceruicibus gestant curuanas*. *WW.* 204, 7 *cephalus g heafodpaine* refers to the following line of the *Lorica*; *gigram cepphale cum iaris et conis*. To *conis* of this passage (read *coris*) is also to be referred the *conas ovgan*, *Ahd. Gl.* iii. 430, 27. *WW.* 193, 7 *bathma i. femora peoh* refers to the line of *Lorica*, reading *batma exngiam atque binas idumas*, to which also *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 431, 37 *bathma thioch* refers. Here belongs also *WW.* 243, 33 *exngia*, i. *minctura micgerne*. *WW.* 201, 9 *catacrinas hyppan* refers to the line *catacrinas, nates cum femoribus*, and there cannot be any doubt that *Corpus Glossary* C 250, *catagrinas*,

4 Cp. also *WW.* 217, 17 *cyclis rynnun* with *Ymnus in Epiphania Domini ad Vesperam* l. 13, *denis ter annorum ciclis* (*Anglo-Sax. Hymn.*, p. 48) *WW.* 217, 30 *declini i. proni, inclinati, humiliati uel aheldre* with *Ymnus ad Nocturnas*, l. 4 *cursu declini temporis* (*ibid.*, p. 36).

bleremina mees belongs here, too, though the interpretation is apparently corrupt, at any rate unintelligible. To the line *patam linganam sennas atque michanas (mysteras, Cock.)*, I would refer the *liganā* (reading of *b*) *zunga*, *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 430, 36 and Erfurt 3 (C. G. L. ii, 588, 52) *pata frons*. To *cladam, crassum* (read *capsum*), *madianum, talias*, I believe refers the *sasan* appearing *WW.* 200, 36 after *casses retia uel*. Pogatscher would make *cassan* the plural of *casse*, an alleged Anglicized *cassis*, but *WW.* 365, 15 *cassan beost* (read *capsum breost*) shows plainly that two glosses have been run together, viz. *casses retia uel . . . capsum.5 . . .*

To the same line refers *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 431, 3 *talioslenden* to *pupillis, rotis, palpebris, tantonibns* refers *Ahd. Gl.* iii 430, 20 *tautonibns*⁵ *ouer . . . To *capitali centro, cartilagini* refer *WW.* 202, 43, *ceruellum i. centrum* (read *centrum. i. cerebellum*) *brægen*. *Centrum* seems to be a Celtic coinage from Irish *cen* 'head' denoting 'that which is in the head;' cf. O. Ir. *inchin* 'brains.' To the line *marsim, reniculos, fethrem cum obligia* is to be referred *WW.* 239, 14 *fither snædelþearm* and the *Epinal-Erfurt* (C. G. L. v. 376, 3) *obligia nectæ (nectæ) — Corpus O 147*: To the line *tege tolian thoracum cum pulmone* refer *Ahd. Gl.* iii 431, 6 *torax grecum hoc est brustlappa* and *WW.* 203 11 [*thorax i.*] *centumcilio. i. pellis feleferð nel centmPELLIS*. The interpretation *feleferð* which is identical with the *felo fearth* (*Epinal*), *felnfreth* (*Erfurt*), *feolniferð* (*Corpus*) glossing *torax* (C. G. L. v. 397, 4) renders it probable that *WW.* 203, 11 *centmCILIO* is not the original lemma, but rather *thorax*, and that the glosses quoted are related. For the meaning of *feleferð* cp. *Ahd. Gl.* iii 321, 82 *omasus filefart* (read *filefalt* with Steinmeyer) and *WW.* 610, 38 *scrnta exta. i. tripe, the felvelde* Mr. Sweet makes of it a bird, the fieldfare! Of the glosses taken from the *Hisperica Famina* and the *Lorica*, I expect to say more at some later time. I will conclude with drawing attention to a very ludicrous 'ghostword'

⁵ Cp. *Ahd. Gl.* iii, 638, 5 *torax brunie ? cassida* with which latter Steinmeyer brings together Italian *casso* 'breast,' as he does *cassa sfunerunst* *ibid.* iii 496, 42. Cf. also in the Luxembourg Folio, p. 1, no 54, *crasici* (= *cassici* = *capsici*) *pectoralis*. *Revue Celtique* i, 348.

⁶ Cp. also *Erfurt* (C. G. L. v. 393, 31) *tautone palpebrae* = *Epinal* (*tautonæ*) = *Corpus T 34* (*tautonæ*).

Sweet has taken over from Hall, though the latter gives his source, and that might have enabled the learned veteran to correct the evident error. Hall prints *puerisc* 'boyish' *WW.* 528, 30 (Lat.)' The gloss appears among those taken from Aldh. *de Laud. Virginum* and it would have been easy to find in Giles' edition, p. 182, the passage referred to, *Musica Pierio resonent et carmina cantu* and to see that *puerisc* is a slight mistake for *piierisc* 'Pierian.' There are many other errors Sweet has accepted on Hall's authority, but of that later.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

Don Quixote de la Mancha. Primera Edición del texto restituido. Con Notas y una Introducción por JAIME FITZMAURICE-KELLY y JUAN ORMSBY. 2 vols. Edimburgo: Constable; Londres: 1898, 1899. David Nutt, Editor. 4,^o lx, 510 pp. and xiii, 556 pp.

La Celestina por Fernando de Rojas, conforme á la Edición de Valencia de 1514, Con una Introducción del Dr. D. M. MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO. 2 vols. Vigo Librería de Eugenio Krapf, 1899, 1900. 8vo, lvi, 237 pp. and pp. 238-470, with a bibliography.

AT last a truly critical edition of the Cervantes' immortal work has appeared, and is published with a magnificence of which its author—struggling all his life with most persistent poverty—certainly never even dreamed. And yet, after waiting nearly three hundred years, it was reserved for two English scholars to bring out a definitive edition and to publish it in Scotland. Grateful as every Spaniard must be for this truly magnificent and scholarly work, he cannot help but feel a twinge of regret that the great masterpiece of the Castilian tongue should have found no one in the land of its birth who could or would competently edit it. The glory of Spanish literature has received its final form at the hands of strangers.

This edition is truly a monumental one, for in addition to the thorough scholarship with which the text has been handled, it is also one of the most beautiful specimens of printing

that I have ever seen. The editors, Mr. John Ormsby and Mr. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly are two of the most distinguished Spanish scholars in England. Mr. Ormsby¹ has made the best English translation of *Don Quixote* that has yet appeared, and is also known by his spirited translation of the *Poema del Cid* and various essays on Spanish literature, while Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly is the author of an excellent life of Cervantes and of a Manual of Spanish Literature² that is incomparably the best that has yet appeared. It would be hard indeed to find two more competent *Cervantistas*, and the high regard in which these scholars are held in the literary world is entirely justified by the edition of *Don Quixote* which they have produced. The Introduction of the editors (written in Spanish), which is a history of the text and a justification of their treatment of it, is most clear and convincing. They say:

"In this edition of *Don Quixote* we have tried to present the text freed from arbitrary alterations introduced by our predecessors."

They show that there were five editions of *Don Quixote* published in 1605.³ The printing of the *editio princeps* was finished on Dec. 1, 1604, and must have been offered for sale at the beginning of 1605. It was a very poorly printed book, for Cervantes not having sufficient means to publish the work at his own expense, had sold his author's rights to Francisco de Robles, printer to the King, and Robles sent the manuscript to the press of Juan de la Cuesta.

Doubtful of the success of the book, Robles spent as little as possible upon it. The manuscript had, moreover, passed through many hands before it reached those of Cuesta. Two months before its impression Lope de Vega spoke of it to the Duke of Sesá as of a book which both knew well, and as Lope spoke disparagingly of it, it did not strengthen the hope of the printer in its success. Nevertheless, the

¹ Mr. Ormsby died, as we learn from the Introduction, when only twenty-five chapters of Part I had been edited.

² We are promised both a French and a Spanish translation of this work. Let us hope it may not be long delayed.

³ There was probably also an edition published at Barcelona in 1605, as Cervantes speaks of it, and it was the habit of the Barcelonese, Sebastián de Cormellas to reprint every good work the same year that it appeared.

book met with immediate favour, and Robles, who had at first only obtained a *privilegio* for Castile, was not long in obtaining one for Aragon and Portugal, and brought out another edition (the *privilegio* dated Feb. 9, 1605), which was followed by two fraudulent editions in Lisbon—one by Jorge Rodríguez, with a license dated Feb. 26, 1605, and one by Pedro Crasbeek, (licensed Mar. 27, 1605); and, finally, another edition appeared at Valencia by Pedro Patricio Mey, with an *aprobación* dated July 18, 1605. This shows clearly how eagerly the work was received.

It will be seen that only three months elapsed between the first and second editions issued by Robles, and the hurry with which this second Madrid edition was gotten out may be seen in the two striking errors on the very title-page, although some of the oversights and errors of the first edition are here corrected. Still, Cervantes, as the editors say, had no part whatever in this matter, for he was living at Valladolid, three or four days journey from Madrid, and lack of time did not admit of the proofs passing from one city to another. Besides, at that time, after an author had sold his rights to the printer or editor, he had no control whatever over his work, or any right to intervene for the purpose of amending or correcting it.

As Lope says in the "Prologue to the Reader" in *Parte xvii* of his *Comedias* "*una vez pagados los ingenios del trabajo de sus estudios, no tenían acción sobre ellas.*" The complaints made by contemporary writers show the frequent abuse of editorial power, and the corrections or rather changes made in the second edition of *Don Quixote* prove that these complaints did not lack foundation. The editor gives a number of examples of these changes, due chiefly to the stupidity of the editor:—the *murassen y tapiassen* in Chap. vii changed to *mudassen*; in Chap. xxiii *los siete macabeos* changed to *los siete Mancebos*, and a number of others, all of much importance for a comprehension of the text.

Bowle, as early as 1777, knew of these two Madrid editions of 1605, a fact that was unknown to the Spanish Academy when it published its edition three years later, taking the second edition for the first, and believing it to

be the only one published by Robles in that year. Pellicer did the same thing and was followed by Clemencin. The Spanish Academy did not recognize its error till the appearance of its fourth edition in 1819. It seems that Hartzenbusch, in 1863, first observed the important textual differences between the two first editions. Concerning the edition of 1608, which has by some been held to have been corrected by the hand of Cervantes, the editors note that it was Pellicer who first ascribed especial authority to this edition.

"He presumed that when the Court was moved from Valladolid to Madrid in 1606, that Cervantes also migrated thither, and he says ingeniously that two years later Cervantes determined to reprint his *Ingenioso Hidalgo*, a matter that was as much beyond his power as were the conditions of peace in the Netherlands."

There is not a bit of evidence to prove that Cervantes was living at Madrid in 1608, and "no one has yet been bold enough to assert that Cervantes corrected the proofs being absent from Madrid." Moreover, as we have seen, Cervantes, having parted with his rights to Robles for the period of ten years, he had no authority whatever to prepare a new edition. In fact the editors subsequently show clearly that Cervantes was not resident or present in Madrid in 1608, although he resided there from 1609 until his death. The alleged authority of this edition therefore falls. It is also shown that it is very likely that Cervantes never saw any other edition except the first, and that the only text, therefore, that possesses authority is the *editio princeps*.

"This, like the others, did not have the advantage of having been printed under the care of the author, and it may be that the copyist and the printer made mistakes now and then. But for this there is no remedy. What can be remedied is the injustice that has been done to Cervantes by attributing to him absurdities that he never wrote, nor which he ever could have written, and that have brought upon him the reputation of writing an obscure and careless style."

So much for the first part of *Don Quixote*. Concerning the second part, the state of affairs is quite different. There can be no dispute here upon the authority of the text.

"Cervantes likewise transferred his rights to Robles, who published an edition, and no

other appeared during the lifetime of the author, nor does anyone pretend that there existed a posthumous edition corrected by the author in his last days."

The editors call attention to the more favourable conditions under which this second part was written. Cervantes was no longer an unknown author struggling with poverty; "the vagabond of former years, without a roof and without credit." The success of the first part of *Don Quixote* had made him famous; his name had been carried beyond the Pyrenees, and "gave him importance in the eyes of the Madrid booksellers." Cervantes wrote this part deliberately; here, as the editors say, "his style is truly his, clear and without the circumlocution and the laboured latinized phrase of the school then in fashion." Besides, Cervantes was residing in Madrid, and could be consulted by Robles, "though there is no reason for supposing that author and editor demanded a pedantic exactitude of text."

The principles that have guided the editors in the construction of the text is contained in the statement that

"the only sure road to follow is to admit no emendation whatever, however ingenious it may be, when a reasonable presumption exists that the author wrote the word or words that appear in the primitive text."

This principle has been strictly adhered to, though the lawless orthography of the first edition has been corrected, the punctuation has been revised, the text re-distributed in paragraphs, and the dialogue has been so arranged that the different parts are readily discernable.

It is safe to say that the edition of Mr. Ormsby and Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, based upon the *editio princeps* and printed with the utmost care and exactitude, is the definitive edition of *Don Quixote*, from which all future editions must take their text. The editors have conferred an enduring favour upon all students of Spanish literature, for which they should feel deeply grateful.

After *Don Quixote* there can be scarcely a doubt that the next greatest work in Spanish literature is the *Celestina*, though perhaps it is to be feared that this is a work more talked

and written about than read. Menéndez y Pelayo, the editor of the edition before us, and the most learned of Spanish critics, says:

"In our opinion the *Celestina* is one of the most genial and extraordinary works that the literature of any nation can show, and the work which, perhaps, amongst those produced upon our soil, merits the second place after the *Ingenioso Hidalgo*."

Of course without direct access to the earliest impressions a critical and final edition of the *Celestina* is impossible, but it is certainly a strange coincidence that this first attempt at improving the text and furnishing the variants of other editions, should appear in the same year with the *Don Quixote* mentioned above. Though the editor is the first of Spanish critics, the printer is a German, like so many early printers of Spain, and like many of them, he has produced a book which, typographically, and in everything that goes to make a book beautiful, is a work of surpassing excellence.

And it does not issue from the press of Madrid, with its Ginestas, Fortanets and Aribaus, but from the small Galician town of Vigo—a place quite unknown in the annals of Spanish printing. The text here given is based upon the edition of Valencia, 1514, which is supposed to be a reproduction of the lost Salamanca edition of 1500. How closely this text represents the text of 1500, of course we do not know.⁴ It is preceded by a critical study of the *Celestina* by Don. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, now the director of the National Library at Madrid. It is, in the main, the same luminous and searching study with which we are already acquainted, but it appears here newly corrected and augmented, a model of clear and beautiful style which other Spanish critics would do well to imitate.

In his discussion of the authorship of the *Celestina*, Menéndez y Pelayo rejects entirely the theory that the first Act was written by either Juan de Mena or Rodrigo Cota. The pedantic prose of the former, full of inversions and latinisms, shows that it is utterly impossible that he should have written the *Celestina*. Concerning Rodrigo Cota, the

author of the beautiful *Diálogo entre el Amor y un viejo*, we unfortunately have no prose that he has written, and the editor's argument is not so convincing. In his opinion Fernando de Rojas is

"the sole author and creator of *La Celestina*, which he composed, not in a fortnight, but in many days, months and even years, in all conscience, tranquility and repose, never wearying of correcting and filing it, as the numerous variants of all the editions which we can suppose to have been made during his life prove,—variants which concern the first Act as well as the remaining ones."

And again the editor remarks:

"The identity of style in all the parts of the *Celestina*—the serious as well as the humorous ones—is such that in spite of the respectable opinion of Juan de Valdés to the contrary, it has been repeatedly pointed out by critics."

Menéndez, however, finds a deeper reason—one which in his opinion utterly precludes the possibility of the first Act having flowed from a different pen from that which wrote the succeeding ones, and that is the admirable unity of thought that pervades the whole work; the constancy and fixedness in the delineation of the characters; the logical and gradual development of the story, and the complete mastery with which Rojas controls his material;—not like one who continues the work of another, but like one who disposes freely of his own work. Finally, summing up, he says:

"We believe then that the *Celestina* is the work of a single author who can be no other than the bachelor Fernando de Rojas, a native of La Puebla de Montalbán, Alcalde Mayor of Salamanca, and finally an inhabitant of Talavera de la Reina."

In discussing the origin of the *Celestina*, Menéndez y Pelayo states that its true prototype is to be sought in an unrepresentable Latin comedy of the twelfth century, the *Pamphilius de Amore*, freely imitated in Castilian verse by the Archpriest of Hita.

"It is the *Trota-conventos* of the Archpriest which is the true ancestor of the *Celestina*, and to no one of his predecessors did Fernando de Rojas owe so much as to the Archpriest of Hita."

For the dialogue, however, he was in all probability indebted to the *Corbacho* of another Archpriest—Alfonso Martínez of Toledo, Arch-

⁴ See now, for the bibliography of the *Celestina* the articles of Foulché-Delbosc in the *Revue Hispanique*, vol. vii, which has appeared since the above was written.

priest of Talavera, who composed his satire in the time of John II. (1438).

So far as the authorship of the *Celestina* is concerned, however, we may say that more than forty years ago,⁵ Ferdinand Wolf had arrived at the same conclusion as Menéndez, and Wolf likewise makes the comparison with the *Corbacho* of Alfonso Martínez of Toledo.⁶

The authorship being definitely settled we come to the question of the bibliography of the *Celestina*, and there is nothing but doubt and uncertainty so far as the first edition is concerned. When was the *Celestina* first printed? At Burgos in 1499 by Fadrique Aleman of Basle? Or is the edition of Salamanca, 1500, now lost, the first one?

Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, than whom there is no better authority on this point, and whose aid has been invoked by the publisher, Señor Krapf, in the compilation of the Bibliography contained in Vol. ii, speaks very guardedly concerning this 1499 edition. In his Introduction to Mabbe's translation of the *Celestina* he says "if that be the true date," and later in his *History of Spanish Literature*, using the words "as it seems"—in both cases leaving room for plenty of doubt.

The copy described by Brunet is the Heber copy, which passed into the possession of M. de Soleinne, and then found its way into the library of Baron Seillière and when, after the latter's death, his books were sold, in 1890 it passed into the hands of Mr. Quaritch. See the *Catalogue de livres rares et précieux*, etc., composant la Bibliothèque de feu M. le Baron Acl. S. . . . Paris, 1890, No. 584, in which we find the statement: "*Salvá, donnant dans son Catalogue la description de notre exem-*

⁵ *Zur Geschichte der Spanischen und portugiesischen Nationalliteratur*, Berlin, 1859, p. 297.

⁶ Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in his introduction to Mabbe's translation of the *Celestina*, London, 1894, had expressed himself as follows:

"But if Rojas did not read it (Pamphilius, De Amore) he may have found the germ of his story in the *Libro de Cantares* of Juan Ruiz, who names his sources with characteristic candor: *lo feo del estoria de Pufilo e Nason*: indeed the Trota-conventos of the Archpriest of Hita, mentioned by Parmeno in the second Act, is as surely the rough sketch of the Bawd as Don Melon de la Uerta and Doña Endrina de Calatayud are anticipations of the lovers. And from the *Corbacho* of a second learned cleric, Alfonso Martínez de Talavera, Rojas not only lifted some passages bodily, but further, conveyed the usage of popular proverbs and catch-words, which he developed with a will and a profusion unsurpassed by Cervantes himself." P. xlii.

plaire, déclare que c'est la sueue qu'il con-
*naisse."*⁷

There seems, therefore, to be but one copy of this edition known, the original Heber copy, lately in the possession of Mr. Quaritch. Upon the last page of this copy is the legend: *NIHIL SINE CAUSA. 1499. F. A. de Basilea*, with the wood-cut mark of this well-known printer, also a German. Now this last page, Brunet says, has upon it the water mark "1795." It is on this account that the whole book has been considered by some to be a forgery. But, why may not this last page merely have been supplied in fac-simile, and the text still be genuine? Another copy *may* have existed at the close of the last century or at the beginning of our own. There is nothing so unreasonable about this. Books very easily disappear, and even manuscripts—generally much more closely guarded, also vanish. Mr. Libri, we all know, caused many of them to do so, and at least one very important manuscript disappeared a few years ago from the very vigilant guardianship of the custodians of the British Museum. Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, writing to me some time ago, expressed himself as follows:

"Not having seen the 1499 ed. I cannot bluntly call it a forgery. The forged date is suspicious, but that might be forged and the *text* might belong to 1499, the leaf being inserted to make good a defect, etc. But the fact of the forgery does not stand alone. There are other facts: that a 1499 *Celestina* is never heard of till 1837; that Quaritch would let nobody see it; that now, having sold it—as he alleges—he refuses to disclose the purchaser's name. None of these circumstances is conclusive, if taken alone; taken together they tell against the authenticity of the book. But I cannot positively say it is absolutely unauthentic till I have seen it; nor, so far as I can see, can anybody else."

There are, however, a number of presumptions in favour of the authenticity of the Burgos ed. of 1499, or at least in favour of an earlier edition than that of Salamanca, 1500. Fadrique Aleman, the printer of the first edition of the Chronicle of the *Cid*, was a well known publish-

⁷ There was a sale of some of Baron Seillière's books in London in 1887, but after tracing a number of other extremely rare books which Quaritch says he purchased at the Seillière sale in Paris in 1890, there can be little doubt that the above catalogue is composed entirely of books that once formed part of the Seillière collection.

er in Burgos at that time. The 1499 text contains but sixteen Acts—which follow each other logically—and seventeen wood-cuts; the lost edition of Salamanca, 1500, as deduced from the editions of Valencia, 1514 and 1518, already contained the whole twenty-one Acts, and probably also had the twenty-two wood-cuts that all copies of the complete work seem to have contained down to the Venice edition of 1534. There can be scarcely a doubt in the mind of any one who reads the work carefully that the edition of sixteen Acts is the older rescension, and that the additional five Acts, which first appear in the Salamanca edition of 1500, have been merely interpolated between Acts 14 and 15 of the original. All the editions from 1502 to 1534 followed the 1502 Seville edition, as the omission of the stanzas "*Penados Amantes*" show. The edition of 1501 was not followed.

All these editions except the *princeps* contain twenty-one Acts. But lately two editions have come to light which follow the 1499 Burgos edition, and contain only sixteen Acts. M. Foulché-Delbosc discovered one (Seville, 1501), in the Bibliothèque National, at Paris, and has just reprinted it.⁸ In addition to this the Marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros has lately come across an edition, also in sixteen Acts, printed at Seville, 1502. These discoveries, naturally, suggest anew a whole series of questions that cannot be answered till we have the texts before us: ex. gr. are the five acts interpolated between Acts 14 and 15 unauthorized? Are they the work of Alonso de Proaza? And a number of others immediately arise, equally difficult to answer.

In the meantime, I confess, that personally, I am inclined to believe in the genuineness of the edition of Burgos, 1499, until better proof of its falsity is adduced. Of course, nothing can be said with any certainty till these three copies in sixteen Acts are carefully scrutinized and compared.

The Bibliography which Señor Krapf has compiled, is an excellent one, and also contains a review of the principal translations of the *Celestina*, the whole done with great care. The second volume concludes with the Latin

⁸ I have not seen this edition, but as has been observed above, the whole aspect of the bibliography of the *Celestina* has been considerably changed by the investigations of M. Foulché-Delbosc.

text of the *Pamphilus de Amore* and an *Advertencia* by Menéndez y Pelayo.

In conclusion I may say that Señor Krapf has done excellent service to the cause of Spanish literature by giving to students at once the best and by far the handsomest edition of the *Celestina* that has yet appeared. To read, for example, the 1599 Plantiniana, and then turn to this Vigo edition, we can appreciate the boon the publisher has conferred upon us.

Let us hope that students of Spanish literature will now avail themselves of this beautiful edition of the *Celestina*, and that it may find the wide circle of readers that it so well deserves.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Ioannes Nicolai Secundus: Basia. Mit einer Auswahl aus den Vorbildern und Nachahmern herausgegeben von GEORG ELLINGER. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1899. 12mo, lii+38. (Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des xv. und xvi. Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von Max Hermann. 14.)

BASIA, the cycle of poems which Joannes Nicolai Secundus wrote on the ever interesting subject of kisses, has found a new and very able editor Mr. Georg Ellinger.

Contrary to the principles established for the *Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler*, the text follows B, the edition of 1541, as the *editio princeps*, a print of 1539, was made from an incomplete and careless copy of the poems. The text of the reprint agrees, therefore, was Bosscha's edition of Secundus' works, except in a few passages stated on page xlvi.

Mr. Ellinger has greatly enhanced the value of his work by adding a selection of the Neo-Latin models and imitations of the Dutch poet, and by offering much information about the history of *Basia*.

The first chapter of the introduction treats of the models for the cycle. These are found not only in certain poems of the Greek Anthology and in two poems of Catullus, but also in the poetry of the Humanists. And it is the merit of the editor to have pointed out for the

first time the two most important sources of inspiration for Secundus, namely the *Osculum Panthæ* of Philippus Beroaldus and Petrus Crinitus' poem *Ad Næaram*.

By far the most interesting chapter is the second, which has for its subject the influence of Secundus' graceful poems upon Neo-Latin as well as national literatures. As we trace this influence in the Netherlands, France, Italy, England and Germany, we are impressed with the number of great names among the imitators, translators, or admirers of Secundus; by the side of Ronsard and other poets of the Pleiad we find Philippe Desportes and later Mirabeau, and with Weckherlin, Opitz and Fleming stand Günther, Bürger and Goethe.

Regarding the relation of *Basia* to German literature, the editor combats the view, generally accepted, that Secundus affected very strongly the lyric poetry of Germany during the seventeenth century. The fact is brought out that in the first half of that century a direct influence of the Dutch poet can be proved only in a few cases, and it was not until the latter half of the eighteenth century that German poets—among them Bürger and Goethe—again drew inspiration from *Basia*.

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SPANISH DRAMA.

Ingratitud por Amor. Comedia de Don Guillen de Castro. Edited with an introduction by HUGO A. RENNERT, Professor of Romanic Languages and Literatures in the University of Pennsylvania. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. Series in Philology, Literature and Archæology, vol. vii, No. 1. Philadelphia: 1899. 8vo, 120 pp.

The text of the *Comedia* is preceded by an introduction of thirty-two pages which is divided into two parts; the first of these is a biographical and critical sketch, in which the editor also endeavors to fix the dates of certain events concerning the life and works of Guillen de Castro. The second part of the introduction is devoted to a discussion of the manuscript and of the play itself. The editor states at the outset that nothing of importance

concerning the life of Castro has been added to the material collected by Barrera; hence we find no attempt at a succinct history of the life of the poet, but rather such an arrangement of details as will lend itself more readily to a discussion of certain questions and to the adjustment of several disputed dates in the life of the author.

On pp. 11 ff. the editor discusses the question of an edition of Castro's plays previous to the year 1618. The dedication of the first part of the edition of 1621 contains the following:

"A book-seller more eager than courteous, during my absence printed these twelve comedies adding to their errors those of the printer."

Prof. Rennert agrees with Stiefel that the words quoted can hardly refer to the edition of 1618, because both editions had the same editor¹; but he does not think that Mérimée, as Stiefel maintains, has proven that Castro was in Valencia during the year 1618; this he promises to prove in the subsequent pages. It is strange that the editor does not recur to his promise; it may be inferred, however, that the evidence which he offers consists in the citation of the two licenses to print and sell as found in the edition of 1618—the one a license from the ecclesiastical authorities of Valencia, and the other from the civil authorities of Madrid. The evidence furnished by these two licenses, as the editor points out, seems to establish conclusively the fact that the edition of 1618 was printed with Castro's full consent. Consequently, when the preface to the edition of 1621 contains an allusion to a former unauthorized edition, that allusion must of necessity be to some other edition of which no copy has been discovered. The notice of a copy of the edition of 1618, together with the licenses and title page, constitute one of the most valuable features of the introduction, both in regard to the evidence furnished by the latter as to other editions, as well as for the fact that this is the first time, so far at least as I know, that any clue as to the existence of a copy of this edition has been put into print.

Two questions arise in regard to these

¹ *Zts. f. Rom. Phil.* xvi, p. 263.

licenses which may best be explained after an examination of the documents. The ecclesiastical license, printed on p. 3 of the edition of 1618, reads in part thus:

"Nos Pedro Antonio Serra . . . por el . . . Señor . . . Arçobispo de Valencia . . . por quanto por orden y comision nuestra ha visto y examinado el Dr. Juan Pasqual este libro intitulado Primera parte de las comedias compuestas por don Guillen de Castro; y hauernos hecho relacion que no ay en el cosa contra nuestra Santa Fe Catholica, y buenas costumbres, damos licencia y facultad que se pueda imprimir en esta ciudad, y Arçobispado: con tal empero que *antes que salga a luz*, y se vendan nos trayga el Autor o otra persona por el un libro de los impressos para ver si conuerda con su original dada en el Palacio Arçobispal de Valencia a *dos de Julio mdcxviii*."

On p. 4 of the edition of 1618 is printed the following royal license:

"Por quanto por parte de vos don Guillen de Castro natural de la ciudad de Valencia, nos fue fecha relacion que *auitades compuesto e impresso con licencia* en la dicha ciudad de Valencia un libro de doze comedias . . . de que ante los del nuestro consejo fue fecha presentacion. Y nos fue pedido y suplicado, os mandassemos dar licencia para poder meter en estos nuestros Reynos de Castilla mil cuerpos que *teniades impressos* del dicho libro en el dicho Reyno de Valencia . . . Por la qual os damos licencia y facultad para que la dicha impression de mil cuerpos del dicho libro que de suso se haze mencion que así estan en el dicho nuestro Reyno de Valencia, la podays meter en estos nuestros Reynos . . . Fecha en Madrid a *doze dias del mes de Junio de 1618* . . . Licencia a don Guillen de Castro . . . para que pueda meter en estos Reynos un libro de doze comedias que *ha impresso con licencia* en el dicho Reyno de Valencia . . ."

The editor referring to these two dates notices the discrepancy between that affixed to the King's license; namely, June 12, 1618, which speaks of the books as already printed, and that of the license of the Archbishop of Valencia, July 2, 1618, in which permission is given to print the book. Prof. Rennert thinks that the discrepancy might be removed if we supposed that the authentic date of the Archbishop's license was July 2, 1617, instead of July 2, 1618. But would this really obviate the difficulty? Since the license granted by the King speaks of the books as already printed, how could this license to

print be included in the book itself? Must we suppose that the licenses of the King and Archbishop were printed on a separate sheet, which was later inserted into the printed books? Both the discrepancy of the dates and the difficulty in accounting for the presence of the King's license, might be obviated if we supposed that at the time the license was granted by the King, Castro or the editor of his plays, had an edition of a thousand copies already printed with a previous license from the Archbishop of Valencia. It was one of these printed copies of the comedies which was presented to the King, or the commission appointed by him, when a request was made for a license to sell the book in the Kingdom of Castile; hence it is so plainly spoken of in the King's license as already printed. These first thousand copies were sold in Valencia; but upon receipt of the King's license to sell the book in Castile, application was again made to the Archbishop of Valencia for another license to print, which was granted in 1618; and both these licenses were included in another thousand copies which were destined to be sold in Castile.²

The editor now proceeds to prove the existence of an edition of Castro's plays anterior to 1618, and cites a portion of the prologue of the collection of *comedias* published at Valencia in 1625. It may be of interest to note that Barrera³ also quotes this prologue, the importance of which lies in the following statement:

" . . . Solo quiero advertirte que demás de imprimir estas doce comedias por hacer gusto á mi sobrina, lo hice tambien porque en mi ausencia se imprimieron otras doce, y tanto porque en ellas habia un sin fin de yerros como porque la que menos años tiene tendrá de puñice ariba"

This seems to be strong evidence for the existence of an edition previous to 1618. Supposing that such an edition appeared in 1607 or 1608, and that it contained the same twelve plays which were afterward published in 1618, of which, however, it must be noted we have no positive proof, we get a clue as to the rela-

² The editor is in doubt as to whether the *tassa* was printed in Valencian books, and I might add to the example referred to by him, (p. 12, note 1) that of a book before me; namely, *Blanquerna* printed at Valencia in 1521, in which no such *tassa* is to be found.

³ *Catálogo*, p. 82.

tive dates of Lope de Vega's *Las Almenas de Tora* and Castro's *Las Mocedades del Cid*, which will enable us to accept a theory that has been posited as to the relations between the two plays. This theory which the editor advances tentatively (p. 16) is as follows: To judge merely from the dedication of Lope de Vega's *Las Almenas de Toro* to Don Guillen de Castro, we might conclude that this token of Lope's appreciation of Castro was prompted by the latter's *Dido*, whereas Lope's dedication was in reality a tribute to Castro on account of the latter's *Mocedades del Cid*. One reason for this conclusion is the fact that the Cid is one of the characters in Lope's *Almenas de Toro*. Has it slipped the editor's notice that this same theory had already been advanced by a Spanish scholar? Menéndez y Pelayo remarks:

"Dedicó Lope de Vega *Las Almenas de Toro* al insigne poeta valenciano D. Guillén de Castro; y siendo ésta la única fábula de su teatro en que aparece el Cid, puede conjeturarse que la dedicatoria fué un homenaje indirecto y delicado al gran ingenio que habia puesto en las tablas las *Mocedades del héroe*. Hay que advertir, sin embargo, que Lope en la dedicatoria no hace alusión á ellas al paso que alaba encarecidamente la tragedia *Dido* de D. Guillén de Castro, y transcribe un soneto que compuso en loor de ella. Es cierto tambien que se ignora todavía la fecha en que fueron compuestas y representadas las dos partes de las *Mocedades*, cuya primera edición conocida es de 1621, aunque de los mismos preliminares del libro se infiere que hubo otra anterior, que será probablemente la de 1618, citada por Ximeno (*Escritores del Reino de Valencia*) de la cual hasta ahora no se ha encontrado ningún ejemplar. Y como esta primera y fraudulenta edición se hizo en ausencia de D. Guillén, según él mismo declara, algún tiempo hemos de suponer para que la pieza llegara á hacerse popular y á tentar la codicia del librero que la estampó sin consentimiento de su autor. No es para mí dudoso, por lo tanto, que *Las Almenas de Toro* se escribieron después de la segunda parte de las *Mocedades*, y que la dedicatoria nació del deseo de evitar toda sombra de rivalidad ó competencia."⁴

The discovery of an edition of 1618, and the strong presumption in favor of another and earlier edition, of Castro's comedias render it perfectly plausible that Lope dedicated his

Almenas de Toro to the Valencian poet as a tribute to the genius of the author of *Las Mocedades* rather than of *Dido*.

When the editor states that everything inclines to the belief that Castro left Italy during the year 1605, and again established himself in Valencia (p. 22), he apparently overlooks the evidence furnished by Lacroix,⁵ who, speaking of Castro's connection with the *Academia de los Nocturnos*, remarks:

"C'est probablement à la suite d'une de ces aventures galantes qui aurait mal tourné que notre héros fut obligé de s'expatrier. Nous le retrouvons en effet à la cour de Naples où le vice-roi, D. Juan Pimentel de Herrera, comte de Bénavent, lui confia le gouvernement de Scigliano."

To complete the evidence, the same writer adds:

"Les lettres patentes sont datées du 1er Juin, 1607 'Pro uno anno integro et deinde in antea ad beneplacitum cum pensione, lucris, gagiis, et indumentis solitis, etc.'"⁶

The above citations show clearly that Castro could not have left Italy in 1605. Furthermore, we might be led to a similar inference from the following: 1 We know Castro to have been in Valencia on the 14th of January, 1604 (p. 8), and it seems improbable that he should have gone to Italy, assumed charge of the government of Scigliano, and returned to Valencia before the close of 1605. 2 It is probable that some time before 1616 (Prof. Rennert himself maintains before 1613 or in that year), there appeared the unauthorized edition of his *Comedias* referred to in the editions of 1621 and 1625. Now, no doubt, the fact that Castro was residing at a very great distance from Valencia was what tempted the Valencian editor to bring out an edition of the *Comedias* without Castro's consent, which perhaps he would not have ventured to do had Castro been residing within such easy reach of Valencia as Madrid, where Prof. Rennert supposes him to have been during the period in which he speaks of himself as absent from Valencia (p. 23). This, then, would lead us to conclude, not only that Castro did not return to Valencia in 1605, but that he re-

⁵ *Las Mocedades del Cid*. Texte de l'édition princeps.... commenté et annoté... par Ernest Lacroix. Paris, 1897, p. 2.

⁶ *Ibid*, note 3.

⁴ *Obras de Lope de Vega*, vol. vii. Madrid, 1892, p. xxii.

mained in Italy up to, or even later, than 1613. This seems also to be the opinion of Lacroix, who supposes that Castro was called to the court of the viceroy of Naples, the Count of Lemos, the most assiduous patron of literary men, who succeeded the Count of Benevento in 1609. Finally Lacroix adds: "Il ne repaît, en effet, que bien plus tard à Valence, où il ressuscite l'Académie des Montañeses del Parnaso."⁸

We know that many of Castro's plays were written early, and that some of them soon became popular, nevertheless no authorized edition of his works appeared before 1618.⁹

These facts lead us to the conclusion that some unusual event in the author's life had caused him to delay the preparation of an edition of his plays. This event might well have been a prolonged stay in Italy during which the vigor of his literary energies had been somewhat abated by his military or political duties.

The editor states that in 1603 Castro probably left for Italy to assume the governorship of Scigliano (p. 23). He seems here to have forgotten the fact already noted by himself (p. 8); namely, that Castro was in Valencia on January 14, 1604; since he is mentioned by Tárrega as taking part in a *Juego de Cañas* on that day.

Part II of the introduction is devoted to a discussion of the manuscript and the play itself. The editor, upon internal evidence of defective rhyme and missing verses, discredits the statements of Schack and Barrera that the manuscript is an autograph. He is also of the opinion that Act iii is falsely attributed in the manuscript to Calderón, basing his conclusion upon the belief that Castro and Calderón never worked in collaboration, and also upon the fact that the third act constitutes the weakest portion of the drama.

The play, which is here published for the first time, is divided into three *jornadas*. The last act is particularly noticeable among other defects for the weakness of intrigue. We might,

⁸ L. c., p. 2.

⁹ It should be noted, however, that two single plays, *El Amor Constante* and *El Caballero Bobo* were published in the *Doce Comedias de Cuatro Poetas Naturales de la Insigne y Coronada Ciudad de Valencia*. Valencia, 1608, and Barcelona, 1609.

on this account, be led to suppose that the first two acts are alone to be attributed to Castro, and that after his death an unknown dramatist having discovered the unfinished manuscript was tempted to bring the play to completion by writing the third act, and hoping to add lustre to his own inferior work, ascribed it to Calderón. The fact that the handwriting of the manuscript is not the same throughout does not militate against the theory, as we might suppose the completer of the play to have copied the first two acts from the original manuscript, adding his own act to the new copy.

FRANCIS L. FROST.

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OBITUARY.

PROFESSOR EUGEN KÖLBING.

DIED AUGUST 9, 1899.

The sudden death of the Professor of English at Breslau deprived English Philology of one of its most distinguished representatives, and the Modern Language students at this university of one of the most indefatigable and esteemed of teachers.

Eugen Kölbing was born on September 21, 1846, in Herrnhut, his father being a physician of that place. After obtaining the certificate of maturity at Bautzen, he proceeded to the University of Leipzig to devote himself to the study of the Classics and Teutonic Philology. He was here especially attracted by Zarncke's Lectures on Old Norse.

In 1868 he graduated, with his dissertation *On the Norse Parzival Saga and its Source*, and at Easter, 1869, he passed the State examination.

After absolving his probationary year (as a master) at the Holy Cross Gymnasium at Dresden, he was employed at the Gymnasiums of Schneeberg and Chemnitz, and, afterwards, for a year (1892-3) at the Strassburg Library, under Barack. It was at this time, too, that his *Investigations on the Omission of the Relative Pronoun in the Teutonic Languages* appeared, as well as a *Contribution to the Syntax of the Compound Sentence*, Strassburg, 1872, and his first Norse publication of importance, the edition of the *Riddara Sögur*,

Strassburg and London, 1872.

In 1873 he obtained the *venia legendi* at Breslau, with a treatise *On the Norse Forms of the Parthenopeus Saga*, his introductory course of lectures being on early Norse literature.

Three years afterwards appeared his *Contributions to the Comparative History of Romantic Poetry and Prose of the Middle Ages, with a special consideration of English and Norse Literature*. Breslau, 1876.

We here see Kölbing breaking ground in what was to be his special domain: Medieval Romantic Literature, in the consideration of which he was especially drawn to the study of the Norse Language and Literature. His later publications in Norse are of special value, as in them he utilized Cederschöld's criticisms of his edition of the *Riddara sögur*.

Nor was the field of the Romance Languages and Literature neglected, as is evidenced by his lectures on Old-French Literature, the publication of the reprint of the Venetian MS. of the *Chanson de Roland* (Heilbronn, 1877), of the old French source of *Amis and Amiles*, and *Hue de Rotelandes' Ipomedon* (edited with Koschwitz, Breslau, 1889, Leipzig, 1890).

In 1899 appeared Kölbing's revision of Fiedler's *Scientific Grammar of the English Language*, and in the following year his translation of the Icelandic *History of Gunnlaug Snake-tongue*, Heilbronn, 1898.

At the same time appeared the edition of the Norse and English versions of the Romance of *Sir Tristan*, with historical introduction, notes and German translation (originally edited by Sir W. Scott, 1864), Heilbronn, 1878-1882.

In 1880 Kölbing was appointed extraordinary Professor; in 1881 he published the *Elis saga ok Rosamundu* (Heilbronn); then followed *Amis und Amiloun* with the supplement *Amicus ok Amilius rimur*, Heilbronn, 1884. *Allengl. Bibliothek*, Bd. ii; the three versions of *Ipomedon*, Breslau, 1889, Leipzig, 1889; *Arthur and Merlin*, according to the Auchinleck MS. (Leipzig, 1890, *Allengl. Bibl.*, Bd. iv.); and the *Romance of Sir Beves of Hamtoun* (London, 1894, *Early English Text Society*). It was at this time that Kölbing received his appointment as ordinary Professor at Breslau (1886).

His edition of the *Siege of Corinth*, (Berlin, 1893), opens the list of critical editions of Byron's books, and it was followed after a short interval by *The Prisoner of Chillon and other Poems*, Weimar, 1896 (reviewed in MOD. LANG. NOTES in December, 1897). This was followed by a separate edition of the *Prisoner of Chillon*, in Hoops' *Englische Text Bibliothek* (Weimar, 1898).

As a co-operator in the *Altnordische Saga Bibliothek* (edited by Cederschöld, Gering, Mogk), he then edited the *Flores Saga ok Blankiflur* (*An. B.*, Bd. v. Halle, 1896), and the *Ivens Saga An. B.*, Bd. vii, Halle, 1898).

Prof. Kölbing had also undertaken for the E. E. T. Society's *Extra Series* a parallel text edition of all the six MSS. of the *Ancræn Riwle*, and one of the *Destruction of Jerusalem*.

He had also contemplated, shortly before his death, the publication of a literary historical dissertation on *Don Juan*, and was occupied with his projected edition of *Childe Harold*, a contribution to the textual criticism of which had already appeared in 1896,¹ when failing health compelled him to seek the sanitary resort, Herrenalp.

Even here his love of work did not desert him, and it was just after placing his "imprimatur" on a sheet intended for the printer that the devoted scholar was suddenly snatched away by a fit of apoplexy.

Owing to the great distance of his Black Forest retreat from the deceased's Silesian home, only a limited number of friends and admirers were able to attend the funeral, which took place on the evening of August 11.

The Breslau Modern Language students had not, however, neglected to send a deputation of three members, who, in the picturesque costume of their society, led the procession, as it wended its way, under the rays of the setting sun, through the streets of the idyllic little town to the lofty church-yard. Here an eloquent address was delivered by Pastor R. Kölbing, of Fischbach im Riesengebirge, who, speaking on the text I. Cor. 13, 8-10: Die Liebe höret nimmer auf, Unser Wissen ist Stückwerk. eulogised the Professor's sterling qualities of heart and head, especially his devotion to his

¹ *Zur Textüberlieferung von C. Harold, Cantos i and ii*, Leipzig, 1896.

science, while Professor Schröer, of the University of Freiburg i. Br., as representative of the study of English Philology, emphasized the international reputation of the deceased, his pioneer work in the field of comparative Teutonic and Romance medieval literary history, and especially his services to the cause of English Philology, for which, by his editorship of *Englische Studien*, he contributed to secure an independent position amid its kindred sister sciences.

To these manifestations of admiration and esteem we may add Professor Appel's characterization of the departed scholar as the most productive member in the brilliant constellation of English Philologists; further, an obituary article in the last number of *Englische Studien* by Professor Kaluza, a former pupil; and lastly, a memoir by Dr. Weyrauch, in *Neuphilologische Blätter* (7. Jahrg. 1898, 1899, 20 Oct., Hoffmann, Leipzig), to which the writer is indebted for most of the facts contained in this memoir. Professor Appel, it may be explained, was the spokesman on behalf of the late professor's colleagues at a memorial meeting held on November 5, 1899, in the auditorium of the Archæological Museum, Breslau, when Dr. Weyrauch gave an eloquent resumé of Kölbing's services as a scholar and teacher, speaking as the last of his pupils. Amid the reminiscences dwelt upon by the speaker is one which the writer, glad also to discharge his debt of esteem and gratitude towards an esteemed teacher and friend, would recall with equal pleasure: the Old Norse exercises at the professor's house, when it was indeed 'a real pleasure to be initiated into the mysteries of the crabbed Old Icelandic tongue' and to learn its relation to, and affinity with, the kindred Teutonic languages.

In endeavoring to estimate Kölbing's general position as a scholar, we are reminded of an apt characterization of the German mind as possessing in a high degree "two tendencies which are often represented as opposed to each other, namely, largeness of theoretic conception, and thoroughness in the investigation of the facts."²

Now of these two characteristics the late Professor possessed the last in a very marked

² Quoted by Buchheim (*German Prose Composition*) from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 7, 1865.

degree. His was of that order of thorough and exact scholarship, which, scorning nothing so much as superficiality and dilettantism, in the love of truth spares no pains in the investigation of the subject in hand, leaving no stone unturned to base its scientific structures on a broad and secure foundation.

The philosophical habit of mind which enables its owner to comprehend the single literary phenomena in their universal significance, to grasp what is essential in an epoch, a work, or a character, to the neglect of what is irrelevant, and to trace their development, the ability to combine the scattered fragments of knowledge into a comprehensive system, are qualities we look for rather in the philosophical historian of literature than in the philologist.

And yet we should do Kölbing injustice if we were to overlook the broad basis on which his philological and literary investigations were conducted.

True, he did not live to leave on record a comprehensive work on medieval Romantic Literature, but his researches established results of the greatest value for such a comprehensive treatment of the subject. That such comprehensive treatment of a period is often excluded by the detailed investigations of the philologist has been already hinted; it may further be owned that such minute linguistic study tends more or less to exclude the æsthetic appreciation of an author in favour of a mechanical and formal conception of the function of philology, particularly in its relation to literature, which, in the spirit of the classical scholars censured by Byron, would place the aids to literary study, the constitution of the text, textual criticism, etc., above the study itself.

"Caring more for Porson and for Porson's note,
Than for the text upon which the critic wrote."

In this way science gains, but the individual loses. Deprived of the ethical and æsthetic value of the study of literature, and compelled mainly to investigate facts and laws, the student acquires scientific method, but too often at the cost of that training of the emotions, imagination, and taste which the humanistic ideal keeps, or should keep in view.

The writer is, therefore, far from endorsing, without reserve, the attacks made on the Oxford School of Literæ Humaniores by adherents of the scientific movement on the ground of its being a mere "School of Rhetoric for the upper classes."³ The ethical and æsthetic ideals kept alive by the Literæ Humaniores course are perhaps at times too much neglected by the adherents of scientific Philology, which possessing its appropriate value in its place, is yet, in relation to literature, a mere *Hülfswissenschaft*, the ideal aims of literary culture being of more importance than the means to their attainment. In this connection Science does indeed require to be reminded of Tennyson's utterance: "She is the second, not the first."

That the late Professor, in his devotion to the principles and method of the strictly philological school, by no means intended to depreciate the literary æsthetic side of the study of English in what seemed to him its proper place is but a fair inference from his statements⁴ and practice.

Rightly or wrongly, he considered literary æsthetical criticism above the reach of immature students, for whose capacity philological investigations on questions of fact were better adapted; and yet by his lectures on the history of literature, his introductions to his critical editions of English authors—a mine of literary and bibliographical information—as well as by his recognition of the importance of the study of modern literature, of the Realien of literature, of the practical side of the study, he showed that he by no means wished to reduce it to the level of a one-sided strictly linguistic study of the older stages of the language, and, as far as literature is concerned, to mere "exercises in grammar." His lectures, it will be seen, included, besides courses on historical grammar, interpretation of Zupitza's *Old English Reader*, Chaucer, etc., also courses on the Literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; The English Drama, before and after Shakespeare; Shakespeare's Life and Works, with interpretation of *Macbeth*; Milton's Life and Works; Byron's Life and Works, with interpretation of *Childe Harold*

I; Encyclopedia of English Philology (upon the function and methods of the study, history of Philology in England and abroad, chief scholars and their achievements, etc.)—a curriculum which cannot be fairly said to exclude the modern literature, the latest periods of which Prof. Kölbing, however, left to the Lector. His notes on a modern English author, that is, Byron, it may be further noted in this connection, turn little on purely linguistic questions; namely, Etymology, and are devoted rather to elucidating the sense, for which purpose an extensive use is made of translations.

That the opponents of the strictly philological movement in their insistence on a greater attention to the study of literature as such, especially on its æsthetic side, are not wholly in the wrong will be readily admitted by all those persons inside and outside academic circles, not merely by literary dilettanti, but by philological scholars themselves, who, with all due recognition of the value of philological study in its place, yet remain true to the ideal of a refining and elevating culture, upheld by humanism. On the other hand, with all due appreciation of the value of purely literary culture, it is only fair on the part of students of literature to acknowledge the immense obligations under which their study is laid by the pioneer work of philological specialists.

If these do not always combine the special and rare gifts of the philosophic historian of literature, with the thoroughness of investigation of the philologist, they have at least produced invaluable materials for the critical and æsthetic study of literature, and we cannot but, in the case of the departed scholar, advise the perseverance with which he undertook the severe labors of a scientific pioneer of literary study, the resolution with which, like Browning's "Grammarians," regardless of the world's censure, clung fast, through good and evil reports, to his ideal of a scholarly philological method.

In taking leave of the distinguished scholar we thus deplore the loss of one of the greatest authorities, and certainly one of the most productive of laborers in the field of medieval

³ See an article on "Modern Oxford" in the *Progressive Review*, London, Horace Marshall & Son, Dec. 1896, p. 212.

⁴ See especially the article "Altenglisch, Neuenglisch und die wissenschaftliche Arbeit deutscher Universitätslehrer," *E. Stud.* xx, p. 459 ff.; further *E. S.* xxvi, 445 ff. and xli, 99 ff.

Romantic literature, especially in its international relations; further of a Byron scholar, whose profound knowledge of his subject was based on a wide reading to which his unrivalled Byron library forms a striking testimony; and last but not least, of a man whose sterling qualities of character, devotion to duty, kindliness of disposition, and readiness to promote the intellectual efforts and sympathies in the personal well-being of others, will remain perpetually enshrined in the hearts and memories of his pupils and friends.

F. H. PUGHE.

Breslau.

BRIEF MENTION.

Friedrich Kluge's new quarterly, the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, has made its appearance. The first issue, dated May, 1900, contains on eighty large octavo pages some thirty contributions to word-history, etymology, semasiology, and kindred subjects. Word-history receives the largest share of attention. The most notable contribution is Richard M. Meyer's discussion of the history of the word *Übermensch*, from its first appearance in the *Urfaust*, to the present day, and the evolution of the conception underlying it, from its primitive form in antiquity to its remarkable culmination with Nietzsche; though assailable in some of its details, the article is a model of thoughtful and scholarly *Wortforschung*. Friedrich Kluge discusses the origin of the student term *Philister*, and adduces new evidence from a manuscript volume in the Jena University library; he also publishes a soldiers' song of 1608, containing a number of terms from the rogues' jargon, a dictionary of which he is about to publish. Selmar Kleemann gives an extensive list of students' slang terms from the literature of the eighteenth century. E. Wölflin finds the word *Glocke* as early as the seventh century, in Latin writings (*clocca, gloccum*). There are minor articles on word-history by W. Creizenach (*aufischen, Interesse*, Lessing's opinion of certain words and word-forms: *Vortrab, Nachtrab, ade, denken=opinari*, the ending *-aner*), A. Kopp (*Blaustrumpf*), H. Klenz (*Gänsefüßchen*), F. Wrede (*Sommerfrische*), J. Minor (*bekleiden*), H. Klenz (*Katzenjammer*), Dr. Kant (*Rechen=Enterich*). A few etymological notes by H. Schuchardt deal with *Stube, Kuchen, Wirtel, Schnörkel*. J. Minor quotes instances of the

use of *mantschen* in South Germany, and elucidates the meaning of *erathmen* (*Urfaust*) by a passage from one of Eichendorff's poems; O. Behaghel discusses the origin of *Stroh-wittwer*; Creizenach publishes part of a poem of 1555 in support of R. Hildebrand's explanation of *durchfallen*, and quotes an observation by Rabener on the use of *ein=talis* (*ein Mann wie*). The articles on the semasiology of certain phrases (P. Pietsch: *Kein dank dazu haben und im Stich lassen*; I. Bolte: *einem den Görgen singen*) are the least satisfactory of all; none of them carries conviction.

In the field of word-formation Behaghel contributes interesting articles on Nouns derived from Verbs, and on the Formative Suffix *-er*; and Kluge discusses the ending *-enser*. A. Gombert proves conclusively J. H. Campe's authorship of the *Neue Froschmäusler* (attributed by Gödeke, *Grundriss*,² ii. 509 to Stengel); the publication of this paper in Kluge's journal is apparently due solely to the fact that Gombert's evidence is derived from Campe's dictionaries.—A number of OHG. glosses found by A. Holder, notes by F. Kluge on some of the Trier glosses, and two passages quoted by Selmar Kleemann from eighteenth century writers, on account of their bearing on the excessive use of foreign words at that time, complete the contents of the number. The journal is printed in handsome German type, on excellent paper. It has the advantage of a practically clear field of its own and cannot fail, in the hands of its distinguished editor, to concentrate and to give an additional impulse to the rapidly growing activity in the domain of lexicology.

An important and most welcome bibliographical publication is announced for 1901: A. L. Jelinek, assisted by F. Dietrich, E. Roth, and M. Grolig, is preparing, as a supplement to the *Bibliographie der deutschen Zeitschriften-Literatur*, a *Bibliographie der deutschen Rezensionen*. The editors will include in their list reviews of books in whatever field of human knowledge, but will confine their attention to periodicals written in German. To facilitate reference, the reviews will be arranged in the alphabetical order of their authors, and there will be an index of subjects. The work is to be continued in regular annual volumes, and will be a welcome aid to scholars in all departments of learning.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, December, 1900.

THE REFORM OF FRENCH ORTHOGRAPHY.

M. FERDINAND BRUNOT opens the third part of his elaborate study of the French language during the Nineteenth Century in Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française des origines à 1900* with these words:

"La seule chose qui soit restée debout dans ce siècle de tourmente, c'est l'orthographe, universellement reconnue détestable."

The book was hardly out of the printer's hands when the much-talked-of edict of the Minister of Public Instruction in France, M. Georges Leygues, was published in the *Journal officiel* of August 1, 1900. So the century did not die, after all, without having seen this last fortress of traditional prejudice stormed; and everybody who has studied the question, even if he be not a partisan of the reform, must grant that the champions of the cause deserve to attain their goal in the century that witnessed the long contest.

Of course, the battle for reform of orthography has not stirred up public opinion to the same extent, nor in the same manner either, as the discussion of social problems, the solution of which is of more immediate and urgent importance.

As a matter of fact, however, the struggle has been both bitter and long. It was started contemporaneously with the general revolution of social ideas. Between the successive steps of the movement in favor of a reform of orthography and the evolution of political events of the century, there is even a kind of correlation, which is often most remarkable.

Before the Revolution, or more exactly, before Napoleon, no attention was paid to orthography, and consequently there were no mistakes in writing, properly so called. The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* stood there as a kind of authority in the matter, but it was not expected of anybody to conform to its demands. The liberties the great authors, as well as the second-rank writers, took have been pointed out often enough: Bossuet, who

wrote indifferently *apôtre* and *apostre*, *connaître* and *conêtre*, *prophète* and *profète*; Racine using in the same sense *compter* and *conter*; Voltaire alternatively spelling *philosophie* and *filosofie*, *style* and *stîle*, *jésuite* and *jêsuite*, in the same sentence *je sçay* and *je sais*; Rousseau using in the space of a single page as many as four different orthographies for a single word; nay even the Academy in the first edition of its dictionary writing both *dictionnaire* and *dictionaire*, *fantosme* and *phantosme*, etc.

The new system of schools which followed upon the Revolution, the system in which Latin and Greek ceased to be the main studies in order to give precedence to more practical subjects, induced a strong need for more harmony in orthography. But nobody dreamed of such an imposing body of rules, bristling with exceptions, as those now in force. Several attempts were first made to solve the problem in a direct way.

The French mind has always been very fond of two qualities which seem to be rather incompatible: freedom on one hand, and rule, method, centralization on the other. As this second quality—so strongly insisted upon by Stuart Mill—has always proved one of the foremost obstacles to the realization of the political ideal of the Revolution (we even to-day, see the Republic in earnest conflict with the powerful foe of bureaucracy), so too, has it brought about the puzzling problem of French orthography, and the struggle we are now witnessing is a period of its evolution which seems to many of momentous importance.

The question as it presented itself at first sight was this: to combine a system of homogeneous orthography with a system that would not impose any restriction on the mind of the writer. The solution obviously was to be found in a system of phonetic orthography; and this, in its turn, was to be realized in the simplest way by inventing an alphabet that would suit the purpose. Domergue offered in his *Manuel des étrangers* an alphabet of twenty-one vowels and nineteen consonants. This was in 1805. In 1808 the "Université" was

organized by Napoleon, but no attention was given to the system of Domergue. On the contrary the Université had to get along with the means at hand, and in imposing all over the country an orthography based on uncertain and complicated principles, became the very instrument of favoring the reign of the narrow and often fanciful orthography which still rules us. Some men of influence, as Volney and Destutt de Tracy, advocated in vain a more reasonable orthography than the one accepted. Other occupations prevented the re-organizers of society from directing their attention to the matter. Then, under the impulse of the first Romanticists, came the revolution in the language which caused theorists on orthography to be silent for many years. The *Société grammaticale* founded by Domergue had taken sides against the audacities of the newcomers. But once this fight over and the question of orthography taken up again, it became from conservative, progressive. Marle proposed a new system of letters, on the same plan as Domergue, but simpler: one sign for each sound, and addition of only two new letters, *ñ* for the sound "gn" and *l* for "ll" between two vowels (*file*, *batalon*). This was in 1827. A propaganda was organized. It was at first a great success. Marle is said to have received thirty-three thousand letters from adherents to the scheme. The King-to-be, Louis Philippe, himself, was very much in favor of it. The whole affair took a political turn. In 1830, while thanks to this latter circumstance, success seemed to be very near, the Revolution suddenly overthrew both the government and the hopes of the reformists.

The claims for simplification continued, but the further away we get from the time of the great Revolution the less decided do we find the demands.

However, a third attempt for a phonetic orthography was still made before they definitely gave up the hope of reaching at once this radical idea. It came from Switzerland where several societies had been formed; at their head was M. Raoux, who proposed a certain program in 1865. In 1866 the book of A. F. Didot, *Observations sur l'orthographe*—which called forth the approbation of such men as

Litré and Sainte-Beuve—aroused again the attention of the general public of France to the subject.¹ After preliminary debates which ended in an agreement between the scholars of France and Switzerland, the *Echo des réformes*, 1870, was just going to print (using the new orthography) when the war broke out. In 1871 the question of *Néographie* was taken up again. New discussions arose, which could not be settled for a long time. In 1876 Didot died. This marked the end of the effort.

But in the meantime the problem had been considered by another group of men. Giving up at once the revolutionary idea of substitution of a phonetic orthography for that in existence, they decided to accomplish their end by the way of gradual improvements. Of course the final purpose was the same as before.

From a strictly logical point of view each reform of orthography—in the other languages, as well as in French—tends towards the application of phonetic principles. It would probably not be difficult to reduce most differences existing among the improvements proposed to those of *plus* and *moins*. In any case the new advocates of the reform, those who adopted the method of evolution instead of revolution, have finally carried off the honors of the victory in the contest before us.

There exist to-day two societies in France for the advancement of the cause. The first was founded by MM. Bescherelle and Malvezin in 1872 and is the most conservative of the two. The other with more distinctive phonetic tendencies was started by M. Passy,

¹ So much was it aroused that in 1867 it was discussed at the "International Congress of Labor" at Lausanne. One sees at once that there is a great sociological question connected with the reform of orthography. At all events, in case of a sudden and thorough change, as was then thought of, momentous consequences might be expected. If all our books were to be published over again in a new form, it would mean a tremendous pressure in all lines of business connected in any way with book-making. As M. Renard very well says: "Il y a des millions et des millions qui dorment sous cette question de la réforme orthographique." Later on as new orthography means suppression of useless letters, books would be shorter, smaller and cheaper. What to do with poetry, which of course, would not allow the application of the new orthography, is a difficulty which will not be easily solved. Are French children—to speak only of those—in order to enjoy literature, to learn the old orthography? Then the reform would hardly pay for them, since they would have two grammars to be acquainted with instead of one, as now.

and existed some time before being officially organized in 1888. The adhesion of M. Havet in 1888 was an event of great importance, and so was that of M. Clédat in 1889. It is often called the Havet-Passy-Clédat Society, these three being the names of the men who have contributed most towards its development.

The principal act of the Association was the report known as the *Pétition Havet* sent to the French Academy in 1890 and signed by over eight thousand (some allow only seven thousand) people. The Academy took no action; but in 1891 the Minister of Public Instruction, M. Léon Bourgeois, sent his famous *Circulaire*, requesting those in charge of the examination for the "Certificat d' Études" to be lenient with the candidates who permitted themselves to be guided by reasonable principles at the expense of fanciful grammar rules (for example, write *genous*, instead of *genoux*, *étaus* like *landaus*, *paysane* like *courtisane*, etc.). Then the Academy thought it best to do something also, and requested M. Gréard to prepare a report on the subject, the report to be presented to the Commission du dictionnaire; which was another important event in the campaign, since the author of the report was distinctly not on the conservative side. However, nothing more was done by the Academy.

So the reformers tried to influence the political powers. In 1896 a petition, written by M. G. Renard, in the name of various societies for the reform of Orthography [such societies had been founded in the meanwhile in Belgium in 1892, in Algeria in 1894, and in Switzerland in 1896] was presented to the Minister of Public Instruction, M. Combes. The latter chose a permanent commission, at the head of which was placed M. Gréard; with him were men like MM. Gaston Paris, Liard, Brisson, Hémon, etc. Once more politics interfered with the success of the scheme, as the ministry was overthrown shortly after this. The successor of M. Combes never called the Commission together.

Since that time the societies have been very active indeed, but no event of importance transpired until July, 1899, when after a vote of the Union des Instituteurs et Institutrices de la Seine it was decided that an orthography

different from the one of the Academy would be considered valid for the bestowal of the *brevet* and *certificat d'études*. It was nothing else but the acceptance of the *Circulaire Bourgeois* of 1891, but a great victory nevertheless, since by this step the reform had finally passed the threshold of the University of France. Finally came the *Arrêté ministériel* of July last.

Before speaking of it at length, if we wish to do justice to everybody, we ought at least to mention the names of some men who have contributed towards bringing about the new orthography. Outside of the members of committees or associations—Havet, Gréard G. Paris, Clédat—two or three have distinguished themselves in the campaign. Francisque Sarcey, who tried to influence daily papers to use a simplified orthography; Anatole France, in two memorable articles in 1898, when he goes so far as to call Noël and Chap-sal, the late representatives of the orthodox grammar of so many years *malfaiteurs publics*; and we may add the name of Émile Faguet, who more than once advocated, in strong terms, the reform.

Two more people deserve to be quoted here, who have devoted their lives to the success of the cause, M. Auguste Renard, who fights especially with his pen—he is the "Secrétaire général de l'Association pour la Simplification de l'Orthographe"—and M. Jean Barès, the director of the *Réformiste*, who has contributed large sums of money. After having realized an immense fortune during his thirty years in South America, he came back to France in 1896, and decided to devote a part of his wealth towards rendering the French orthography as simple as, for instance, the Spanish. He edits his magazine—first, monthly, then bimensual, soon to be weekly—entirely according to the new system of spelling.

But in spite of all the efforts of skilful and devoted men, the success of the reform might have been retarded for a long time, had it not been for the schools themselves.

This action, however, did not exert itself as would at first be thought. It has not been in advocating simplification that its power was felt; on the contrary, by exaggerating the importance and insisting upon the minute and

odd rules of orthography, the schools suggested the reaction, and strengthened it as years passed by, because of their devoting considerable time to teaching the non-essentials of French grammar.

In fact, one of the foremost claims of the reformists, from Volney and Destutt de Tracy down to M. Renard, and through Didot, has been that the longest and dreariest study of childhood did not afford any opportunity to exert the reasoning faculties. Far from listening to these claims, the schools—or the “Université” followed opposite principles. On the other hand, it must be admitted, if they developed as they actually did, it was not altogether unnatural. France, like all other nations during this century, has done much towards improving her schools. Now as one of the most important subjects taught in France has always been a good knowledge of the mother tongue, so one of the means of showing improvement was a constantly more correct and minute knowledge of the requirements of orthography. In the first part of the century, even a man like Vigny did not care much about grammar; his making *ange* and *archange* feminine is well known. Lamartine also committed sins of this kind, failing to apply the rules of the past participle, and sometimes applying the wrong one; he went so far as to confuse *prêt à* and *près de*. Such mistakes nowadays would not happen with even small school-boys. Besides, sociological causes contributed not a little towards the same result. For years the teaching profession has been overcrowded in the most exasperating way. Statistics have been published often enough to illustrate this difficult problem of overproduction of school-masters. The school authorities took advantage of these conditions in order to select the most able among the crowd of candidates; and those determining the selection steadily became more exacting in the preparation required. As the “aspirants au brevet” showed themselves equally well prepared on the fundamental questions, the choice had to take into account the preparation in the details of the program. For this purpose the subtleties of grammar served admirably, and so by and by, the exceptions to rules happened to form the most important part of the preparation. The result was that

those best acquainted with the irrationalities of French grammar were those designated to be the teachers of French youth. And as a matter of course, the more they themselves had become accustomed to look at those subtleties as the main part of the study of orthography, the more they would, in their turn, insist upon them with their own pupils. This exaggerated attention paid to these trifles has been general for quite a while now. In the military school of St. Cyr, for instance, while in all other branches no mark would cause the candidate to fail definitely except *o*, for orthography 10 (out of 20) is required for entrance examination. Napoleon I, whose orthography was very fanciful, would have most certainly been refused admission to St. Cyr, had he presented himself in our days.

The armies of candidates for the *brevet*, and for entrance into higher institutions of learning has not ceased growing in later years; the progress in the exacting spirit of examiners had to keep pace with this fact. So the true condition of things became widely known and appreciated; the ridiculous side of it appeared more and more obvious; and the necessity of a reform imposed itself upon the public mind with increasing and, at last, irresistible force.

The edict itself is now known to everybody. I will only sum up the main points in it.

Article: More liberty in the use or suppression of the article; rule of the partitive article done away with (*du bon pain* or *de bon pain*); liberty as to the agreement of the article with the superlative (on a abattu les arbres *les plus exposés* or *le plus exposés à la tempête*); liberty of using or not the article before certain proper names (*aller en Portugal* or *aller au Portugal*).

Substantive: suppression of change of gender from the singular to the plural (*amour, orgue*); suppression of the change of gender according to the proper and figurative sense of certain words (*œuvre*); suppression of rule of gender for “paque.”

Proper nouns: The plural allowed for all senses of the words (*les Virgiles*, editions, and *les Virgiles*, copies).

Nouns of foreign origin: Uniformity of rule in the same sense (*exceats* in the plural as well as *déficits*).

Compound nouns: Suppression of the hyphen allowed, and fusion of both words into one (*choufleur*, *essuiemain*, *blancseing*, or *choufleur*, *essuiemain*, *blanc-seing*), and plural formed accordingly (*choufleurs*, *essuiemains*, *blancseings*).² Suppression of the apostrophe in words like *grandmère*, *grandroute*.

Adjective: Suppression of the hyphen in compound adjectives (*nouveauté*, *courtvetu*), and plural accordingly. *Nu*, *demi*, *feu*, allowed to agree whether before or after the modified noun. *Vingt* and *cent*: use of plural form in any case of multiplication by a preceding number. *Mille* may remain with this orthography when used for dates.

Preposition: Very little attention paid to the use of the preposition before names of countries (aller *en* Portugal and *au* Portugal) (see "article" above).

Adverb and Conjunction: After verbs like "craindre," "empêcher," suppression of the *ne* allowed. After conjunctions "de peur que," "à moins que," "avant que," same suppression of *ne*.

Verb: Before a plural, permission in any case to use *c'est* or *ce sont*. Verbs requiring the adverb *ne*, see above. Rule of *Past participle* with "avoir" suppressed.

An acceptance of these reforms is not to be imposed. They may be applied or not, at everybody's own choice; it is a pure matter of toleration. However, the "Article 2" of the *arrêté*, practically secures the actual application by all, if not in our generation, surely in the next one, provided the text be carried through. This is the text of the said article:

"Dans les établissements d'enseignement public de tout ordre, les usages et prescriptions contraires aux indications énoncées dans

² The chapter in the edict on compound nouns seems to have undergone changes. The first report from France as to the reform, threatened much more radical modifications. For example, there were to be many fanciful looking words such as *tétatète*, *essuiemain*, *chédœuvre*. When, however, the little pamphlet "Simplification de l'enseignement de la syntaxe française" was issued and sold to the public, these words had disappeared. One, however, was left: *chefstieu* (*chef-lieu*), and plural *chefstieux*. According to present rules of French pronunciation, this new word is altogether irrational; in its new form, it would have to be pronounced *che-stieu* (*che* with the mute *e* sound). In order to indicate the pronunciation by the orthography it would be necessary either to write *cheffstieu*, or *chéstieu*,—or perhaps still better keep the old form of *chef-lieu*.

la liste annexée au présent arrêté ne seront pas enseignés comme règles."

Thus, if not taught as rules, they will not be applied by the next generation of school children, and so be out of use before long.

It is not necessary to say that the reform has been discussed a good deal. If there was practically not a single voice that would condemn the decision altogether, that is, that would attack the principle of reform, on the other hand we do not know of any that would have approved it all. This shows as well as any direct demonstration that the authorities have not taken altogether the right ground.

In fact, if one carefully examines the text before us, and the circumstances under which the reform was decided, it is impossible not to be struck by a certain awkwardness in the way of proceeding. And if you think of the men who worked out the points of the "arrêté"—MM. Gaston Paris, Gréard, Croiset, Paul Meyer, etc.—you are still more surprised. I ask to be permitted to give a few examples in order to justify this accusation of lack of consistency in the work of the commission.

In the chapter of the substantive, they have done away with some exceptions concerning proper names, foreign words and compound nouns, while they did not touch the much larger class of common nouns. With a single pen stroke they could have simplified a number of times more than they actually did in taking up a number of secondary cases.

They were very eager to suppress the exception of *mil*, instead of *mille* in dates. But they did not think that similar cases of exceptional double letters come up over and over again in other classes of adjectives. Instead of reaching simplification in one word, they might with exactly the same trouble have reached hundreds of words in suppressing the doubling of the consonant in some words for the formation of the feminine by writing, for instance, *sote* like *devote*.

They also have done away with the exception of *vingt* and *cent*, not being allowed the mark of the plural if followed by another number. It seems that it would have been much simpler to unify the whole rule of adjectives of numbers, in other words to drop the exception of

cent and vingt alone taking the sign of the plural.

It would be easy to multiply examples. How, for instance, could they allow the plural for *aucun*, with the negative *ne*, which obviously means "not a single one," etc.?

Now where does this tendency come from? It is difficult to say. Either the members of the commission did not take time for a careful solution of the points to be first reformed according to a sensible way of going to work, or they may have tried to make concessions, but in such a fashion that although it looked like a reform, in fact only some few minor points were granted to calm the passion of the true reformists.

In both cases it is bad for the principle of the reform. The work being open to such wide criticism, will not gain many adherents among thinking people. It is at all events striking to see how little they took into consideration the preparatory work done by the reformists. The points that have been attacked in the most fierce manner and for the longest time (for instance in the *Journal des Instituteurs*) have been, you may almost say, systematically ignored.

If we come to the most sensational feature of the commission, the suppression of the rules of the past participle with "avoir," we feel still more embarrassed. I cannot help confessing that, for a moment, the idea took hold of me that we might perhaps have before us simply an attempt to compromise, once for all, the cause of reform. It has always been obvious to everybody that, even if not very simple, the rules of the participle are reasonable.

The reformists themselves did not dream of touching them, except by always suppressing the agreement when the participle with "avoir" is accompanied by *en*. As the commission now puts it, that the past participle with "avoir" is always allowed to remain invariable, does it not look decidedly too much as if the reform had been made just to please a crowd of ignorant or unintelligent people, without any consideration whatever as to the justification of the action? The members of the commission ought not to have permitted themselves to be guided by the misleading and prevailing superficial democratic creeds of the

day, that whatever is simple is good. To reduce everything to the level of the lower classes may be—perhaps (?)—justified in other domains; certainly it will never be in the domain of science. "Easy" is not synonymous with "good;" far from it. M. Brunetière certainly struck the right note when he wrote: "S'il y a lieu de simplifier la syntaxe ou de réformer l'orthographe, il est inadmissible que la simplification ou cette réforme soient réglées par les exigences de l'école primaire; . . . il y a quelque chose de barbare à défigurer ainsi la physionomie de nos textes classiques, pour complaire aux familles de quelques candidats fonctionnaires et . . . enfin l'idée seule de prétendre simplifier systématiquement la syntaxe est le contraire d'une idée libérale, d'une idée scientifique et d'une idée de progrès."

But there is something else of still more gravity. The members of the commission seem to have forgotten that doing away with the rules of the past participle with *avoir* implies the ignorance of one of the characteristic features of the French language, the flexion of all determinative words. Some have tried to invoke the example of other languages like English where the past participle remains invariable, and where nobody is shocked by the lack of agreement in any case. This is perfectly true, but we cannot always compare two languages. For instance, we cannot compare the construction of the sentences in a language with flexion of words, Latin or German, with that in languages without flexion of the nouns, English or French. While in Latin we can say indifferently *Pater castigat puerum* and *Puerum castigat pater*, we cannot do the same in English and say indifferently *the father punishes the child*, or *the child punishes the father*. So, also, you cannot compare English and French in the question of agreement of the past participle.

In both languages the past participle is considered to be an adjective, and placed under the same rule with it, which is all perfectly logical. Now, while the English language, with the exception of a few determinative words, has no flexive adjectives, the French language, on the contrary, is based on the principle of agreement of all its adjectives—which carries with it the agreement of the past participle also.

Consequently in suppressing in some cases

this agreement of the past participle, the reformers have created a new exception in French grammar in favor of the past participle—and truly we had a plenty. It was even the opinion of many that the task of the commission was to suppress exceptions and not to invent new ones. The action of the commission is all the more astonishing in this instance, since the principle of agreement is explicitly retained for the present participle (distinction between the "adjective verbal," and the participle as simple adjective).

This abolition of the rule of the past participle with *avoir* is so little justified, that even M. Auguste Renard cannot approve of it entirely, and proposes—an exception (!)

"Qu'il soit permis," he says, "à un réformateur peu suspect d'un excès de timidité, de hasarder une restriction: cette simplification, légitime partout ailleurs, n'est-elle pas, en un point-lorsque le complément du participe est le pronom *le, la, les*—contraire au génie de la langue et de l'usage? Prenons un exemple où la prononciation du participe n'étant pas la même au féminin qu'au masculin, l'oreille, le vrai juge de la langue, exige le féminin: *Ma maison n'existe plus, on l'a détruite* (et non *détruit*); *cette lettre, qui l'a écrite?* (et non *écrit*); avez vous fait votre malle? *je l'ai faite* (et non *fait*). Il y a là un accord imposé, non par le caprice des grammairiens, mais par le génie même de la langue. Les illettrés, les paysans même, ignorants de la grammaire, observent cette règle instinctivement. Je doute que, pour l'abolir, on puisse invoquer l'exemple des bons auteurs." 3

Let me say here in parenthesis that as a matter of fact, unless you apply in the strictest sense the phonetic orthography—which the

3 One may ask why, then, the past participle with *avoir* agrees with the object when this object precedes, and not when it follows? Because there is a different meaning in these two cases. Although not realized by everybody, although rather delicate, it appears, nevertheless, very positive as soon as you analyze the sentences before you. If the participle with *avoir* precedes the object the verb has more of an active sense in it, the past participle is a part of the active verb. If the past participle follows its object, the passive sense is emphasized, the past participle becomes a true determinative of the object. An example with adequate translation will clearly illustrate the distinction:

J'ai vu les hommes = I have been seeing the men (*I* have been seeing action).

Je les ai vus = I had them seen (*they* were seen = passive and plural).

Remember that you never have the past participle agreeing except when the object or person you are mentioning has been spoken of before. So the sentence may easily become passive: the object is the essential thing and the speaker lays stress on it naturally. Suppose I tell a story, the important thing is not that "*I* have seen them," but that "*they* were seen." If you wish to emphasize the other side, you either replace the pronouns by the nouns, and thus bring back the active verb, or else you may express it by the tone of your voice.

reformists have given up, not without reason—you will never be able to do away with exceptions. See the fifth part of Renard's *La nouvelle orthographe*, page 81 et seq., where you see the apparently simplest rules requiring a restriction of some sort; and see also the edict of July, chapter on Compound Nouns. Nay, even with the phonetic orthography you would not reach your end, since as we just saw in M. Renard's remark, sometimes the flexion of a word has a result in the pronunciation, sometimes not: *la page que j'ai écrite, les livres que j'ai écrits*. More than that, the pronunciation depends, as we know, frequently upon the next word: *les livres que j'ai écrits seront publiés, les livres que j'ai écrits à Paris*. Even if you were to use the phonetic orthography, you ought to know the rules of the past participle. Nor is it necessary to take an example like that of M. Renard, where a new consonant is heard in the case of the feminine. There is a distinct difference in pronunciation, between *je l'ai vu* and *je l'ai vue*, the first is short, the second is long. We thus confront the startling dilemma if we agree to carry through the reform: either we reform pronunciation at the same time with orthography, or we simply violate the rules of phonetics. Is it possible that the commission did not think of this? 4

4 Similarly in many cases of double consonants in nouns and adjectives: There is a very positive difference between *paysanne* and *courtisane* (the first short, the second long), there would be one between *bonne* and *bone*, the simplification proposed by the reformists, the first short, the second long (not change of sound from Greek *o* into *ω*, however). Thus the word *irrationally*, so profusely used by the reformists, is still here entirely out of place. It may be that the difference of pronunciation will, by and by, vanish: then it will be reasonable to suppress the superfluous letter, but if it is a bad thing to be behind one's times, it is not much better to be ahead of them, at least in such a matter as this. In very many cases the double consonant is still perfectly justified.

It may not be superfluous to point out that this is not in the least in contradiction with another passage in the first part of this article. When we criticized the way the reform had been taken up by the commission, we did not pretend to express our own opinion as to the suppression of double letters. We judged entirely from the standpoint of the reformists. As far as we are personally concerned, we do not feel positive at all that the pronunciation of *mille*, for instance, is not slightly different in *mil huit cent douze*, and in *mille ans*. We should go so far as to admit a possible justification of a rule which demands *mil* in dates after Christ, and *mille* in dates before Christ. When we speak of our times, the word *mille* is after all secondary, the last part of the figure is important. On the contrary, if we speak of ancient times we take a broader view of the whole subject, and the big part of the figure will rather be insisted upon. This would betray itself in pronunciation by accentuation, accentuation brought about by unconsciously lengthening the word *mille*. This may seem very subtle; but who has ever seen any thorough treatment of a subject in the field of philology, which did not require a great delicacy of touch, and subtlety of reasoning?

But let us come back to the past participle. Of course you may pretend that the English system of invariability of adjectives and participles is superior to that of variability in French. But, again, this brings up the fundamental question, in how far both languages can be compared, which, it seems to us, cannot be solved but by linguists. On the other hand philology has not reached such a sufficiently advanced stage as to be able to answer the question properly. Even with scholars vague expressions like "génie de la langue," "instinct," "guidance by the ear" are constantly used. They are hard at work. When they will be able to tell us clearly what constitutes the genius of a language in general, or of each language in particular, it is difficult to foresee; but one thing is certain, that if ever anybody will know about it, they will be the ones: they will then have to decide, or rather it will naturally be decided, for each language what reforms can be taken up, which are rational and which are not. So far we are applying rules unconsciously, and scholars have been very prudent not to spoil a language by awkward corrections. And I think—at the risk of being called "réactionnaire"—they were right. The principle of simplicity, as it is understood by many reformists, is not the true one: the simplicity from the standpoint of scientific philology may sometimes, but certainly is not, ought not to be, the same as that from the standpoint of the general public. The present conditions of probably all living languages betray this. It would be much simpler, in the naïve, popular sense of the word, to have three genders in French instead of two, to have only one form for the three forms of the definite article, as in English, just as vice-versa, it would render the English language simpler if you had not to make the distinction between "who" and "which," or "his" and "her." Nobody asks for these changes because one realizes that there is some reason for it; we "feel" it as the term is: this feeling must become knowledge. Until then it will be better to avoid deforming languages while pretending to correct them. Where do the irrationalities of French grammar come from? From the grammarians of past times who did not know the natural conditions of things, and tried to atone for their ig-

norance by constructing artificial rules. What our task can be, is to undo what they have committed. Our work will hardly be of great use if, in so doing, we prepare new work of the same kind for our descendants.

A few words before ending as to the attitude of the French Academy towards the "arrêté" of last July. A motion was made in the Academy protesting, not against the reform itself, but against the fact of not having been consulted before the reform be put into practice.

M. Georges Leygues then asked a report from the Academy, report to be delivered before October 15, date of application of the new standard in judging examinations. What the result of this step has been we do not know as yet.

Some have been surprised at this claim of the Academy to be consulted. What rather will surprise thinking people is, on the contrary, to see hesitation about the right of the Academy to have an opinion in the matter, and even to ask to have this opinion taken into consideration. The Academy, it has been repeatedly said, never took the first step in such reforms, the Academy always followed the general decision of the people; and in the prefaces of the *Dictionnaire*, the desire to do so has been constantly affirmed. Granted. Note, however, first that the Academy followed, if it was ascertained that the reform was good. Secondly, that the Academy followed "l'usage," and a new usage was a result of natural laws of phonetics and formation of language. Never before has anybody taken such *decisions* as the recent one of the Minister of Public Instruction that such and such rules shall no more be taught in schools, which amounts to nothing else than to *impose* the usage. The question looks then altogether different.

It is further said—a kind of anticipated answer to the above objection—that the "Université" had stopped the free evolution of usage by establishing, at the beginning of the century, an inflexible orthography; thus the University had to take the first steps by undoing the wrong done by itself in the past. This is going too far. The University, full of good will, is prevented by nothing we know of, from consulting the recognized authority on the matter in France, as to the suitability

of the new rules to be officially imposed on the general public. From the standpoint of the partisans of the University, the Academy ought to be considered as a simple servant, that has to obey orders from elsewhere. Suppose, now, the Academy refuses its consent to the reforms proposed—or imposed, what then? Either go back again to the old orthography, or to pass over the judgment of the Academy, another disquieting dilemma.

This inconsistency has been felt, and the effort made to meet it by claiming that the Academy is more conservative to-day than in the past centuries; so, in not confirming the reform, the illustrious body would fail in its mission. This, however, appears to be a rather poor way of reasoning. It is true that by the two great reforms taken up by the Academy in the last century—the first in 1740 suppressing a number of double letters (*appanage*) and unpronounced letters (*doubter*, *advocat*) the second in 1762, distinguishing sharply *i* and *j*, and *u* and *v*, causing the alphabet to have twenty-five letters instead of twenty-three—it is true that by these reforms over five thousand words, the quarter of the whole number of the words of the dictionary at this time, have been reformed. But, then, the language was nearer its origins (the first edition of the dictionary dates from 1694), and it is only natural that the further away from the origins, the less changes would occur, consequently also a more conservative attitude is today only natural. We grant that there are simplifications to be brought up: but, after all, are they not rather a logical and more complete application of principles adopted? We may with reason ask that the *p* of *compter* be suppressed, as well as the *b* of *doubter* has been, that the first *t* of *attirer* be done away with like the first *d* of *addresser*. We may, further, believe that compound nouns will finally cease to be so and enter into the language like single words. However, as a matter of fact, up to the present time it has been a rule only for words composed with foreign elements to be cast into one: *bimensuel*, *chiropédie*, *nécromancie*. Words like *gendarme* are rather scarce, and so, although the future may very well see a uniform rule applied, it was per-

haps anticipating somewhat the event when the commission offered us the words of *essuimain*, *têtâtête*, *chêdœuvre*, etc. It is certainly desirable that uniformity be applied in odd cases like *millionième* one *n*, and *millionnaire*, two *n*'s. But our generation is too fond of arbitrary changes brought about under the name of progress. To be sure, science is for progress. But let it stick to the old distinction between sound progress and mere apparent progress. If towards certain tendencies of the general public science must prove conservative, it is in fact only in order to show a more positive kind of progress. So, it seems to us, that all linguists ought to stand by the Academy, when this body does try to maintain the rights of science and prevent us from being carried away by superficial enthusiasms. In a time of *popular* progress like ours, it requires often as much courage to be on the conservative side, as it did in times past to be on the side of progress.

We borrow from A. Renard, a list of the standard books, to be studied with reference to the question in recent years:

- Jean S. Barés: *L'orthographe simplifiée*. (Bureaux du "Réformiste.") *Grammaire française*, 105 pages. [Just out.]
- Michel Bréal: *Réforme de l'orthographe française* (Hachette).
- L. Clédât: *Grammaire raisonnée de la langue française—avec préface de M. Gaston Paris* (Le Soudier).
- M. Coty: *La révision de l'orthographe de l'Académie française* (Firmin Didot).
- Ernault et Chevaldin: *Manuel d'orthographe française simplifiée* (Bouillon).
- Louis Havet: *Simplification de l'Orthographe* (Hachette).
- Ch. Lebaigue: *La réforme orthographique et l'Académie française* (Plon et Nourrit).
- M. Malvezin: *Dictionnaire de la société philologique française* (Delagrave).
- Eug. Monseur: *Réforme de l'orthographe française* (Weissembrach, Bruxelles).
- Paul Passy: *Les Sons du français* (Firmin Didot).
- Aug. Renard: *La Nouvelle orthographe—avec un préface de M. Louis Havet* (Delagrave).

E. Rodhe: La nouvelle réforme de l'orthographe (Lund). [Just out.]

As to periodicals, two of them, the *Réformiste* of M. J. Barés, and the *Bulletin des Sommaires*, are printed entirely according to a new system of orthography. *Revue de philologie* is the organ of the French Society. *Revue Algérienne*, of the Colonial Association. The two Swiss and Belgian Associations publish *Bulletins*. As very favorable to the reform, may further be quoted: *L'école Nouvelle*, of M. Devinat, the *Journal des Institutuers*, of M. Seignette, the *Revue pédagogique*, the official organ of primary instruction in France, the *Revue et Revue des Revues*, etc.

A. SCHINZ.

Bryn Mawr College.

DIE ANTEZEDENTEN DER HELENA IN GOETHE'S FAUST.

V.

Wie sich Goethe die natürliche Entstehung eines Organismus dachte, sagt er selbst deutlich genug, und zwar zu einer Zeit, in der einerseits seine Überzeugung auf diesem Gebiet im Wesentlichen abgeschlossen war, andererseits eine Gestaltung der wissenschaftlichen Ansicht zu Gunsten der Faustdichtung, wenn eine solche Möglichkeit überhaupt anzunehmen wäre, unter allen Umständen ausgeschlossen bliebe. In dem bereits 1820 zuerst gedruckten Aufsatz "Bildungstrieb" (Zur Morphologie, I. Bd., 2. Heft: Ausgabe letzter Hand, Bd. 50, 47-64; Weim. Ausgabe, Abt. II, Bd. 7, S. 71 ff.) fasst Goethe seine Überzeugung, dass zur Entstehung eines lebenden Organismus drei Grundbedingungen zusammentreffen müssen (ein Aufnehmendes = Stoff, ein Aufzunehmendes = Lebenskraft, und etwas, was vorausgehen musste, sei es als Prädelination, Prädetermination, Prästabiliren = Form), schliesslich in dem "Schema" zusammen:

	Stoff.	
Vermögen.	} Leben.	
Kraft.		
Gewalt.		
Streben.		
Trieb.		
	Form.	

Die von Goethes Vorgängern (Caspar Fried-

rich Wolff: *vis essentialis*; Blumenbach: *nisus formativus*) verwendeten Ausdrücke genügen ihm nicht. Wolffs Auffassung, die auf eine organische Materie hindeutet, die zu dem zu belebenden Unbelebten hinzutreten müsste ("Epigenesis") befriedigt ihn nicht, weil "an einer organischen Materie, und wenn sie noch so lebendig gedacht wird, immer etwas Stoffartiges kleben bleibt." Der Ausdruck "Kraft" enthält nur etwas "Physisches, sogar Mechanisches, und das was sich aus jener Materie organisieren soll, bleibt uns ein dunkler unbegreiflicher Punkt." Blumenbach "anthropomorphosierte das Wort des Rätsels und nannte das, wovon die Rede war, einen *nisus formativus*, einen Trieb, eine heftige Thätigkeit, wodurch die Bildung bewirkt werden sollte." Aber auch das scheinen ihm "Worte zu sein, mit denen wir uns nur hinhalten," und so beschreibt er nur die ihm notwendig erscheinenden drei Bedingungen, die im Zusammenhang mit seinem Schema so zu verstehen sind, wie es oben erklärt worden ist. Das was das Aufnehmende, der Stoff, aufzunehmen hat, bezeichnet er in dem Schema mit einer Reihe von Ausdrücken, die in wachsender Klarheit und Bestimmtheit das besagen, was er sonst als Lebenskraft, Lebensprinzip, das Lebendige benennt. Über die "einzelnen Betrachtungen und Aphorismen," die jetzt unter dem Titel "Über Naturwissenschaft im Allgemeinen" in der Weimarer Ausgabe, Abt. II, Bd. II, S. 103-163 zu finden sind (über die ersten Drucklegungen giebt die Einleitung zu den Lesarten Auskunft) sagt R. Steiner, der Bearbeiter dieses Bandes, auf Seite 326: "S. 103-163 enthält die Quintessenz der Goetheschen Naturansicht in einzelnen Aphorismen," "S. 164-166 behandelt die Polarität als allgemeinstes Urphänomen." Auf S. 156 sagt Goethe:

"Das Lebendige hat die Gabe, sich nach den vielfältigsten Bedingungen äusserer Einflüsse zu bequemen und doch eine gewisse Selbständigkeit nicht aufzugeben:"

es vermag also einen bestimmten Charakter zu bewahren und sich zugleich den jedesmaligen Bedingungen anzupassen. Es ist das möglich, weil die Natur die "Gewandtheit" besitzt,

"wodurch sie, obgleich auf wenige Grundmax-

imen eingeschränkt, das Mannigfaltigste hervorzubringen weiss. Sie bedient sich hier des Lebensprinzips, welches die Möglichkeit enthält, die einfachsten Anfänge der Erscheinungen durch Steigerungen ins Unendliche und Unähnlichste zu vermännigfaltigen" (S. 165).

An dieser Anschauung hält Goethe unentwegt fest: er sucht besonders das unmittelbar in der Natur sich offenbarende Lebensprinzip praktisch nachzuweisen. Wie er schon in dem Jahre 1786 ("Vorarbeiten für Morphologie," Abt. ii, Bd. 7, S. 31) darauf hingewiesen hatte, dass der im Kerne der Dattelpalme enthaltene Keim "lange seine Lebenskraft behält," so will er in den Jahren 1829-31 diese Lebenskraft direkt wissenschaftlich nachweisen und ihre unmittelbaren Träger oder Offenbarer feststellen. In dem Aufsatz "Über die Spiraltendenz der Vegetation" ebda S. 37 ff (vgl. dazu Paralipomena iv, S. 345 den älteren Entwurf) erklärt er von der vertikalen Tendenz geradezu:

"Diese ist anzusehen wie ein geistiger Stab, welcher das Dasein begründet und solches auf lange Zeit zu erhalten fähig ist. Dieses Lebensprinzip manifestiert sich in den Längsfasern, usw.,"

und S. 45 heisst es:

"Öfters hab' ich bemerkt, wenn ich die Spiralgefässe von den jungen mächtigen Schösslingen krautartiger Pflanzen absonderte, dass sie sich heftig bewegten. Diese Bewegung dauerte einige Sekunden und schien mir eine Wirkung des Lebensprinzips zu sein, dem ähnlich, welches in der tierischen Haushaltung stattfindet, und nicht blos mechanische Aktion."

Es kommt hier natürlich nicht darauf an, ob diese Erklärungen an sich richtig sind oder den gegenwärtig geltenden Anschauungen in der Naturwissenschaft entsprechen, sondern nur darauf, dass Goethe von dieser Anschauung erfüllt war und dass, wenn er eine künstliche Wiederbelebung entsprechend der natürlichen Erzeugung darstellen wollte, er sich nur innerhalb dieses Gedanken- und Anschauungskreises bewegen konnte. Wenn er daher 1824 und 1826, wo es sich nur um eine allgemeine Orientierung des Lesers des als selbständige Dichtung und ausserhalb des Zusammenhangs erscheinenden Helenadramas handeln sollte, noch die frühere Auffassung von einem mechanischen Zauber zur Bewir-

kung der Wiederbelebung der Helena festhalten konnte, also zu einer Zeit, wo die praktisch-künstlerische Ausführung der Antezedentien ihm noch fern lag, ja, in der er ihre Verwirklichung für ausgeschlossen hielt, so war das nicht mehr der Fall, als der Augenblick der praktisch-künstlerischen Ausführung nun endlich wirklich erschienen war. Jetzt verlangte das Auftreten der Helena für seine dichterische Wahrscheinlichkeit ein ganz anderes Verfahren: die künstliche Neubelebung musste sich nach den Thatsachen einer natürlichen Erzeugung vollziehen, d.h. der Entstehung eines organischen Lebens durch Verbindung von Stoff und Form, vermittelt durch die Lebenskraft. Stoff und Form liessen sich leicht finden. Für den Stoff boten sich nach der in der Dichtung angenommenen Weltanschauung die mittelalterlichen vier Elemente von selbst dar; die Form gab der von der Persephone aus der Unterwelt zu entlassende Schatten der einst wirklich gestorbenen Helena. Aber wo sollte die Lebenskraft hergenommen werden? Hier tritt nun die geniale Umgestaltung des Homunkulus der Entwürfe 1824 und 1826 in den Homunkulus der fertigen Dichtung ein, die geniale Umgestaltung, die Gerber als "nothing but a fantastic lucubration of his (Valentin's) own brain" bezeichnet: ich bedaure den Ruhm für diese Umgestaltung zurückweisen zu müssen; er kommt einem weit Grösseren zu, dessen Spuren zu folgen Gerber durch seine durchaus nicht genialen Urteile mich nicht hindern wird.

VI.

Zunächst ist an die oben nachgewiesene Feststellung hier zu erinnern: für das Auftreten der Helena liegt in der Umgestaltung des Mittels ihrer Wiederbelebung keinerlei fundamentaler Unterschied: bei jedem der Wege, die eingeschlagen werden konnten, war diese Wiederbelebung eine künstliche, zauberhafte, und somit sachlich stets durchaus dieselbe; nur konnte der eine plausibler als der andre erscheinen. Wohl aber liegt ein fundamentaler Unterschied in den diese verschiedenen Wege führenden Zaubermitteln, und der fundamentalste zeigt sich innerhalb der Ausbildung der Gestalt des Homunkulus selbst.

Diese fundamentale Umgestaltung des Homunkulus geht Hand in Hand mit der fundamentalen Umgestaltung, die die Bedeutung und die Aufgabe der klassischen Walpurgisnacht allmählich erfahren hat. Im Entwurf 1824 ist sie ebensowenig wie Homunkulus vorhanden, wohl aber wird noch der Ring als Zaubermittel für die Wiederbelebung der Helena und die Erhaltung ihres Aufenthalts auf der Oberwelt benutzt. Im Entwurf 1826 ist von dem Ring nicht mehr die Rede, dagegen treten klassische Walpurgisnacht und Homunkulus auf. Aber Mephistopheles, der "nicht bekennen mag, dass er im klassischen Hades nichts zu sagen habe, auch dort nicht einmal gerne gesehen sei," benutzt beide nur als Mittel um Faust von seinem Wunsche, Helena sich zu gewinnen, abzulenken. Daher "bedient er sich seines früheren probaten Mittels, seinen Gebieter nach allen Seiten hin und her zu sprengen." Hiernach ergibt sich für die klassische Walpurgisnacht die durchaus gleiche Aufgabe, die die romantische Walpurgisnacht hat: Faust soll von dem abgelenkt werden, was er wünscht, was aber Mephistopheles für seinen eignen Zweck nicht brauchen kann. Dort ist es die Verbindung mit Gretchen, aus der Faust gelöst werden sollte, hier ist es die Verbindung mit Helena, die Faust vergessen oder an der er verhindert werden soll. Beidesmal wird aber der Weg, den Mephistopheles einschlägt, gerade das Mittel des Dichters, Faust eben das erlangen zu lassen, was Mephistopheles vermieden sehen möchte. Dadurch dass Faust auf dringende Bitten des Mephistopheles sich abseits von dem Zug der Masse zu dem Satan selbst führen lässt, begegnet er der Ersehnung des Idols: von diesem Augenblick haben die Bemühungen des Mephistopheles, die Aufmerksamkeit Fausts von Gretchen abzulenken, keinen Erfolg mehr, und Faust zwingt Mephistopheles, ihn zu Gretchen zurückzubringen. Um Faust Helena vergessen zu lassen, benutzt Mephistopheles dieses Mittel "seinen Gebieter nach allen Seiten hin und her zu sprengen": "hier gelangen wir zu gar vielen, Aufmerksamkeit fordernden Mannigfaltigkeiten." Endlich, ähnlich wie die romantische Walpurgisnacht nur der Abschluss der Faust von Gretchen ablenkenden Zerstreuungen ist,

"zuletzt noch die wachsende Ungeduld des Herren zu beschwichtigen. beredet er ihn, gleichsam im Vorbeigehen zum Ziele den akademisch-angestellten Doktor und Professor Wagner zu besuchen;"

dieser Besuch geschieht also nur zur Ablenkung Fausts von Helena; aber gerade diese Ablenkung ist es, die Faust sehr gegen den Willen des Mephistopheles auf den Weg zur Helena führt.

Sie finden Wagner "hoch glorierend, dass eben ein chemisch Menschlein zustande gekommen:" es ist also bei ihrer Ankunft schon fertig und entsteht nicht erst durch Beihilfe des Mephistopheles. "Dieses zersprengt augenblicks den leuchtenden Glaskolben:" später ist seine vorläufige Existenz an seinen Aufenthalt in dem unversehrten Glase gebunden. Ein Streit zwischen Mephistopheles und dem chemischen Männlein, das sich seiner chronologischen Kenntnisse rühmt, bringt es dazu, zu behaupten,

"die gegenwärtige Nacht treffe gerade mit der Stunde zusammen, wo die pharsalische Schlacht vorbereitet worden, und welche sowohl Cäsar als Pompejus schlaflos zugebracht."

Wie Mephistopheles widerspricht, behauptet es weiter,

"dass zu gleicher Zeit das Fest der klassischen Walpurgisnacht hereintrete, das seit Anbeginn der mythischen Welt immer in Thessalien gehalten worden sei und, nach dem gründlichen durch Epochen bestimmten Zusammenhang der Weltgeschichte, eigentlich Ursach an jenem Unglück gewesen."

Alle vier, also auch Wagner, ziehen dorthin; Wagner nimmt eine "reine Phiole" mit, um, "die zu einem chemischen Weiblein nötigen Elemente zusammenzusieden:" also die Herstellung einer Zwergenfamilie ist in Aussicht genommen. Homunkulus ist ja schon fertig und hat nichts mehr zu erstreben, und gelänge es Wagner, das chemische Weiblein in gleicher Weise herzustellen, so wäre auch dies beim Austritt aus der Phiole fertig; von einem Weiterstreben, von einem eigentlichen Entstehen, das als Ziel zu denken wäre, ist nirgends die Rede. Nun kommen in Thessalien die mancherlei Zerstreuungen. Nur dadurch dass Mephistopheles "mit Enyo Bekanntschaft macht" und trotz ihrer "grandiosen Hässlichkeit" ihre Gunst zu erwerben trachtet, so dass er den Faust aus dem Auge

verliert, kann dieser durch Chiron auf den rechten Weg gebracht werden. Lamien in der denkbar reizendsten Gestaltung locken ihn und

“wenn Faust nicht das höchste Gebild der Schönheit in sich selbst aufgenommen, hätte er notwendig verführt werden müssen.”

Er kommt durch Chiron zu Manto, diese geleitet ihn in den Orkus, und sie (oder nach Eckermann Faust) bewegt die Persephone, Helena zu entlassen: es geschieht unter der Bedingung eingeschränkten Wohnens und Bleibens auf dem Boden von Sparta. Das chemische Menschlein gehört also zu den Zerstreuungen, die Mephistopheles für Faust sucht und, wo sie sich ihm, wie hier, unerwartet bieten, gerne ergreift, um Faust von Helena abzulenken: es wird aber, gegen den Willen des Mephistopheles, gerade das Mittel, Faust zu seinem Ziele zu bringen. Von einer Absicht des chemischen Männleins, dies zu thun, ist keine Rede: es kennt nicht einmal das Ziel Fausts, trägt auch sachlich nichts dazu bei, soweit es sich um eine bewusste Beihilfe handelt, und hat also auch mit Helena nichts zu thun.

Und die fundamentale Umgestaltung des chemischen Männleins durch den ausführenden und dabei den strengsten Zusammenhang des Ganges der Handlung mit fester und sicherer Hand herstellenden Dichter! Aus einem Ablenkungsmittel, das auch durch ein anderes hätte ersetzt werden können, wenn dieses nur die gleiche Wirkung, die von seiner Seite unbeabsichtigte Verbindung Fausts mit Helena, gehabt hätte, wird er ein Wesensbestandteil der Handlung. Ein Ausfluss des geistigen Wesens des Mephistopheles und zum Zweck der dramatischen Erscheinung nach echt dichterischer Weise “anthropomorphosiert,” was wissenschaftlich ein Fehler wäre, dichterisch eine geniale Erfindung ist, erkennt er sofort Fausts Träume, weiss, da Mephistopheles nicht helfen kann, das Mittel zu finden: er führt Faust in die klassische Walpurgisnacht zu dem bestimmt und klar ausgesprochenen Zweck, dazu beizutragen, ihm dort zu seinen Ziele zu verhelfen. Mephistopheles geht zögernd und nur durch die Lusternheit gereizt, mit, Wagner bleibt zurück, Homunkulus existiert nur in der Flasche,

strebt aber darnach, wirklich zu entstehen: das was ihm fehlt, ist die Form und die Materie—er ist ein geistiges Wesen. Von Proteus, dem Gotte der Verwandlung, wird er auf das Meer getragen. Das Meer wird das Mittel, in die Verbindung mit der Materie zu treten, und durch das Wasser auch mit den andern Elementen; die Form, die er als höchstes Ziel erstrebt, findet er in der höchsten weiblichen Schönheit unter den Geistern, bei der Galatea. An ihrem Wagen zerschellt er sein Glas—sein letztes Wort ist “schön.” Aber Galatea selbst kann ihm die Form nicht gewähren: sie ist fertig und in ihrem Wesen abgeschlossen: als geistiges Wesen besitzt sie die Lebenskraft und bedarf im irdischen Sinne der Materie nicht, um lebendig zu sein. Es muss daher ein ebenbürtiger Ersatz eintreten. Wie das geistige Wesen, was Homunkulus bisher allein ist, in dem noch formentbehrenden Funken—Flamme ist stets die erste Stufe bei dem Übergange des Geistigen in das Körperliche—in das Meer, den Mutterschoss alles körperlich mit Materie ausgestalteten Lebens, sich ergiesst, treffen diese Funken auf die Schatten der eben in derselben Nacht von Persephone entlassenen Schattenbilder der Helena und ihrer ganzen trojanisch-griechischen Umgebung. Entspricht es nun nicht ganz genau dem von Goethe beschriebenen Vorgang bei der natürlichen Zeugung, dass bei der künstlichen Wiederbelebung der Helena mit ihrem gerade eben in derselben Nacht dem Hades entstiegene Schattenbilde die durch Homunkulus belebten Elemente sich vereinigen, so dass die Schattenbilder die belebten Elemente finden, die sie zu einer wahrhaft lebendigen Existenz brauchen, und dass die belebten Elemente die Formen finden, ohne die sie in den grossen Gang der belebten Natur eintreten und je nach dem Elemente, in dessen Wirkungsbereich sie gelangten, die dem Gange der natürlichen Entwicklung belebter Elemente angehörigen Formen annehmen müssten? Das geschieht später in der That, sobald die trojanischen Mädchen unter Aufgebung ihrer Persönlichkeit sich lieber jeder Formgestaltung des belebten Stoffes fügen, wenn sie nur nicht die unerwartet neugewonnene Lebenskraft wieder aufzugeben brauchen. Bei den andern Personen geschieht das Entweichen der

Lebenskraft in Gestalt von Lichterscheinungen, ebenso wie sie zu ihnen getreten war. Dieser Prozess der Verbindung der drei Bestandteile findet im Meere statt, und Helena kommt bei ihrem wirklichen Auftreten vom Meere her.

VII.

Aber die Vereinigung der Funken, die sich ins Meer ergiessen, mit den aus der Unterwelt heraufgestiegenen Schatten geschieht ja nicht vor unsern Augen: ist sie darum vielleicht weniger glaubwürdig? Wenn die romantische Walpurgisnacht aufhört, befindet sich Faust im Theater; in der folgenden Szene ist er vom Berge heruntergestiegen, auf irgendeine Weise hat er Gretchens Schicksal vernommen—gelegentlich bestand die Absicht, ihn es durch "Kielkröpfe" hören zu lassen, ob vor unsren Augen oder nicht, wird nicht gesagt: hat er etwa Gretchens Schicksal nicht erfahren, weil der Dichter die Erfahrung nicht vor uns geschehen lässt, und haben wir das Recht zu sagen: wir glauben es überhaupt nicht? oder genügt etwa nicht die Thatsache, dass Faust die Kunde erhalten hat, und belehrt sie uns nicht, dass die Vermittlung stattgehabt hat, dass also der Zusammenhang vollständig da ist? Wenn Faust aus Gretchens Kerker fortgegangen ist, so finden wir ihn im Freien schlafend wieder—wie er dahingekommen, sagt der Dichter nicht, und was braucht uns daran zu liegen, wie es geschehen ist—genügt nicht, dass die Thatsache uns entgegentritt? An Kaisers Hof erscheint Faust zuerst als Plutus—wie er dorthingekommen und eingeführt worden ist, sagt der Dichter nicht—fehlt darum der sachliche Zusammenhang zwischen dem erquickten erwachenden und vom Schuldbewusstsein befreiten Faust und dem hier am Hof auftretenden Faust, und werden wir sagen: weil wir nicht sehen, wie Mephistopheles den Faust dorthin bringt, glauben wir an den Zusammenhang dieser Szene mit der vorhergehenden nicht? Nachdem Faust durch Manto in die Unterwelt eingelassen worden ist, erscheint er erst wieder als Schlossherr in der Nähe von Sparta—der Dichter sagt nicht, wie er dorthin gekommen ist, woher das Schloss, woher seine Gefolgschaft rührt—werden wir zweifelnd davor stehen und sagen: das muss ein anderer Faust sein? Nun ist aber

gerade im Gegensatz zu solchen Selbstverständlichkeiten Goethe bemüht, die Antezedentien der Helena so klar wie möglich zu legen; den zweiten Akt schreibt er gerade zu dem Zweck, das Auftreten der Helena zu begründen. Helena soll sich "als dritter Akt ganz ungezwungen" anschliessen und sich "genugsam vorbereitet, nicht mehr phantasmagorisch," also als volle, reale Wirklichkeit, ferner nicht mehr "eingeschoben," also als im engsten Zusammenhang der organischen Entwicklung der Handlung auftretend erweisen (Brief an Zelter, 24. Jan. 1828: Pniower, N. 623, S. 210.). Wie Goethe Eckermann mitteilt, die klassische Walpurgisnacht sei zustande gekommen, antwortet dieser aus seiner Kenntnis der Dichtung und ihres Zusammenhangs heraus: "die drei ersten Akte wären also vollkommen fertig, die Helena verbunden" (14. September, 1830: Pniower, N. 832, S. 253): wie soll denn aber durch den Abschluss des zweiten Aktes, der klassischen Walpurgisnacht, die Helena "verbunden" sein, wenn der zweite Akt und sein Schluss nichts mit ihr zu thun hat? Thatsächlich ist aber die klassische Walpurgisnacht ausschliesslich dazu da, uns zu zeigen, wie es möglich ist, dass die Helena wahrhaft lebend auftreten kann. Erst träumt bei Wagner Faust von der natürlichen Erzeugung der Helena, dann sieht in der Geisternacht Faust diese Erzeugung sich wiederholen, dann wird er in die Unterwelt zur Persephone geleitet, um den Schatten der Helena loszubitten—wo kommt denn das Übrige her, was zum wirklichen Leben gehört und was Helena thatsächlich dann besitzt, Stoff und Leben? Nachdem Mephistopheles durch seine Umgestaltung zur Phorkyas fähig geworden ist, dem Faust auch in der erneuten antiken Welt zu dienen, wendet sich der Dichter ausschliesslich dem Homunkulus und seinem Bestreben, wirklich zu entstehen, zu: er führt es bis zu dem Augenblick, wo Homunkulus durch das Zersprengen der Flasche und seine Vermählung mit dem Ozean und durch ihn auch mit den übrigen Elementen fähig wird, das Schattenbild zu einer wahrhaft wirklich lebenden Neuschöpfung zu machen, und—sofort tritt nun Helena auf: und das sollte nicht der denkbar engste sachliche Zusammenhang sein? Als Karl von Holtei in

Weimar eine Vorlesung des Faust veranstaltete, kam er Tags zuvor zu Goethe, um ihn über einiges zu befragen. Er habe, erzählt er selbst, zu Goethe gesagt:

“Ich habe mir zwar alle Mühe damit gegeben, aber alles verstehe ich doch nicht. Möchten Sie mir nicht z. B. erklären, was eigentlich damit gemeint sei, wenn Faust an Helenas Seite die Landgebiete an einzelne Heerführer verteilt? Ob eine bestimmte Andeutung?—Er liess mich nicht ausreden, sondern unterbrach mich sehr freundlich: ‘Ja, ja, Ihr guten Kinder! wenn ihr nur nicht so dumm wäret!’” (Siehe Pniower, N. 634, S. 214).

Goethe verlangte von den Lesern seiner Faustdichtung in der That nichts Geringes. Als er seinem Sohn die Helena zu lesen gegeben hatte und dieser erklärte, die zweite Hälfte sei ihm nicht recht lebendig geworden, meinte der Vater etwas ironisch:

“Der antike Teil gefällt dir aus dem Grunde, weil er fasslich ist, weil du die einzelnen Teile übersehen und du meiner Vernunft mit der deinigen beikommst. In der zweiten Hälfte ist zwar auch allerlei Verstand und Vernunft gebraucht und verarbeitet worden; allein es ist schwer und erfordert einiges Studium, ehe man den Dingen beikommt und ehe man mit eigener Vernunft die Vernunft des Autors wieder herausfindet” (Eckermann, 18. April, 1827: Pniower, N. 518, S. 185).

Das ist nun freilich zum Verständnis der klassischen Walpurgisnacht mindestens ebenso nötig, zumal deren Schluss mit dem Schluss des Helenadramas im allerengsten Zusammenhang steht: was sich dort zu vereinigen strebt, löst sich hier wieder auf. Dennoch ist Goethe sicher, dass der vernünftigen Betrachtung, dem liebevollen Studium das gelingt, worauf es ankommt: den Zusammenhang auch da zu erkennen, wo ein hinter dem Vorhang vor sich gehender selbstverständlicher Vorgang zu ergänzen ist:

“Der Sinn und die Idee des Ganzen wird sich dem vernünftigen Leser entgegenbringen, wenn ihm auch an Übergängen zu supplieren genug übrig bleibt” (Riemers Mitteilungen über Goethe 2, 568 f.: Pniower, N. 853, S. 257 f.).

VIII.

Aber alle diese Ausführungen sind ja schliesslich doch nur “verlorne Liebesmüh,” wenigstens für einen Gelehrten, für einen Vertreter der historischen Methode, wie es Gerber ist: er hat zum Schlusse noch eine

Keule bereit, mit der er des Gegners Theorie niederschmettert; und damit sie nicht wieder auferstehen kann, besitzt er auch den nötigen Siegellack, so dass nicht nur das Grab versiegelt werden, sondern sogar ein doppeltes Siegel darauf gedrückt werden kann: “a double seal on the final overthrow of Valentin’s hypothesis.” Wie schade! Sie war doch so übel nicht, es ist ja zwar zu beklagen: “this view has met with a good deal of favor among Goethe scholars in Germany,” und einer (Heinemann) hat sie sogar “the most reasonable among the many explanations” genannt. Aber das ist auch nur zu begreifen, weil die deutschen Gelehrten es für einfacher halten, statt selbst zu denken, der Autorität Valentin’s zu folgen: “it is most likely because they take Valentin’s authority for it instead of thinking themselves” (M. L. N., Febr. 1897, p. 71).—Die armen deutschen Gelehrten! “So seid ihr Götterbilder auch zu Staub;” und nun noch geschwind die zwei Siegel, und mit der Auferstehung ist es aus—wenn sie festhalten! Sie halten aber nicht fest.

Die Keule, die meine Hypothese zertrümmern soll, ist Paralipomenon 157, datiert vom 18. Juni, 1830; die zwei Siegel sind zwei daran geschlossene Behauptungen Gerbers: lassen wir ihm den Vorrang!

“In the first place, the conditions of Helena’s return to life are still (d.h. 1830) the same as they were in 1826:”

wie jemand die “boldness” haben kann, das zu behaupten, ist unbegreiflich! 1826, W. A. xv, 2, S. 176: Bedingung der Wiederbelebung magischer Ring von Persephone, von der Unterwelt ist *mit keiner Silbe* die Rede! 1826, 10. Juni (ebd., S. 213) Erlaubnis der Persephone Aufenthalt “auf dem eigentlichen Boden Spartas.” 1826, 17. Dez. (S. 211 f.) und Paralipomenon 99: ebenso. Im Paral. 157 aber heisst es:

“Die Helena war schon einmal auf die Insel Leuke beschränkt. Jetzt auf Spartanischem Gebiet soll sie sich lebendig erweisen.”

Es heisst aber hier 1830 *nicht*, wie 1826: “dass sie sich nirgends als auf dem eigentlichen Boden von Sparta des Lebens wieder erfreuen soll.” Gerade diese einschränkende Bedingung ist hier fortgelassen, jede Analogie mit dem früheren beschränkten Aufenthalt ist

vermieden, und es steht nur positiv da: "Jetzt auf spartanischem Gebiete soll sie sich lebendig erweisen"! Goethe konnte eben hier die früheren Bedingungen nicht mehr erwähnen, er hatte sie fallen gelassen, denn nun war Homunkulus mit seiner Bedeutung für Helena eingetreten. Gerber beachtet nicht, dass Goethe, 1827 beginnend, von 1829 bis 1830 bei sehr allmählicher Entstehung des zweiten Aktes die Entwürfe von 1826 gänzlich umgestaltet hat: er ist dabei "so infatuated with a pet theory that he no longer pays attention to the conditions of time and place."

Das zweite Siegel Gerbers ist die naive Behauptung, dass, wenn nach dem zweiten Akt der Vorhang gefallen ist und er sich zum Beginn des dritten Aktes wieder hebt, "Manto has not yet even made the request for Helena's release!" Wo steht denn das in der Dichtung? Wie kann denn der *spectator* bei einer Aufführung dies merken? Sehr einfach! Der *spectator* erinnert sich sofort, wenn der Vorhang sich hebt, an das Paralipomenon N. 157, zuerst gedruckt 1888, also jetzt natürlich in Fleisch und Blut aller *spectators* übergegangen! Aber es wird vielleicht selbst unter den *spectators* Leute geben, die den simplen Gedanken zu fassen imstande sind: Was geht uns ein sechshundfünfzig Jahre nach des Dichters Tode veröffentlichtes Paralipomenon an, wenn wir die fertige Dichtung lesen oder sehen, durch die alle früheren Entwürfe und Pläne aufgehoben sind? In der endgültigen Fassung der Dichtung steht mit keiner Silbe auch nur die geringste Andeutung, dass zwischen dem Ende der Walpurgisnacht und dem Anfang des Helenadramas irgend ein Zeitraum liegt, dass an die Nacht der Tag sich nicht ebenso unmittelbar anknüpft, wie an die Romantische Walpurgisnacht die nächste Szene "Trüber Tag. Feld." Aber wir Gelehrte wissen nun ja, dass Paral. 157 existiert—kein Wunder, dass wir Gelehrte auch hier wieder einmal die Dinge besser verstehen als die grosse Masse. Thatsächlich lehrt uns das Paral. 157 nur, dass Goethe noch unmittelbar beim Abschluss, vielleicht genauer unmittelbar vor dem Abschluss (14. Juni 1830: Hauptmotive abgeschlossen; 15. Juni: Neue Resolution wegen Faust. 18. Juni Schema, jetzt als Paral. 157 bezeichnet; 25. Juni Brief

an August: Abschluss der Walpurgisnacht mitgeteilt, also doch wohl nicht erst an diesem Tage abgeschlossen, sondern zwischen dem 18. und dem 25. Juni: Pniower 824-827, S. 252) die Möglichkeit noch einmal erwogen hat, ob er nicht die Szene Manto und Faust vor der Proserpina in der Unterwelt doch ausführen sollte: das wird wohl die "Neue Resolution" in der Notiz vom 15. Juni gewesen sein. Das Paralipomenon giebt sodann den Versuch, wie in diesem Stadium der Dichtung die Ausführung jetzt etwa vorgenommen werden könnte. Thatsächlich hat aber Goethe diese Ausführung nicht gemacht, und da er sie auch jetzt wieder verworfen hat, so hat er auch diesmal wie schon früher diese Einschaltung der einen Lebensphäre in die andere verworfen: wir aber haben den Gang der Handlung nicht zu beurteilen nach dem, was er verworfen, sondern nach dem, was er behalten und ausgeführt hat. Dieses beständige Zusammenwerfen der gelegentlichen Pläne des Dichters mit der wirklich, ausgeführten Dichtung, als ob diese zwei Elemente für die Beurteilung der Faustdichtung gleichwertig seien, ist der schlimmste methodologische Fehler Gerbers, der, auch wenn er der einzige wäre, hinreichte, seine auf solchen falschen Voraussetzungen aufgebauten Reflexionen als nichtig hinzustellen. So taugt auch das zweite Siegel nichts, ja die Keule Gerbers, das Paralipomenon 157 als Beweismittel, zerstiëbt selbst in Trümmer, indem sie anderes zerschlagen möchte.

Aber Gerbers Verfahren ist noch naiver. Ich habe darauf hingewiesen, dass wir es in der Klassischen Walpurgisnacht mit einer jährlich nur einmal zum Leben erwachenden Geisterwelt zu thun haben, während das Helenadrama zwar auch auf der Oberwelt, aber in vollster körperlicher Realität sich abspielt. Proserpina als Gottheit besitzt aber eine über die Geisternacht dauernde reale Existenz: die Heidenwelt haust in "ihrer eignen Hölle," d.h. die Unterwelt, wie der Grieche sie sich vorstellte, hat dieselbe Realität und dieselbe ununterbrochene Dauer wie die mittelalterliche Hölle,—eine Anschauung, die durch das Mittelalter durchgeht und mit Entschiedenheit bei Dante auftritt. Wenn Goethe uns in diese Welt einführte, so wäre dies ein Schau-

platz, dessen bleibende Realität in grellem Gegensatz zu der einnächtlichen Erscheinung der Geisterwelt der Klassischen Walpurgisnacht stände. Wenn er mit dieser vorübergehenden Geisternacht die bleibende Unterwelt unmittelbar in der räumlichen Erscheinung verbunden hätte, so hätte er in die Geisternacht eine Daseinsart von ganz anderem Wesen eingeschaltet, eine ewige Welt mitten in eine vorübergehende gestellt: diese von mir nachgewiesene Einschaltung einer Daseinsart in eine andere, mit der sie nicht stimmt, und die eingetreten wäre, wenn Goethe die Szene Manto vor Proserpina ausgeführt hätte, fasst nun Gerber in unbegreiflich kurzsichtiger Weise so, als ob damit ausgedrückt werden sollte, ich meinte, Goethe habe die beabsichtigte Szene in der Unterwelt unmittelbar an die Szene des Zwiegesprächs der Manto und des Faust anfügen wollen! Er merkt gar nicht, dass diese Einschaltung eingetreten wäre, mochte Goethe die Szene hinstellen, wo er hinwollte, also auch wenn er sie an das Ende des zweiten oder den Anfang des dritten Aktes gestellt hätte: dass er sie aber irgendwo anders hätte hinstellen wollen, ist *nirgends* behauptet worden. So fällt denn auch seine schöne Deklamation von der Weimarer Ausgabe "which was always at his [Valentin's] elbow and of which he is himself co-editor," sowie die glänzende Aufzählung der "eight different places," die alle beweisen sollen, dass "Goethe never dreamed of inserting it, but always intended to put it at the close." Wer träumt, ist einzig und allein Gerber, der nicht einsieht, dass die Einführung einer dauernden Wirklichkeit in eine vorübergehende Wirklichkeit unter allen Umständen eine Einschaltung eines fremden Elementes ist, mag sie nun am Anfang, in der Mitte, oder am Ende stehen. Wenn nun aber auch der letzte Trumpf hinfällig ist, wenn der Knalleffekt, den Gerber sehr wirkungsvoll sich für das Ende seiner Ausführungen aufgehoben hat, so jämmerlich verputscht, so wird ja nun auch die Wirkung des gewaltigen Bannes, den er schliesslich von seinem Unfehlbarkeitsstuhle gegen meine Darstellung des dramatischen Aufbaues der Faustdichtung herabschleudert, seinem inneren Werte entsprechen.

Aber hat denn Gerber etwas Besseres an

die Stelle dessen zu setzen, was er so leidenschaftlich vernichten möchte? Er behauptet (1897, S. 78),

"the main purpose of Homunkulus is to embody one of Goethe's long-cherished scientific ideas, the grand idea of evolution."

Ist das der Zweck des Homunculus, so hätte sich Goethe die Sache weit einfacher machen können: wozu der ganze Aufwand einer dramatischen Gestaltung, die innerhalb des Dramas gänzlich zwecklos ist, deren Zweck vielmehr ausserhalb des Dramas läge, und die gänzlich ins Nichts zerfällt, sobald der ausserhalb des Dramas liegende Zweck erfüllt ist? Wenn Goethe "the grand idea of evolution" verkörpern wollte, wozu gerade diese seltsame Gestaltung, wozu gerade in seinem "Faust"? Entweder diese Verkörperung hat innerhalb des Dramas einen Sinn,—dann ist dieser Sinn im Zusammenhang mit dem ganzen Drama zu suchen und nachzuweisen, und das versuche ich; oder sie hat innerhalb des Dramas keinen Sinn: sie soll nur eine lang gehegte und gepflegte wissenschaftliche Idee verkörpern—warum gerade so, gerade hier, ist gleichgiltig: sie taucht auf nach Willkür, sie taucht unter nach Willkür—das will Gerber feststellen. Ob es ihm gelingt, Glauben dafür zu finden? Einstweilen wird noch einiger Zweifel gestattet sein.

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ABROAD.

IN reading Icelandic sagas, one cannot fail to be struck by the strangely familiar and frequent expression *fara á brot, á braut*, etc. meaning 'to go abroad, away,' etc. The English dictionaries, however, Skeat's *Etym. Dict.*, *The Century*, *Murray's*, *The Standard*, *Webster's*, *Worcester's*, and the rest, without exception, given under *abroad* the simple, mechanical derivation from 'a' + 'broad.'

On further search I find that T.L.K. Oliphant once thought of *á brot* as the proper derivation; for in the 1878 edition of his *Old and Middle English*, p. 424, where he discusses the language of M.E. works Robert of Gloucester's *Lives of the Saints* (copied ca. 1250 by Northumbrian monks) and of the *Cursor Mundi*, in

both of which numerous Scandinavian words appear for the first time, he recognizes an *a brod* meaning *late*, and an *a brod* meaning *foris* which, he says, comes from the Scandinavian; but in the ed. of 1891, p. 367, he withdraws the statement entirely, only remarking in its place that we have here to do with a strange, new kind of adverb, formed by compounding a preposition with an adjective, a thing unknown before.

The history of the occurrence of the word seems to me to prove rather conclusively that the second component was not an adjective but the Icelandic noun *brot*, *brott*, *braut*, from *brjota*=‘to break through,’ ‘to make a road’; hence *á brott*=‘on a journey,’ ‘abroad,’ precisely like our ‘away.’

Following Murray's chronology, we find the first occurrence of the word about 1260; cf. *E. E. Poems* 6, ‘*Al þat þou wan here wiþ pine, a bro[d] þin eir sal wast it al.*’ Other representative instances are, Robt. of Gloucester (ca. 1297) l. 542, ‘*That win orn a brod so;*’ *Apol. for Lollards* (1400) l. 73, ‘*He þat gedrep not wiþ me, he schateriþ a brod;*’ Langland, *P. Pl.* (1377) B. ii, 176, ‘*abrôde iu visytynge*’; *Syr Generides* (1430), l. 4487, ‘*With his armes spred on brode;*’ and Starkey's *England* (1538), 148, ‘*For I wot not whether I may speke this a-brode.*’ That is to say, that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the regular form was ‘*a brod*’; in the fourteenth, instances of ‘*a-brood*’ come up; in the fifteenth, ‘*on brode*’ makes its appearance; and in the fifteenth and sixteenth, ‘*a-brode*’ gradually merges into the present form.

Here two important points are to be noted: 1. the form of the preposition, and 2. that of the so-called adjective at different times. Compare any of the other words of similar make-up like ‘*aside*,’ ‘*absent*,’ ‘*asleep*.’ For instance, ‘*asleep*,’ in the twelfth century, was ‘*an slep*’; in the thirteenth, ‘*on slepe*’; from the thirteenth to the fifteenth, ‘*on slepe*’; then only came the forms ‘*asslepe*,’ ‘*asleepe*,’ and ‘*asleep*.’ But ‘*abroad*’ had the form ‘*a brod*’ from the very beginning, and was not assimilated to the forms with ‘*on*’ until late, when ‘*on*’ was about to pass into the present ‘*a*’.

In the second place, the regular spelling of the adjective ‘*broad*’ was ‘*brad*’ throughout the period of ‘*a brod*,’ with but few scattered

occurrences of ‘*brod*,’ most of which are late; while ‘*on brade*’ is mentioned but once, which is also late. There exist individual cases of confusion with other words, as with ‘*abrood*,’ cf. *Owl and Nightingale* 518 (a. 1250), ‘*So sone so thu sittest abrode, thu for-lost al thine wise*’; and with ‘*aboard*,’ cf. *Gnylforde Pylgr.* 62 (1506), ‘*We laye amos tharde abrode the grete nggly rokkes*,’ but these have no bearing on the question of the origin of the word.

A.S. dennode.

OF all the unexplained words in A.S. literature, this one is especially interesting on account of the large variety of conjectures which have been offered as to its meaning.

As far as is known, *dennode* occurs but once; namely, in line 12 of the *Battle of Brunanburh*. Of the seven MSS. of the *A. S. Chronicles* only four contain this poem, and these present the following variations of the word: Cott. Tib. A. VI. and B. I. *dennade*, Cott. Tib. B. IV. *dennode*, and the Cantab. (Parker) Text *dænnede*. To these is to be added *dynede*, Wheloc's reading of the destroyed MS. Otho B. XI. (a. 1633).

As to interpretation, Grein, Wülker, Bosworth-Toller, Bright, and Davis follow Ettmüller, who translated the word by *lubricum fieri*=‘to become slippery,’ without attempting to give any sources or grounds for that idea; Ingram, Earle and Körner (who translates *klatschte*, *ertönte*, and in a note *Stud. des Ags.*, p. 223, *färbte sich dunkel*) adopt Gibson's rendering of *feld dennode*=*campi resonarunt*=‘the field resounded with din,’ connecting *dennode* with *dynian*, ‘to resound;’ Thorpe and Freeman translate ‘the field streamed,’ connecting the word with O.N. *dun-di* from *dynia*; Rieger proposes the reading *dæniede*, and translates *wurde gedüngt*; Hunt (quoted by Gibson, *Chron. Sax.*) suggests *sndarunt*; and Zupitza, Kluge, and Sweet leave the word untranslated in their vocabularies.

Zupitza, in a note, ventures to suggest *verstecken*=‘to hide,’ from M. E. *dennien*=Mod. Eng. ‘to den’=‘to give shelter.’

Ettmüller's rendering of the passage *feld dennode secga swate*, ‘the field became slippery

with the blood of heroes', makes good sense, but does not seem to be supported by any philological evidence. The renderings 'resounded,' *klatschte* (suggesting the noise of wading in blood, or the splashing of blood on the ground), 'streamed,' *wurde gedüngt*, and *wurde versteckt*, besides having only very far-fetched derivations, are in the main either exaggerated or inappropriate in meaning.

A more suitable explanation is suggested by the Gothic *dauns* = *Dunst*, *Geruch*, 'steam,' 'smell.' From this we should regularly expect a weak verb *daunjan* or *daunōn*; neither of these is recorded in Gothic, but the Icel. derives a verb in the *-nan* class from *daunn*. Goth. *daunjan* would be in Anglo-Saxon (*dēanian*) *dienan* (*dēnan*, cf. Sievers, *Ags. Gram.* §§. 97, 99), *dýnan*, pret. *dien(e)de*, *dén(e)de*, *dýn(e)de*; Goth. *daunōn* would be A.S. *dēanian* pret. *dēanode*.

Now taking into consideration the striking appropriateness of such an expression in the context, it seems very probable that the passage under discussion originally read *feld dýn(e)de*, or *deanode*, *secga swate*, 'the field reeked with the blood of heroes.' Wheloc's reading supports the first of the two forms here proposed; the second more readily explains the variants *dennode*, *dennade*, since *ea* could easily be misread *en*.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Immermann's Merlin, by KURT JAHN. Palæstra, ed. Alois Brandl and Erich Schmidt. Part III. Berlin: Mayer and Müller, 1899.

KURT JAHN has undertaken to apply the method of psychological criticism to Karl Immermann's drama *Merlin*. He has brought out some facts of interest to the student of Immermann's works and personality, but in treating these facts as an all-sufficient cause for the creation of the drama *Merlin*, he reaches conclusions that can by no means stand as the self-evident truths as which they are proclaimed. The most that can be said in their favor is, that they contain at times an element of possibility, but hardly of probability, much less of certainty.

Psychological criticism, after all has been said in its favor, is at best suggestive as to deductions, but it can never itself draw conclusions as to absolute truths. For there are always elements of the creative faculty that escape the scalpel and microscope, and the bearing of these incommensurate factors upon a given work of art can never be wholly disregarded in forming a critical judgment of the work. Kurt Jahn, however, as it seems to us, does so disregard them in his treatment of *Merlin*, and this disregard has led him into error. There are striking instances of false deductions in his treatise. It will suffice to point out two of these.

1. Kurt Jahn reaches the startling conclusion (pp. 44, 66) that in the figure of Klingsohr, Immermann caricatured the *weltanschauung* and the character of Goethe.

The fact that Klingsohr is on the whole a creation of Immermann's own, evidently tempted Kurt Jahn to search for the psychological causes of this creation. Unhappily he finds in one of Immermann's letters to Tieck (Nov. 28, 1831) the following statement:

"Ich hätte Goethe sehr gern gesehn, mich dünkt, dass sein Wesen grade in diesem sonderbaren Augenblick eine eigenthümliche Anschauung gewähren musste. Auf der anderen Seite tröstet mich wieder die Betrachtung, dass ein persönliches Zusammentreffen mir wahrscheinlich denn doch die Figur meines Klingsohr verrückt haben würde."

This statement, Kurt Jahn thinks, must associate Goethe and Klingsohr, particularly as he finds in Immermann's letters a few other scattered remarks and innuendoes that are apparently directed against Goethe.

The following facts, however, bearing on Immermann's relation to Goethe, could not be disputed by Kurt Jahn. Up to the year 1830, approximately, Immermann had been a staunch admirer of Goethe, freely acknowledging his greatness, though not closing his eyes to his errors and faults. During his literary career he had been more or less under the paramount influence of the writer of *Faust* and *Wilhelm Meister*. He had unmercifully ridiculed the petty attacks upon the latter work. Furthermore, at Goethe's death, Immermann arranged and directed the impressive ceremony at the theatre at Düsseldorf, and

wrote his deep-felt lines on the passing away of the great master. How sincerely Immermann felt the loss of this life is further evident from a letter to his brother upon receipt of the news. He writes:

"A part of my own existence seems to be wanting; I feel a loss which causes me to look at everything as worthless or broken. The passing away of a young, striving, life may affect us greatly; but more tragic, more incisive is the loss of a striving life, great and important, that has been spun out to its last thread. Even the perfect, the complete, is after all but a fragment, it also must pass away—such is the feeling that lays hold of one at this time with curious force and power."

Somehow these facts must be made to support the view that Klingsohr is Goethe. In attempting to do so Kurt Jahn commits the mistake, so common to psychological criticisms, of treating facts from a preconceived point of view. His reasoning, if so it may be called, is deductive rather than inductive, and psychological analysis will always go astray when applied in this manner.

The substance of his reasoning is briefly this: Goethe's influence over Immermann had heretofore been so great and so insidious that, all unknown to him, it had controlled the best he had written. As he advanced in life and felt the need of reaching an independent view of life, he began to realize the extent of his dependence upon Goethe. This realization came to him shortly before he began to write *Merlin*. He was haunted by the fear of losing his personality in that of Goethe, thus at least Kurt Jahn asserts. This was one factor of his resentment against Goethe. A second factor was furnished in a certain growing envy of Goethe's fame due to Goethe's apparent indifference to Immermann's early works and to Goethe's dictatorship in literary Germany. Controlled by these feelings, Immermann gradually worked himself into a state of unreasoning hatred of Goethe. Thus the determination to free himself from the influence of Goethe, and envious hatred of the man and his position, became the two leading factors in Immermann's attitude towards Goethe, and they naturally controlled him when he wrote *Merlin*. For in order to assert his own self, and to satisfy his hate and envy, Immermann proceeded to construct an

arbitrary, even false picture of Goethe's *weltanschauung* and character in those of Klingsohr. Against these he then set up his own *weltanschauung* and ideal in the person of *Merlin*, and by making *Merlin* victorious over Klingsohr satisfied both his desire for independence and his hatred. To Kurt Jahn Immermann's requiem on the death of Goethe, and his high esteem of Goethe ever afterward, are perfectly compatible with such reasoning, nay they rather sustain it.

"For," says Kurt Jahn, "when *Merlin* was completed, Immermann was convinced that it was a masterwork. He had proved to his own satisfaction that he could be independent of Goethe and still write a great work. Therefore, he felt that he could be magnanimous, and having vented his spleen, he could thereafter reach a juster estimate of Goethe's worth and philosophy."

Without attempting to give here what would seem to be the most natural meaning of Immermann's above-quoted words to Tieck, it will suffice to call attention to a few facts that destroy the ready assumptions of Kurt Jahn in this argument.

FIRST: Goethe had not remained wholly indifferent or silent in respect to the works sent to him by Immermann, and Immermann could not therefore resent Goethe's neglect to respond to his early enthusiasm. In 1823 he was still a champion of Goethe, and in 1827—three years before the *Merlin* was actually undertaken—Goethe expressed himself approvingly to Holtei on some of Immermann's youthful writings, an opinion which Holtei had taken pains to convey to Immermann in a letter.

SECOND: Immermann's resentment on account of Goethe's dictatorship was not directed against Goethe, but against those who indulged in unreasonable hero-worship and saw no hope for German literature after the death of Goethe. There is not even a trace of anything like hatred in any statement of Immermann's.

THIRD: There is no evidence in all of Immermann's writings of such a perverted conception of Goethe's *weltanschauung* as Kurt Jahn is forced to assume in order to identify Klingsohr with Goethe.

FOURTH: Immermann was not so certain of the greatness of his work at the time of its

completion (see Immermann's statement as given by Kurt Jahn himself, pp. 110, 111, 113) as Jahn asserts, and consequently could not have allowed himself to form a more unbiased opinion of his assumed adversary because he thought he had established his independence. If the argument that Immermann created the character of Klingsohr and wrote the drama *Merlin* to establish his independence from Goethe were correct, then inasmuch as Immermann was not himself certain whether it was a piece of impressive poetry or a "monstrosity," it ought of necessity to follow that his resentment against Goethe, and Goethe's influence over him would be all the greater. But the fact is undeniable that hardly two months after *Merlin* was completed (January, 1831), Immermann showed not merely an enthusiastic admiration of Goethe, but what is still more unaccountable, a noble and just appreciation of his worth as a man and a poet. How could Immermann, if he really was so incapable of comprehending Goethe's *weltanschauung*, have gained a just estimate of this *weltanschauung* within a few months?

FIFTH: Immermann believed that the best and noblest in life emanated from the individual. This belief was most strong when *Merlin* was undertaken (see Immermann's statement to Beer). How then could Immermann cavil with Goethe for holding a similar belief?

SIXTH: Immermann's *Merlin*, as Kurt Jahn himself admits, was unconsciously influenced by Goethe, perhaps more so than any other work. Would this have been possible if Immermann had first become aware of the nature of Goethe's influence over him and then written *Merlin* to signify his breaking away from Goethe?

II. That *Merlin* was based upon the ultimate contradiction of all things in life as its tragic element, would be evident from the drama itself, even if the poet had not expressly so stated. But Kurt Jahn finds it necessary to determine how Immermann came to formulate such a view of life. The temptation to analyze this psychological process was too great for Kurt Jahn to resist. The result

of his analysis is briefly this: The misfortunes and contradictions of Immermann's own life brought about a mood in which he saw the facts and conditions of life distorted.

Therefore, his view of life as presented in the drama *Merlin* was not grounded in the nature of the poet, but, being wholly determined by his individual life-experiences, would change as soon as these changed.

That a poet's life-experiences will, to a certain extent, influence his views, that they will most frequently tend to crystallize or precipitate elements held in solution, no one would attempt to gainsay. But to claim for them the absolutely determining power that Kurt Jahn does, in the case of Immermann, is little short of foolhardy. Life experiences are in themselves largely determined by the nature of the man, and far more so if the man happens to be blessed or cursed, as the case may be, with the artistic temperament. This truth is so self-evident, that even Kurt Jahn unwittingly agrees to it. For after having devoted the second part of his thesis to an attempt to prove the above assertion, we find on page 59 the remarkable statement (remarkable because it flatly contradicts his previous conclusion): "the central idea of *Merlin* is grounded absolutely in the nature of the poet." When Kurt Jahn has learned the important truth: that a critic cannot take a single work of a poet's from out its setting of other works, much less a poet from the setting of his time and its silent influences, and treat it or him as an isolated phenomenon, then his deductions may become valuable contributions.

The *Palæstra* is devoted to the publication of articles which are the result of research work done under the guidance of Prof. Alois Brandl or Erich Schmidt, and which are recommended by them "*ihrer wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung wegen*." If it were not for this fact, the deductions of Kurt Jahn in the article criticised would hardly merit more than casual notice. Some of the material, however, presented in the article is new, and the analysis of the drama itself deserves commendation.

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ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.

Cynewulf's Wortschatz oder vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den Schriften Cynewulf's von DR. RICHARD SIMONS. [Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. M. Trautmann. Heft III.] Bonn: P. Hanstein's Verlag. 1899.

SEVERAL treatises have been written in former years about the 'commonly recognized Cynewulfian poems,' the number of works allotted to the poet varying from case to case. In the title of the present publication there is no such qualifying clause, for the author believes with Trautmann that a definite enough final solution of the Cynewulf question has been reached. It would hardly be good taste to discuss here the canon of Cynewulf's works anew. But there will be no harm in observing that the last word does not yet seem to have been spoken. We have seen the views of Cynewulf scholars undergo considerable changes in the past. Can we be sure of the future? As regards the *Andreas*, it is claimed with great confidence for Cynewulf by investigators of high authority. But there is some sense also in what has been said on the other side. The all-important argument of style and tone, which has been applied to the poem, from new points of view, by Miss Bottenwieser (*Studien über die Verfasserschaft des Andreas*, Heidelberg, 1898) is disposed of far too lightly in Dr. Simons' introductory remarks. Also Brandl's effort to show the independent position of the *Fata Apostolorum* (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, C, 330 ff.) is deserving of more careful consideration, even though his particular interpretation be not accepted.

Dr. Simons' Glossary embraces only those poems which Trautmann considers the indisputable property of Cynewulf; namely, 1. *Elene*, 2. *Juliana*, 3. *Christ's Ascension*, that is, *Crist*, ll. 440-867 (misprinted 887 on p. 1), and 4. *Andreas*, together with the *Fata Apostolorum* and the runic passage following it—making a total of some forty-three hundred lines, or about one-seventh of the entire body of Old English poetry. With Grein's *Sprachschatz* and Zupitza's Glossary to *Elene* to build on, the task before the compiler was not one of first magnitude. But he has, indeed, exe-

cuted it with evident care and industry. Frequent tests have shown the general completeness and reliability of the work. Textual improvements which have been adopted are marked as such, the MS. readings being given along with them. Strange to say, Cosijn's corrections to *Crist* and *Juliana* in *Beiträge* xxiii (1898), seem to have been overlooked. In several debatable cases a mark of interrogation would have been in order; in others the author might have done well to vouchsafe a clue to a difficult passage, without any injury to his principle of conciseness. It was also a mistake, we think, to exclude the customary grammatical classification of verbs, for we do not imagine that the Glossary has been drawn up for the use of experienced scholars exclusively.

We offer a few incidental gleanings of corrections, following the alphabetical order. It cannot be intended, of course, to pass in review the numerous controversial points which might be raised regarding the textual interpretation of the poems glossed.

adriogan does not denote 'leiden' in *þe oft* (MS. of) *his lufan adræg*, *Andr.* 164, but 'agere, patrare, perficere.' See Grein; Cosijn, *Beiträge* xxi, 9.—We miss *æfyllend(e)*, *Crist* 704, meaning probably 'destroying the (divine) law' (*Beiträge* xxiii, 111), not 'legem exsequens' (Grein).—s. v. *anhýdig*, read *elnes* (for *eines*), *El.* 828.—s. v. *ār*, f. add *āra*, gen. plur., *Andr.* 298 (MS. *aras*; see Grein, *Germania* x, 423).—*benēah*. Read *beneah*.—Is *bēor* masculine?—s. v. *brēotan* read *brēotun* (for *breotun*), *Jul.* 16.—*ēad* (*mæg*) 'selig', *Jul.* 352 is extremely doubtful. Ettmüller's reading (approved by Sievers and Cosijn) *ēaðe mæg* offers the most natural solution.—*ēadlufe* 'liebe', *Jul.* 104. Very plausible is Cosijn's rendering 'das liebe geld.' Cf. *cardlufu* 'die liebe heimat', *Bēow.* 692, *hordwunn*, ib. 2270, etc. (*Aanteekeningen op den Bēowulf*, p. 13).—*gælsa* 'übermut', *Jul.* 366. Better, 'wantonness.' Cf. l. 369: *ic him geswēte synna lustas*, etc.—*geminian* 'beauben', *Jul.* 621? Rather 'diminish,' (Gollancz:) 'humble.'—*gewyrd* 'eräugnis.' We are at a loss to understand what is gained by puristic spellings like this. Usage has decided for good in favor of 'Ereignis' and other historically "wrong" forms, and it is love's la-

bor lost to parade such defunct species in print. It is fortunate that Simons has not followed his master in the orthographic treatment of Hölle, Schöpfung, etc.—*hād*. The meaning 'clerus' in *purh lēohtne hād*, El. 1245 appears untenable. Grein's and Trautmann's 'durch den geistlichen Stand' and Stopford A. Brooke's 'through a light-imparting Form' are equally unsatisfactory. Zupitza's 'in herrlicher Weise' (so also Wülker, *Anglia* i, 504) seems to us the only justifiable rendering. It has been found fault with as 'nichtssagend,' but vagueness is the very characteristic of the entire personal epilogue. The same semi-adverbial function of *purh—hād* is seen clearly in *purh hēstne hād*, Bēow. 1335 (cf. *purh hēst*, Riddle 16, 28), *purh horsene hād*, *Crist* 49; probably also in *purh clænne hād*, *Crist* 444.—s.v. *mōd*. Grein's convincing emendation of *swā mōde*, El. 629 to *swā niode* should have been accepted (*Germania* x, 424; cf. Bright, *MOD. LANG. NOTES* ii, 82).—Under *sīn* 'sein' is given *sȳn*, *Andr.* 109, which should appear under *synn* 'sin.'—*sȳn* 'augenlicht' lacks the macron by misprint.—*pūs*. In *Andr.* 1807 (= *Fat. Ap.* 85) the MS. has *pūs*, not *pys*.—*wælcæst* 'totenrast, grabesruhe,' El. 723. Rather, 'death-bed.' The passage reads: *hwær sio hālig[e] rōd . . . lange legeresfæst lēodum dyrne / wunode wælcæste*. *Wælcæste* is accusative after *wunian*, as in Bēow. 2902: (*deaðbedde fæst*), *wunað wælcæste*, and in other places; *rest* in the sense of 'resting-place' is, of course, very common.—The *w*-rune in El. 1089 is recorded both under *weard*, m. and under *wynn*. Which is meant? We think Sievers' proof of the latter signification is final (*Anglia*, xiii, 3 ff.). The interpretation of the 'Cynewulf runes' lies outside the sphere of this review.—*wifgift*, f. 'mitgift,' Jul. 38. No; it is *wifgifta*, plur., 'marriage.' The analogous use of the simple noun *gifta* (*giftu*) is better known.

Dr. Simons' Glossary will be especially helpful to students who wish to read the 'Cyne-

wulfian' poems and are not fortunate enough to have old Grein at their service.

It may be noted that another Anglo-Saxon lexical study is contained in the fourth number of *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*: F. M. Paddelford's *Old English Musical Terms* (dedicated to Prof. Cook). This is a topical Glossary, with an introductory essay, somewhat like W. E. Mead's *Color in Old English Poetry* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xiv, 169 ff.), Chs. H. Whitman's *The Birds of Old English Literature* (*The Journal of Germanic Philology*, ii, 149 ff.), and J. Hoops' *Altenglische Pflanzennamen* (Freiburg, 1889). Further collections of this kind should be encouraged.

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PEDAGOGY AND POETRY.

Pädagogik und Poesie. Vermischte Aufsätze von Prof. Dr. ALFRED BIESE, Königl. Gymnasial-Direktor in Neuwied a. Rhein. Berlin: 1900. R. Gaertners Verlagsbuchhandlung. vii, 320 pp.

THE author of this collection of essays is a prominent educator and one of the foremost writers on subjects dealing with culture-history. In his works on the evolution of the nature-sense, on the philosophy of the metaphor, etc., he has shown a fine range of acquaintance with the literatures of all great nations, and coupled with this erudition, great appreciation of beauty in whatever form it may appear. The same blending of learning and sensitiveness determines the nature of the volume under discussion.

The essays deal partly with pedagogic questions (namely, "Einförmigkeit und Einheitlichkeit im Schulbetriebe," "Zum psychologischen Momente im Unterricht"), partly with the treatment and interpretation in the school-room of certain literary monuments ("Zur Behandlung Lessings in Prima," "Zur Behandlung Goethes in Prima," etc.), and partly with problems of a purely literary or historical character ("Theodor Storm und Edward Mörike," "Die romantische Poesie des Gebirges," "Das Naturgefühl im Wandel der Zeiten, etc.).

¹ So *selestest*, Bēow. 690, *seletræst*, ib. 1241 'bed in the hall,' Trautmann's failure to realize this concrete meaning has driven him to a perfectly groundless emendation:—*ræste gefeash*—'was taking rest' (*Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik* ii, 163). It is clear that the construction *selestest gefeash* lies in a line with *sæbūl gesæt*, Bēow. 633, *eorðan gefeoll*, ib. 2834, *meregrund gefeoll*, ib. 2100; *hordeft geseat*, ib. 2319.

The book is the expression of a personality filled with enthusiasm for healthy beauty and mellowness of culture. The author reveres good literature as a source of inspiration and joy, and is convinced that the study of it must not stop at collecting facts; yet he is free from any tendency to exaggeration and from even the slightest taint of phraseology. His point of view is best reflected in the essay entitled "Die Aufgaben der Litteraturgeschichte." Here the comparative study of literature is shown to be the only method which leads to a complete understanding of any one literature or any one great literary phenomenon.

It is rare to find a scholar of Prof. Biese's recognized soundness capable of such freshness of enthusiasm and directness of enjoyment. If ever he errs, it is in casting too much opprobrium on our own age, or rather in not mentioning with sufficient respect the spirit and the artistic efforts of our own times. Our century certainly is "nervous," tends to hysteria, lacks repose, yet it is maturer than any preceding one, and in spite of its "lack of imagination," has produced truly great artists: in music, Brahms and Wagner; in poetry, Browning and Tennyson; in painting, Corot and Millet. More than one teacher has discovered that respect and admiration for the present (sufficiently held in check by criticism) is the necessary basis for a virile and energetic culture. Ever since the days of humanism, classical scholars have tended to overlook this fact.

The book contains many fruitful ideas on literature and on the methods of literary interpretation, for the author has an exalted conception of the duties of a teacher of literature.

We hope the essays will find their way into the possession of many teachers, and particularly of college instructors in this country. There is with us now a wave in the direction indicated by Biese, and his book cannot help encouraging the best aims of high-minded pedagogues.

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THE GOUIN METHOD.

Die Methode Gouin, oder das Serien-System in Theorie und Praxis, auf Grund eines Lehrerbildungskursus, eigener sowie fremder Lehrversuche und Wahrnehmungen an öffentlichen Unterrichtsanstalten unter Berücksichtigung der bisher vorliegenden Gouin-Litteratur dargestellt von Dr. R. KRON, kaiserl. Oberlehrer. Zweite, ergänzte Auflage. Marburg, N. G. Elwert, 1900.

A STRIKING witness to the interest taken by up-to-date German pedagogues in all that pertains to modern language teaching is the appearance of a second edition of Dr. R. Kron's work on *Die Methode Gouin*. The first edition, which came out five years ago, was a reprint of several articles recently published in *Die neueren Sprachen*. The present volume, a book of nearly two hundred pages, brings the literature of the subject down to the current year, but is otherwise substantially unchanged. We have, first, a long discussion of the underlying principles of the system; then a few sample lessons printed in full, followed by a description of the actual workings of the method in the various countries where it has been tried; and, lastly, a biographical and bibliographical appendix. Dr. Kron's attitude toward the *Serien-System* is that of an enthusiastic but intelligent admirer. It is worthy of note that he prefers the original Gouin to the "improved" version of Bétis and Swan.

The important question, "unter welchen Bedingungen kann die Methode Gouin in öffentlichen deutschen Schulen Eingang finden," is dismissed in a few lines, beginning rather discouragingly with the words: "Hierzu bedarf es in erster Linie einer Abänderung der Lehrpläne und Prüfungsvorschriften." A still greater change in the course of study would be necessary to give the "series" a fair trial in this country. Indeed, the most promising field for the system is, I think, to be found in the public schools of Japan, where, I am informed, English is pursued as a prescribed study about six hours a week for eight years, and the educational authorities are now in search of a method. If Gouin's idea should

find acceptance with our wide-awake trans-Pacific neighbors, we might look for a conclusive test of its practicability.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Hermann Sudermann's Frau Sorge. With Introduction and Notes by GUSTAV GRUENNER, Professor in Yale University. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1900. xvii+268 pp.

THE growing interest in contemporary German literature makes an edition of Sudermann's *Frau Sorge* a welcome addition to our stock of German text-books. *Frau Sorge* is not only Sudermann's best novel, but one of the very best and purest specimens of German fiction that have appeared during the last fifteen years. The editor's work has been very careful. The introduction gives a brief account of Sudermann's life and works. It does not discuss the literary conditions of Germany previous to the "modern" movement. The editor speaks of this movement as

"those years of ferment and revolution in literature which the Germans, with their passion for literary analogies and their excessive self-consciousness and consequent exaggeration, like to call the 'Modern Storm and Stress'" (p. viii).

Such a statement without a discussion of the ideas contained in the phrase "Modern Storm and Stress" seems to me misleading and unjust. The new literary movement in Germany presents undeniable and striking parallels to the Storm and Stress of the eighteenth century, but there are very few Germans, outside of a few enthusiasts, who would attribute to this movement the same profound and permanent influence as was exercised by the Storm and Stress of the eighteenth century. Litzmann's discussion of this movement (*Das deutsche Drama, Neunte Vorlesung*) and Ad. Stern's note of warning (*Jahresbericht f. d. neuere Litteratur*, 1896, iv, 1^a, 7-12), to mention only two Germans, are certainly far

removed from any "excessive self-consciousness and consequent exaggeration."

In the text the editor omits the episode in which Paul compels the two Erdmann brothers to marry the twins. This is a case of legitimate cutting down. Neither the plot nor the development of the principal characters are seriously affected by the omission. The advantage for the class-room, on the other hand, is obvious.

The editor's purpose is "to facilitate rapid, though idiomatic, translation." His notes are therefore brief; at times, perhaps, too brief, but accurate and to the point. The translations given do justice to the original and are, at the same time, idiomatic. English colloquialisms are sometimes cited to bring out the meaning of an expression more effectively. The particles, that *crux* of all students of German, receive special attention. The editor sometimes explains a rare word by some well-known synonym, a very good practice in teaching German; but as there are few words altogether synonymous, this has to be done with great care. P. 2, l. 15, *dreinschaute* = *aussah* is not strictly correct. While it may do for that particular passage it does not apply to the other passages cited: p. 70, l. 9; p. 117, l. 1. *Dreinschauen* is used there of inanimate objects, it represents them almost as personified. To substitute *aussehen* would deprive the two passages of all poetic charm. P. 45, l. 22, *verängstigt* does not stand for *geängstigt*, cf. p. 100, l. 2. There are a few other points that have escaped the editor: p. 1, l. 18, *Hangen und Bängen* is not strictly speaking an alliterative phrase. P. 100, l. 6, *Manufacturisten* is singular; it denotes a dealer in *Manufakturwaren*, that is, textile goods, especially cloth; the connection, too, points to a dealer in cloth. P. 211, l. 18, *Königsberg* is the capital of the province of East-Prussia. The province of Prussia ceased to exist in 1878, when it was divided into the two provinces of East-Prussia and West-Prussia. The book is well gotten up and contains a good portrait of Sudermann.

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TWO BOOKS ON ENGLISH LITERATURE.

History of English Literature, by REUBEN POST HALLECK. New York: American Book Co., 1900. Sm. 8vo, pp. 499. \$1.25.

Outline History of English and American Literature, by CHARLES F. JOHNSON. New York: American Book Co., 1900. Sm. 8vo, pp. 552. \$1.25.

Two teachers of English literature have here given us the benefit of their experience in the form of usable manuals for high school and elementary college classes. The two differ somewhat in method. Mr. Johnson tends to emphasize the study of individual authors (for example, he says nothing about Romanticism), while Mr. Halleck gives more attention to the study of movements and tendencies. The latter method of study has certain undeniable advantages, one of which is that it leads the student to study literature alongside of history. It is well that in recent years the importance of studying history and literature side by side has been recognized and emphasized; we are glad to see that both our authors have furnished references to the leading books on English history.

While both these manuals show improvement on earlier text-books, we can hardly pronounce either of them perfect. Both are comparatively weak in the early periods of our literature; it is perhaps too much to expect that the specialist in modern English literature shall be equally at home in our early literature. To the Anglo-Saxon period Mr. Johnson gives fourteen pages, Mr. Halleck thirty-five. Professor Johnson's sketch is readable but inadequate. We can hardly agree with Halleck that the language of the Teutonic invading tribes is now *generally* "called Anglo-Saxon or Saxon" (p. 12); and certainly Anglo-Saxon is not the sister language of modern German (p. 15); it is rather an elderly aunt. To derive *scōp* from *scippan* (p. 19) is to distort the truth; and *nipende* does not mean "noisome" (p. 17). His attempt to expound the early Teutonic religion in two somewhat obscure paragraphs is not successful; and in general the early chapters should in a future edition be thoroughly revised.

Professor Johnson has had a greater struggle

with the problem of compression, and if we consider the difficulties to be met, he has succeeded well. Yet when we note the apparent absence from his pages of a large number of minor names (for example, Lydgate, Gascoigne, Ascham, Wycherley, Otway, Bp. Butler, Maria Edgeworth, Ann Radcliffe, Gilbert White, Peacock, Adam Smith, Robertson, Thomas Beddoes, Bp. Berkeley, John Wilson, Lockhart, Symonds, Edwin Arnold, Stephen, Faraday, Milman, Green, Jean Ingelow), we can only regret that he devotes, for example, a whole page to the date of Chaucer's birth, that he gives in general so many minor biographical details, and that he prints so many illustrative extracts which are now accessible in inexpensive editions; indeed it would have been better to leave out most of the extracts, giving instead brief bibliographical notes on series like "The Riverside Literature Series" and "Cassell's National Library." Arriving at the Victorian Era Professor Johnson could give only fifty-nine pages to it, while Halleck has given it ninety-five. Yet Johnson's discussions have a certain freshness; and for schools with small libraries, which can give only a short time to the subject, the book may be commended.

Professor Halleck has, perhaps wisely, left the treatment of American literature "to works dealing especially with that branch;" his book, therefore, naturally reveals fewer omissions, and a number of minor authors not discussed in the text are mentioned in a supplementary list, with their chief works. He apparently does not mention Walter Map, however, and he says too little about the metrical romances which solaced our ancestors. Like Johnson's his discussion of the origins of the drama is inadequate; yet he gives a valuable hint in mentioning the Christmas and Easter services (p. 134), and in general his treatment is better than Johnson's. The same is true of his Shakespeare pages and of his characterization of the Victorian Age, on which, as for quantity, he has fourteen pages to Johnson's four; but neither author says enough about our later writers. It is now practically certain that Sir Philip Francis did *not* write the *Letters of Junius*; and the lists of "works for consultation and further study" contain too

many poor books. Yet in spite of these blemishes Mr. Halleck has made a convenient and meritorious text-book. Well chosen illustrations and a good index help to make the book attractive and valuable both for school use and for reference.

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SHAKESPEARE.

Richard the Third up to Shakespeare, by GEORGE B. CHURCHILL, Ph. D., *Palæstra*, Herausgegeben von Alois Brandl und Erich Schmidt, No. x. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1900. 8vo, pp. 548.

THIS is a formidable thesis worked out in copious detail by one of Professor Brandl's students. The idea is a fruitful one. It is to trace the growth of the "Richard saga" from its beginnings until the material of it came into Shakespeare's hands, separating at all points the historical from the purely legendary, and exploring the source of each item of legend as it enters the saga. The work has been done solidly and well, and is an important contribution to Shakesperian scholarship. The materials have been carefully digested, and are displayed with almost more than German thoroughness.

Five hundred full pages is almost too much for even a dissertation in the Shaksperian field. Most of the excessively long analyses of chronicles, poems, and plays might have been retrenched without great loss to the reader, and more frequent reference made to the originals. Still, as it is, here you have all of the necessary material and a reference-book and source-book for *Richard the Third*, all in one volume. The all too numerous misprints, not half of which are corrected in the long list of "Corrigenda" at the end of the volume, and for which the author excuses himself on the ground of distance from the press, are discreditable to *Palæstra*. If theses and other books in English are to be printed in Germany, they should be held to a stricter standard of typographical accuracy than has been displayed of late years.

The first half of the volume deals with "Richard in the Chronicles," the second with "Richard in Poetry and the Drama." Of the chronicles the so-called "Second Continuation of the History of Croyland Monastery" receives careful consideration as the best of the original historical authorities. Here we have tolerably firm footing. Richard, of course, is the slayer of the princes of the Queen's kin, and of Hastings, but with the other crimes in Shakespeare's list he is not charged. In the chronicles of Rous, de Comines, and Bernard André, the blackening process has begun. With Sir Thomas More and Polydore Vergil, however, we first meet the chief sources of the purely legendary elements of the Richard saga. From them Shakespeare's immediate sources, Holinshed and Hall, draw their main supplies. The author has manifested great critical patience and skill in disentangling from the mass of the sources the essential contributions of each to the legend.

In the anonymous *History of the Arrival of Edward IV.* (Camden Society, 1838) the only purely Yorkist account of the period, Richard (Gloucester) is uncharged with any crime. Warkworth's *Chronicle* (Camden Society, 1839) is the first of the Lancastrian series. Here the idea of Fate and Retribution is first emphasized. Richard here figures only subordinately.

In the *Second Continuation of the History of Croyland Monastery*, we have the first full history of Richard's reign. Here are related the execution of the Queen's kin by Richard after the death of Edward IV, the fate of Hastings, the intrigues of Richard and Buckingham, the imprisonment of the young king in the Tower, the forced appeal of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the queen in the sanctuary at Westminster to give up the young Duke of York, and her compliance, the seizing of the throne by Richard on the pretext that the princes were bastards, the death of the princes in the Tower, the first arrival of Richmond, the death of Queen Anne (no suggestion that Richard poisoned her), Richard's plans to marry his niece and their frustration, the second landing of Richmond at Milford in Wales while Richard, trusting to prophecy, was expecting him to land at Milford, near

Southampton, the battle of Bosworth, Richard's terrifying dreams, and the death of Richard bravely fighting. Rous (*Historia Regum Angliæ*), who follows, is the first to describe Richard's person and deformities. The treatment throughout is hostile, while Henry VII (Richmond) is extravagantly flattered. Next in turn de Comines adds several items to the legend. It is he who reports current rumors that Richard was the murderer of Henry VI, of Queen Anne, and the princes. Here too is first mentioned that Clarence's death was by drowning in a butt of malmsey.

Bernard André's *History of Henry VII* is a thoroughly partisan work. Here Richard is painted as a monster of cruelty, as in a later legend. Still he is not yet charged with the deaths of Clarence or of Queen Anne, and the fact that Richard had been named Protector by Edward, and did not usurp the function here first appears. Here too, fully depicted, is Shakespeare's heroic Richmond. In Fabyan's *Chronicle* appear, for the first time, Buckingham's betrayal by Banister, and other slight items in the history. The relation of More's *History of Richard III* to the Shakespearian story has already been studied elsewhere in detail. Most significant in it perhaps is its analysis of Richard's character. More, too, makes his additions to the legend. The account of the council meeting where Hastings is arrested is his. The death of Henry VII is imputed to Richard's own initiative, without the suggestion of Edward. Richard's intention of seizing the crown from the moment of Edward's death is insisted upon. Thus his policy acquires unity.

"The winning of the young Duke of York away from his mother's protection, the subtle messages by which Buckingham is induced to follow Richard in all his plans, the double councils, the dramatic plot which brings Hastings to his death, the statement to the citizens of Hastings treason, with the device of the rusty armour, the previously prepared proclamation of a subsequently discovered crime, the sermon of Shaw and the intended *coup* of Richard's opportune appearance, Buckingham's speech at Guildhall, the scene at Baynard's castle, where the crown is pressed upon the reluctant Richard, the reconciliation with Fogge"—

all these incidents are here reduced to a whole

and made ready to Shakespeare's hand. But above all it is More who makes prominent the struggle of Richard's conscience, the nemesis which overtook him in the inward tortures of his own soul. This, of course, in its literary treatment, is the dramatic kernel of the whole story. Dramatically, too, More makes much use of prophecies and omens attending the various tragic events of the story.

Polydore Vergil was the chief authority for that part of the legend which More's *History* did not cover. "The saga of Richard as it came to Shakespeare, so far as it is not More's is almost wholly Vergil's." Vergil adds to the story in several minor particulars, but his chief contribution is his insistence upon the motive of divine vengeance: the idea that the disasters of the time were meted out as punishment for the sins of the fathers. Hall's *Chronicle* brings more into view Richard's early career and his personal prowess and bravery, yet Richard is blackened by many additional touches. Hall, more than the rest, heightens the pathos of the fate of the murdered princes in the Tower. He has several minor additions adopted by Shakespeare, but substantially he follows without change his sources, More, Vergil, de Comines, and Fabyan. Holinshed follows Hall, Stow, Fabyan, More, and others, and introduces little that is new.

"Thus though Shakespeare may in writing *Richard III* have based his play almost wholly on the form of the saga which he found in Holinshed, yet in the formation of the saga Holinshed is of very slight importance."

In regard to the importance of Vergil's *History* the author establishes a new point and maintains that Grafton's continuation of Hardyng, which has heretofore been credited as an original authority for many particulars, is nothing more than a free translation of Vergil (p. 163).

In the second part of the volume various literary treatments of the story of Richard III are considered. The most important of these are the several poems dealing with the period in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, Legge's Latin play of *Richardus Tertius* and the *True Tragedy of Richard the Third*. In the *Mirror for Magistrates* the author finds further confirmation (in addition to that found in

More) for Shakespeare's representation of Clarence's death at Richard's hands, a point generally overlooked by Shakespeare editors (p. 242-245).

The study of Legge's *Richardus Tertius* is full and valuable. Professor Churchill makes large claims for this play. "To Legge," he asserts, "was due the turning of the drama in England in an entirely new direction." For this play was the first full-fledged historical drama dealing with English history. Bale's *Kyng Johan* was essentially a morality play, and of course no chronicle play in the true sense. Legge's play was very popular, and Marlowe, Peele, Greene, Nash, and others of the University set doubtless knew it. Hence its influence upon their work is to be inferred. But as *Richardus Tertius* is, except in certain formal respects, as the author shows, almost entirely a tragedy on the Senecan model, and as the hint at least for the dramatic use of English history might be taken from Bale, it will not do to make too much of this point. Legge follows the chronicles very closely for his facts, but in other respects, as the author has shown with such painstaking scholarship, the greater part of his work is almost a cento from Seneca. In the use of action and in its disregard of the unities, however, the play is not Senecan. Legge's conception of Richard's character too, is purely Senecan, and dramatically far inferior to Shakespeare's or to that of the author of the *True Tragedy*. Direct influence upon Shakespeare there was none.

Lacey's *Richardus Tertius*, usually referred to as an "imitation" of Legge's play, is, Professor Churchill has discovered, merely a transcript of the latter.

The *True Tragedy of Richard the Third* similarly is analyzed *in extenso*. Its position as the unique representative of a mixed type, the English chronicle-history and the tragedy of revenge, is significant. Here first is to be found a history play presenting a central and dominating figure.

Crude as its workmanship is, it has the prime dramatic virtue of centering the chief interest on the inner nature of the hero, not on the mere story of his acts and fate. Herein the author attempts to trace the manifest influence of Marlowe, especially the Marlowe of

Faustus and of *Tamburlaine*. Incidentally the author corrects a couple of Mr. Fleay's errors (pp. 439 ff., 444). Professor Churchill accepts the general view that this play depends upon and follows *3 Henry VI*, adducing new evidence in proof. In regard to its relations to Shakespeare's *Richard III*, he comes to the support of Boswell, Skottowe, Field, Lloyd and the others who have upheld the theory that Shakespeare knew and made some use of the *True Tragedy*,—unless, with Lowell, Halliwell, and Fleay, it can be maintained that they both go back to an earlier play, now lost. In the first place the fundamental conception of the character and punishment of Richard in both has much in common.

Again, the speech of Rivers to the young king in both, otherwise unexplained, shows probable dependence. The gist of the proof is missed in Professor Churchill's citation, through the omission (p. 504) of the essential part of the quotation from the *True Tragedy*, unless I err in my interpretation of the two passages. The comparison (p. 511) of the latter part of *Richard III*, IV, iv, with the corresponding passage in the *True Tragedy*, likewise is fruitful. It is possible, moreover, that the appearance of ghosts to Richard, instead of the devils of the source, was due to the earlier play. So the gloomy aspect of the day of Bosworth fight, contrary to the bright skies of the chronicle account, may be due to the same source. Then there are the verbal resemblances, especially the famous line in the *True Tragedy*: "A horse, a horse, a fresh horse." Altogether the author considers some thirty items of possible proof, some of them sufficiently tenuous; but the main contention seems to be fairly substantiated, and Shakespeare's use of the *True Tragedy* seems highly probable.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

CHRIST 485-6.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In the Biblical originals for *Christ* 475-490 there is no mention of idols, and I

have therefore supposed 485^b-486^a to be an independent insertion by Cynewulf. I am now inclined to think, however, that it comes from Gregory's letter to Æthelbert (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 32; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 77. 1201). The words are: "Christianam fidem in populis tibi subditis extendere festina, zelum rectitudinis tuæ in eorum conversione multiplica, *idolorum cultus insequere, fanorum ædificia everte,*" etc. This was in the letter sent by Mellitus; later, in writing to Mellitus, he advises greater leniency (Bede i. 30; Migne 77. 1215): "Dicite ei [i. e. Augustine] . . . quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant, sed ipsa quæ in eis sunt idola destruantur. Aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquæ ponantur, quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequium veri Dei debeant commutari," etc. Plummer has a long and interesting note on Bede i. 30, in which he says: "We constantly hear of idols and idolatry in all the Saxon kingdoms—Kent, i. 30, 32; ii. 6; Essex, ii. 5; iii. 22, 30; Northumbria, ii. 10, 11, 13; iii. 1; East Anglia, ii. 15; Mercia, ii. 20; Sussex, iv. 13; v. 19; of the Saxons generally, ii. 1." Cf. the note in Migne on *Epist.* ii. 66, 76 (*Patr. Lat.* 77. 1203. c; 1215. b). We can only conclude that Cynewulf, for some good reason, was more in sympathy with the radical policy.

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WYCHERLEY AND JEREMY COLLIER.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In M. Beljame's admirable work, *Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres* (page 252), in discussing the replies to Collier's famous *Short View*, he says, "Congreve, Vanbrugh, D'Urfey, directement pris à partie, se hâtèrent de répondre: Congreve et Vanbrugh, dans des

publications spéciales; D'Urfey, dans une préface 'familière,' mise en tête de sa comédie des *Campaigners* et dans le prologue de la même pièce. Wycherley répondit sans doute aussi." In a footnote he gives as his authorities for Wycherley's reply, Allibone and Macaulay, and adds, "Ni Macaulay ni Allibone ne donnent d'indications qui m'aient permis de retrouver la réponse de Wycherley." On looking up these two references, I find that Allibone says, under the heading Collier, "Wycherley was suspected of being one of his assailants." Macaulay in his essay, *Comic Dramatists of the Restoration*, says, "Congreve was not Collier's only opponent. Vanbrugh, Dennis, and Settle took the field. And, from the passage in a contemporary satire, we are inclined to think that among the answers to the 'Short View,' was one written, or supposed to be written, by Wycherley." Mr. Edmund Gosse, as is his wont, goes much farther. In a discussion of the Collier controversy, in his *Life Of Congreve*, a discussion containing errors of fact on vital points, he alludes to an anonymous tract called *A Vindication of the Stage*, and says, "I have little hesitation, however, in attributing it to Wycherley," and proceeds to give evidence that is the merest guess-work (pp. 113, 114). Prof. Ward, in his *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, iii, 312, merely gives Mr. Gosse's opinion.

All the above writers seem to have overlooked an important passage in one little tract which indicates pretty strongly that Wycherley did not reply to Collier at all. To the second edition of Collier's *Dissuasive from the Play-House*, which appeared in 1704, one year after the first edition, there was added "A Letter written by another Hand; in Answer to some Queries sent by a Person of Quality, Relating to the Irregularities charged upon the Stage." In this interesting document occurs the following passage: "I come now to your next Question: When Mr. C. made so vigorous an Attack upon our Stages, as shook the Foundation; what was the Reason, in so desperate a Juncture (when the whole Posse of *Parnassus* was expected up in Arms) that only the *Minor Poets* appear'd? Where was the mighty W—? * * * * But, during these skirmishes, where was, say

you, the mighty W—, a wit, certainly, of the first magnitude; and with so great a Fund of Sense, that, besides his Contributions to the *Stage's* Diversion, he could not want a Stock for its Defence; even when the common Bank of Wit fail'd.

To this I must tell you, He was never a Retainer to the *Theatres*, but a Person of too much Judgment to engage in the Quarrel. Besides he had fore-cluded himself, and already decided the Case, in his Dedication to Madam B. (Bawd by Profession whatever was her Name) *I think, says he, a Poet should be as free of your Houses as of the Play-Houses, since he contributes to the Support of both, and is as necessary to you as the Ballad-Singer to the Pick-Purse, in convening the Cullies at the Theatre, to be pick'd up, and carried to a Supper, and Bed at your Houses.*

Ridentem dicere Verum, &c. Nothing like a true Jest. Brothels and Play-Houses, Poets and Pandars, are in the same Predicament with this Author, and he is too much a *Plain-Dealer* to retract his Evidence." He then goes on to speak of Dryden's attitude.

To my mind, the above quotation is fairly satisfactory evidence that Wycherley made no reply to Collier.

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LYCIDAS 40 ff.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In these lines Milton would seem to have been more indebted to Virgil's *Eclogues* than has been commonly supposed. Warton refers 'gadding vine' to Cicero, *De Senectute* 15. 52: 'quam [sc. vitem] serpentem multiplici lapsu et *erratico* ferro amputans coercet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnis partis nimia fundatur'; but it is more likely to be a reminiscence of the 'errantis hederas' of *Ecl.* 4. 19 (note that ivy is associated with a cave in Theoc. *Idyll.* 3. 17; the cultivated grape-vine of Homer, *Od.* 5. 69 is not 'gadding', though Butcher and Lang employ this epithet). The 'wild thyme' of Shakespeare, *M. N. D.*

2. 1. 249, was very likely in Milton's mind; but he may also have thought of the sweet thyme which grows upon Hybla (*Ecl.* 7. 37), associated as it is with 'white ivy' in the next line. 'And all their echoes mourn' is probably, as Jerram has pointed out, from Moschus, *Epit. Bion.* 30. There are willows, associated with the vine in Virgil, *Ecl.* 10. 40; and there are hazels in *Ecl.* 5. 3.

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TOM TYLER AND HIS WIFE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—A word regarding the probable date of *Tom Tyler* may be added to Professor Schelling's discussion of the matter in the last number of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*. The Stationer's Register records the entry of a ballad, 'tom Tyler', among others licensed to Colwell the printer, in the year 1562-3.

Collier, in 1848,¹ adds to his statement of 1831 that 'the drama itself may have been here first entered for publication.' The supposition is hardly warranted by the character of the *Register*, which distinguishes, certainly in most cases, between a 'boke,' a 'ballatte,' a 'ditty,' etc. Still, the entry is worth noting.

W. P. REEVES.

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LEXICAL AND GLOSSOLOGICAL NOTES.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Permit me to correct some misprints I have noticed in my article in the November number:

Col. 413, l. 4 read *beshytten*; l. 6 read *hoedloc* and *hoedyl*; l. 17 read *fermentum surdowght*.

¹ Shakespeare Society's Publications, p. 74.

Col. 414, l. 5 put a , after *filled*; l. 11 read *maes*; l. 14 read *countrelyke*; l. 21 expunge the ; after *marchoc*; l. 33 put a , after *bwch*; l. 35 read *cæcepol*.

Col. 415, l. 3 put a , after *dourtoure*; l. 13 put a ; after 'thrust.'

Col. 416, l. 7 read *baia[e]*; l. 9 read *haec*.

Col. 417, l. 11 read *wæren*; l. 12 read *quaelibet*.

Col. 418, l. 5 read *mürrisch*; l. 14 read *Curæ*; l. 26 read *clæuel*; l. 36 read 'caesa'; l. 48 read *fluuii*; l. 49 read *Ruræ*.

Col. 419, l. 1 read *Houæ plenæ*; l. 20 read *Columbae*; l. 26 read *iuncturae*.

Col. 420, l. 3 read *baruina*; l. 39 read *heafodpanne*.

Col. 421, l. 4 read *mycteras*; l. 8 read *cassan*; l. 16 put a ; after *lenden*; l. 27 read *toliam*; l. 28 read *thoracem*.

Col. 422, l. 11 strike out *many*; l. 12 insert *or Bosworth-Toller's (?) after Hall's*.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

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DANTE'S FIGURE OF THE SEAL AND THE WAX.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Dante is very fond of the figure of the seal and the wax, especially in the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*. It is found in *Purg.* 10. 45; 18. 38-39; 33. 79, *Par.* 1. 41-42; 8. 127-128; 13. 73-75; *Conv.* 1. 8. 91-92; *Mon.* 2. 2. 73 ff. (the line-references in the prose works are to Moore's edition of the *Opere*). Less explicitly it occurs in *Inf.* 11. 49-50; *Purg.* 25. 95; *Par.* 2. 132; 7. 69. 24. 143; *Conv.* 2. 10. 37-38. The commentators as a rule throw no light upon it. Scartazzini (on *Purg.* 33. 79) quotes a reference to St. Jerome's preface to the Bible. Vernon, *Readings on the Inferno* (11. 49), refers to Rev. 14. 9-10. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, affords no help. Butler (on *Purg.* 33. 79) suggests the truth, but does not support

his assertion: "Dante is fond of the metaphor, borrowed from Aristotle, of the seal and the wax."

The Aristotelian passages, as students of Dante may be glad to know, are both found in the *De Anima*. The first is *De Anima* 2. 1 (412^b. 7). I quote from Wallace's translation: "We must no more ask whether the soul and the body are one than ask whether the wax and the figure impressed upon it are one, or generally inquire whether the material and that of which it is the material are one." The other is *De Anima* 2. 12 (424^a. 19): "The general character of sense in all its forms is to be found in seeing that sense-perception is that which is reception of the forms of things sensible without their matter, just in the same way as wax receives the impress of the seal without the iron or the gold of which it is composed, and takes the figure of the gold or bronze, but at the same time not as bronze or gold."

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BRIEF MENTION.

An Elementary English Composition, by Professors FRED NEWTON SCOTT, of the University of Michigan, and JOSEPH VILLIERS DENNEY, of the Ohio State University (Allen and Bacon, Boston), is somewhat unique in plan, a three-fold purpose being evident throughout the work: to present familiar ideas in such novel form as to pique curiosity, to stimulate thought, and to develop individuality; to keep in view the social aspects of school composition work, by regarding the school as the public to which the compositions may be supposed to be addressed; and to show the intimate connection of oral with written composition. As an aid to the stimulation of definite thought, several suggestive pictures are given. The authors have been remarkably successful in carrying out their plan, and have given their book the force of a strong and vital personality. They have put into it just what every progressive teacher would like to give to a class, but which few are able to give.

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